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THE
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE
EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS AND GRECIANS.

~~~~~  
**BY CHARLES ROLLIN,**

**LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, PROFESSOR OF ELOQUENCE IN**  
**THE ROYAL COLLEGE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY**  
**OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES-LETTRES.**

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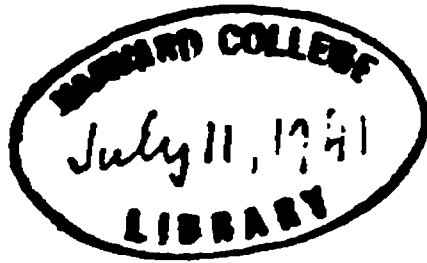
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# BOOK THIRTEENTH.

## THE HISTORY

OF THE

## PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

### SECTION I.—OCHUS ASCENDS THE THRONE OF PERSIA. HIS CRUELITIES. REVOLT OF SEVERAL NATIONS.

THE more the memory of Artaxerxes Mnemon was honoured and revered throughout the whole empire, the more Ochus believed he had reason to fear for himself; convinced, that in succeeding to him, he should not find the same favourable dispositions in the people and nobility, to whom he had made himself terrible, by the murder of his two brothers. To prevent that aversion from occasioning his exclusion, he prevailed upon the eunuchs, and others about the king's person, to conceal his death from the public. He began by taking upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and sealing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; and by one of those decrees, he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire, as if by the order of Artaxerxes. After having governed in this manner almost ten months, believing himself sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and ascended the throne, taking upon himself the name of Artaxerxes.\* Authors, however, most frequently give him that of Ochus; by which name I shall generally call him in the sequel of this history.

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race, as his actions soon manifested. In a very short time the palace and the whole empire were filled with his murders. To remove from the revolted provinces all means of setting some other of the royal family upon the throne, and to rid himself at once of all trouble that the princes and princesses of the blood might occasion him, he put them all to death, without regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood.† He caused his own sister Ocha, whose daughter he had married, to be

\* Polyan. Strateg. vii.

† A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

‡ Justin. l. x. c. 3.

buried alive;<sup>1</sup> and having shut up one of his uncles, with a hundred of his sons and grandsons, in a court of the palace, he ordered them all to be shot to death with arrows, only because those princes were much esteemed by the Persians for their probity and valour. That uncle was probably father of Sisygambis, the mother of Darius Codomanus: for Quintus Curtius<sup>2</sup> tells us, that Ochus had caused eight of her brothers, with her father, to be massacred in one day. He treated with the same barbarity, throughout the whole empire, all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility whom he suspected of the least discontent whatever.

The cruelties exercised by Ochus, did not deliver him from inquietude. Artabazus, governor of one of the Asiatic provinces, engaged Chares the Athenian, who commanded a fleet and a body of troops in those parts, to assist him, and with his aid defeated an army of seventy thousand men, sent by the king to reduce him. Artabazus, to reward so great a service, made Chares a present of money to defray the whole expenses of his armament. The king of Persia resented exceedingly this conduct of the Athenians in regard to him. They were at that time engaged in the war of the allies. The king's menace to join their enemies with a numerous army, obliged them to recall Chares.<sup>3</sup>

Artabazus, being abandoned by them, had recourse to the Thebans, from whom he obtained five thousand men, whom he took into his pay, with Pamenes to command them.<sup>4</sup> This reinforcement put him into a condition to acquire two other victories over the king's troops. Those two actions did the Theban troops, and their commander, great honour. Thebes must have been extremely incensed against the king of Persia, to send so powerful a succour to his enemies, at a time when that republic was engaged in a war with the Phocæans. It was perhaps an effect of their policy, to render themselves more formidable, and to enhance the price of their alliance. It is certain, that soon after, they made peace with the king, who paid them three hundred talents. Artabazus, destitute of all support, was overcome at last, and obliged to take refuge with Philip in Macedon.<sup>5</sup>

Ochus being delivered at length from so dangerous an enemy, turned all his thoughts on the side of Egypt, which had revolted long before. About the same time, several considerable events happened in Greece, which have little or no relation with the affairs of Persia. I shall insert them here; after which I shall return to the reign of Ochus, so as not to interrupt the series of his history.

## SECTION II. — WAR OF THE ALLIES AGAINST THE ATHENIANS.

SOME few years after the revolt of Asia Minor, of which I have been speaking, in the third year of the 150th Olympiad, Chio, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, took up arms against the Athenians, on whom till then they had been dependent.<sup>6</sup> To reduce them, they employed both great forces and great captains, Chabrias, Iphicrates,

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Piod. l. xvi. p. 433, 434.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 438.

<sup>4</sup> Quint. Curt.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 358.

and Timotheus. They were the last of the Athenian generals, who did honour to their country; no one after them being distinguished by merit or reputation.<sup>1</sup>

CHABRIAS had already acquired a great name, when, having been sent against the Spartans to the aid of the Thebans, and seeing himself abandoned in the battle by the allies, who had taken flight, he sustained alone the charge of the enemy; his soldiers, by his order, closed their files, with one knee upon the ground, covered with their bucklers, and presented their pikes in front, in such a manner that they could not be broken, and Agesilaus, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The Athenians erected a statue to Chabrias in the attitude he had fought.<sup>2</sup>

IPHICRATES was of very mean extraction, his father having been a shoemaker. But in a free city like Athens, merit was the sole nobility. This person may be truly said to be the son of his actions. Having signalized himself in a naval combat, wherein he was only a private soldier, he was soon after employed with distinction, and honoured with a command. In a prosecution carried on against him before the judges, his accuser, who was one of the descendants of Harmodius, and made very great use of his ancestor's name, having reproached him with the baseness of his birth; "Yes," replied he, "the nobility of my family begins in me; that of yours ends in you." He married the daughter of Cotys, king of Thrace.

He is ranked with the greatest men of Greece, especially in what regards the knowledge of war and military discipline.<sup>3</sup> He made several useful alterations in the soldier's armour. Before him, the bucklers were very long and heavy, and therefore, were too great a burden, and extremely troublesome: he made them shorter and lighter, so that, without exposing the body, they added to its force and agility. On the contrary, he lengthened the pikes and swords, to make them capable of reaching the enemy at a great distance. He also changed the cuirasses; and instead of iron and brass, of which they were made before, he caused them to be made of flax. It is not easy to conceive how such armour could defend the soldiers, or be any security against wounds. But the flax being soaked in vinegar, mingled with salt, was prepared in such a manner, that it grew hard, and became impenetrable either to sword or fire. The use of it was common among several nations.<sup>4</sup>

No troops were ever better exercised or disciplined than those of Iphicrates. He kept them always in action; and in times of peace and tranquillity made them perform all the necessary evolutions, either in attacking the enemy, or defending themselves; in laying ambuscades, or avoiding them; in keeping their ranks even in the

<sup>1</sup> Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Atheniensium, Iphicratis, Chabrisæ, Timothei, neque post illorum obitum quisquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria.—Corn. Nep. in Timoth. c. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Corn. Nep. in Chab. c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Iphicrates Atheniensis, non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum, quam disciplina militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non solum ætatis suæ cum primis compararetur sed ne de majoribus natu quidem quisquam anteponeretur.—Corn. Nep.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. l. xv. p. 360. Corn. Nep. in Iphic. c. i.



pursuit of the enemy, without abandoning themselves to an ardour which often becomes pernicious; or to rally with success, after having begun to break and give way; so that when battle was to be given, all were in motion with admirable promptitude and order. The officers and soldiers formed themselves without any trouble, and even in the heat of action performed their parts, as the most able general would have directed them.

Timotheus was the son of Conon, so much celebrated for his great actions and the important services which he rendered his country. He did not degenerate from his father's reputation, either for merit in the field, or ability in the government of the state; but he added to those excellencies, the glory which results from the talents of the mind, having distinguished himself particularly by the gift of eloquence, and a taste for the sciences.

No captain ever experienced at first less than himself the inconstancy of the fortune of war. He had only to undertake an enterprise, to accomplish it. Success constantly attended his views and desires. Such uncommon prosperity did not fail to excite jealousy. Those who envied him, as I have already observed, caused him to be painted asleep, with Fortune by him, taking cities for him in nets. Timotheus retorted coldly, "If I take places in my sleep, what shall I do when I am awake?" He took the thing afterward more seriously; and, angry with those who pretended to lessen the glory of his actions, declared in public, that he did not owe his success to fortune, but to himself. "That goddess," says Plutarch, "offended at his pride and arrogance, abandoned him entirely, and he was never successful afterward." Such were the chiefs employed in the war of the allies.

The war and the campaign opened with the siege of Chio. Chares commanded the land, and Chabrias the sea forces. All the allies exerted themselves in sending aid to that island. Chabrias, having forced the passage, entered the port, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the enemy. The other galleys were afraid to follow, and abandoned him. He was immediately surrounded on all sides, and his vessel exceedingly damaged by the assaults of the enemy. He might have saved himself by swimming to the Athenian fleet, as his soldiers did; but from a mistaken principle of glory, he thought it inconsistent with the duty of a general to abandon his vessel in such a manner, and preferred a death, glorious in his opinion, to a shameful flight.

This first attempt having miscarried, both sides applied themselves vigorously to make new preparations. The Athenians fitted out a fleet of sixty galleys, and appointed Chares to command it, and armed sixty more under Iphicrates and Timotheus. The fleet of the allies consisted of one hundred sail. After having ravaged several

<sup>1</sup> Hic a patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim disertus, impiger, laboriosus, rei militaris peritus, neque minus civitatis regendus.—Corn. Nep. c. i.

Timotheus Cononis filius, cum belli laude non inferior fuisset quam pater ed eam laudem doctrinae et ingenii gloriam adiecit.—Cic. l. i. de Offic. n. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. in Sylla. p. 454.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 412. Corn. Nep. in Chab. c. iv.

islands belonging to the Athenians, where they made a great body, they sat down before Samos. The Athenians on their side, having united all their forces, besieged Byzantium. The allies made all possible haste to its relief. The two fleets, being in view of each other, prepared to fight, when suddenly a violent storm arose, notwithstanding which, Chares resolved to advance against the enemy. The two other captains, who had more prudence and experience than he, thought it improper to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture. Chares, enraged at their not following his advice, called the soldiers to witness, that it was not his fault they did not fight the enemy. He was naturally vain, ostentatious, and confident of himself; one who exaggerated his own services, depreciated those of others, and arrogated to himself the whole glory of successes. He wrote to Athens against his two colleagues, and accused them of cowardice and treason. Upon his complaint, the people, capricious, warm, suspicious, and naturally jealous of such as were distinguished by their extraordinary merit or authority, recalled those two generals, and brought them to a trial.<sup>1</sup>

The faction of Chares, which was very powerful at Athens, having declared against Timotheus, he was sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred talents; a worthy reward for the noble disinterestedness he had shown upon another occasion, in bringing home to his country twelve hundred talents of booty taken from the enemy, without the least deduction for himself. He could bear no longer the sight of an ungrateful city; and being too poor to pay so great a fine, retired to Chalcis. After his death, the people, touched with repentance, mitigated the fine to ten talents, which they made his son Conon pay, to rebuild a certain part of the walls. Thus, by a very strange event, those walls which the grandfather had rebuilt with the spoils of the enemy, the grandson, to the shame of Athens, repaired in part at his own expense.

Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself before the judges. It was upon this occasion that Aristophon, another Athenian captain, accused him of having betrayed and sold the fleet under his command. Iphicrates, with the confidence which an established reputation inspires, asked him, "would you have committed a treason of this nature?" "No," replied Aristophon, "I am a man of too much honour for such an action!" "How!" replied Iphicrates, "could Iphicrates do what Aristophon would not do?"

He did not only employ the force of arguments in his defence, he called in also the assistance of arms. Instructed by his colleague's ill success, he saw plainly that it was more necessary to intimidate than convince his judges. He posted round the place where they assembled, a number of young men, armed with poniards, which they took care to show from time to time. They could not resist so forcible and triumphant a kind of eloquence, and dismissed him acquitted of the charge. When he was afterwards reproached with so violent a

<sup>1</sup> *Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis, adversarius, invidus etiam potentiae, demum revocat—Corn. Nep.*

<sup>2</sup> *Arist. Rhet. l. ii. c. 23.*

proceeding; "I had been a fool indeed," said he, "if, having made war successfully for the Athenians, I had neglected doing so for myself."<sup>1</sup>

Chares, by the recall of his two colleagues, was left sole general of the whole army, and was in a condition to have advanced the Athenian affairs very much in the Hellespont, if he had known how to resist the magnificent offer of Artabazus. That viceroy, who had revolted in Asia Minor against the king of Persia, his master, besieged by an army of seventy thousand men, and just upon the point of being ruined from the inequality of his forces, corrupted Chares, who, having no thoughts but of enriching himself, marched directly to the assistance of Artabazus, effectually relieved him, and received a reward suitable to the service. This action of Chares was treated as a capital crime. He had not only abandoned the service of the republic for a foreign war, but offended the king of Persia, who threatened by his ambassadors to equip three hundred sail of ships in favour of the islanders allied against Athens. The influence of Chares saved him again upon this, as it had done several times before on like occasions. The Athenians, intimidated by the king's menaces, applied themselves seriously to prevent their effects by a general peace.

Prior to these menaces, Isocrates had earnestly recommended this treaty to them in a fine discourse,<sup>2</sup> which is still extant, wherein he gives them excellent advice. He reproaches them with great liberty, as does Demosthenes in almost all his orations, of abandoning themselves blindly to the insinuations of orators who flatter their passions, while they treat those with contempt who give them the most salutary counsels. He applied himself particularly to correct in them their violent passion for the augmentation of their power and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the source of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their remembrance those happy days, so glorious for Athens, in which their ancestors, out of a noble and generous disinterestedness, sacrificed every thing for the support of the common liberty, and the preservation of Greece; and compares them with the present sad times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had successively plunged both states into the greatest misfortunes. He represents to them, that the real and lasting greatness of a state does not consist in augmenting its dominions, or extending its conquests to the utmost, which cannot be effected without violence and injustice; but in the wise government of the people, in rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, in being beloved and esteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies. "A state," says he, "cannot fail of becoming the arbiter of all its neighbours, when it knows how to unite in all its measures the two great qualities, justice and power, which mutually support each other, and ought to be inseparable. For as power, not regulated by motives of reason and justice, has recourse to the most violent methods to crush and subvert whatever opposes it; so justice,

<sup>1</sup> Polyæn. Strateg. l. iii.

<sup>2</sup> De pace, seu, socialia.

when unarmed and without power, is exposed to injury, and neither in a condition to defend itself nor protect others." The conclusion drawn by Isocrates from this reasoning, is, that Athens, if it would be happy, and in tranquillity, ought not to affect the empire of the sea for the sake of lording it over all other states; but should conclude a peace, whereby every city and people should be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare themselves irreconcilable enemies of those who should presume to disturb that peace, or contravene such measures.

The peace was concluded accordingly under such conditions; and it was stipulated, that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chio, and Cos, should enjoy perfect liberty. The war of the allies ended in this manner, after having continued three years.<sup>1</sup>

SECTION III. — DEMOSTHENES EXCITES THE ATHENIANS TO WAR.

DEATH OF MAUSOLUS. GRIEF OF ARTEMISA HIS WIFE.

THIS peace did not entirely remove the apprehension of the Athenians with regard to the king of Persia. The great preparations he was making gave them umbrage; and they were afraid so formidable an armament was intended against Greece, and that Egypt was only a plausible pretext with which the king covered his real design.<sup>2</sup>

Athens took the alarm upon this rumour. The orators increased the fears of the people by their discourses, and exhorted them to have an immediate recourse to arms, to prevent the king of Persia by a previous declaration of war, and to make a league with all the people of Greece against the common enemy. Demosthenes made his first appearance in public at this time, and mounted the tribunal for harangues to give his opinion. He was twenty-eight years of age. I shall say more of him hereafter. Upon the present occasion, more wise than those precipitate orators, and having undoubtedly in view the importance to the republic of the aid of the Persians against Philip, he dared not indeed oppose in a direct manner their advice, lest he should render himself suspected; but, admitting as a principle from the first, that it was necessary to consider the king of Persia as the eternal enemy of Greece, he represented that it was not consistent with prudence, in an affair of such great consequence, to be precipitate in any thing; that it was very improper, by a resolution taken upon light and uncertain reports, and by a too early declaration of war, to furnish so powerful a prince with a just reason to turn his arms against Greece; that all which was necessary at present, was to fit out a fleet of three hundred sail, (in a manner proposed by himself,<sup>3</sup>) and to hold the troops in readiness and condition to make an effectual and vigorous defence in case of being attacked; that, by so doing, all the people of Greece, without further invitation, would be sufficiently apprised of the common danger to join them; and that the report alone of such an armament would be

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3649. Ant. J. 357.

<sup>3</sup> I reserve this scheme for the seventh section, being curious, and very proper to explain in what manner the Athenians fitted out and subsisted their fleets.

enough to induce the king of Persia to change his measures, admitting that he should have formed any designs against Greece.

For the rest, he was not of opinion, that it was necessary to levy an immediate tax upon the estates of private persons for the expense of this war, which would not amount to a great sum, nor suffice for the occasion. "It is better," said he, "to rely upon the zeal and generosity of the citizens. Our city may be said to be almost as rich as all the other cities of Greece together." (He had before observed, that the estimate of the lands of Attica amounted to six thousand talents.) "When we shall see the reality and approach of the danger, every body will be ready to contribute to the expenses of the war; as nobody can be so void of reason, as to prefer the hazard of losing their whole estate with their liberty, to sacrificing a small part of it to their own and their country's preservation.

"And we ought not to fear, as some people would insinuate, that the immense riches of the king of Persia enable him to raise a great body of auxiliaries, and render his army formidable to us. Our Greeks, when they are to march against Egypt or Orontes and the other barbarians, serve willingly under the Persians; but not one of them, I am assured, not a single man of them, will ever resolve to bear arms against Greece."

This discourse had all its effects. The refined and delicate address of the orator in advising the imposition of a tax to be deferred, and artfully explaining, at the same time, that it would fall only upon the rich, was highly proper to render abortive an affair, which had no other foundation than in the over-heated imagination of some orators, who were perhaps interested in the war they advised.

Two years after, an enterprise of the Lacedæmonians against Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, gave Demosthenes another opportunity to signalize his zeal, and display his eloquence. That city, which had been lately established by the Arcadians, who had settled a numerous colony there from different cities, and which might serve as a fortress and bulwark against Sparta, gave the Lacedæmonians great uneasiness, and alarmed them extremely. They resolved therefore to attack and make themselves masters of it. The Megalopolitans, who without doubt had renounced their alliance with Thebes, had recourse to Athens, and implored its protection: the other people concerned sent also their deputies thither; and the affair was debated before the people.<sup>1</sup>

Demosthenes used the following arguments, "that it was of the first importance to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from growing too powerful, and from being in a condition to give law to the rest of Greece. Now it is evident, that if we abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedæmonians, they will soon make themselves masters of Messene also, two strong neighbouring cities, which are a check upon Sparta, and keep it within due bounds. The alliance we shall make with the Arcadians, in declaring for Megalopolis, is therefore the certain means to preserve so necessary a balance between Sparta and Thebes;

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<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. Diod. l. xv. p. 401.

because, whatever happens, neither the one nor the other will be able to hurt us, while the Arcadians are our allies, whose forces, in conjunction with ours, will always be superior to either of them."

A weighty objection to this advice of Demosthenes, was the alliance actually subsisting between Athens and Sparta. "For in the end," said the orators who opposed Demosthenes, "what idea will the world have of Athens, if we change in such a manner with the times? or is it consistent with justice to pay no regard to the faith of treaties?" "We ought," replied Demosthenes, whose very words I shall repeat in this place, "we ought indeed always to have justice in view, and to make it the rule of our conduct; but, at the same time, our conformity to it should consist with the public good, and the interest of the state. It has been a perpetual maxim with us to assist the oppressed."<sup>2</sup> He cites the Laedæmonians themselves, the Thebans and Eubœans, as examples. "We have never varied from this principle. The reproach of changing, therefore, ought not to fall upon us, but upon those whose injustice and usurpation oblige us to declare against them."

I admire the language of politicians. To hear them talk, it is always reason and the strictest justice that determine them; but to see them act, makes it evident that interest and ambition are the sole rule and guide of their conduct. Their discourse is an effect of that regard for justice which nature has implanted in the mind of man, and which they cannot entirely shake off. There are few who venture to declare against that internal principle in their expressions, or to contradict it openly. But there are also few, who observe it with fidelity and constancy in their actions. Greece never was known to have more treaties of alliance than at the time we are now speaking of, nor were they ever less regarded. This contempt of the religion of oaths in states, is a proof of their decline, and often denotes and occasions their approaching ruin.

The Athenians, moved by the eloquent discourse of Demosthenes, sent three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to the aid of the Megalopolitans, under the command of Pammenes.<sup>3</sup> Megalopolis was re-instated in its former condition, and its inhabitants, who had retired into their own countries, were obliged to return.<sup>4</sup>

The peace, which had put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reason to expect from it. The people of Rhodes and Cos, who had been declared free by that treaty, only changed their master. Mausolus, king of Caria, who assisted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, imposed his own upon them. Having publicly declared himself for the rich and powerful, he enslaved the people, and made them suffer exceedingly. He died the second year after the treaty of peace, having reigned twenty-four years. Artemisa, his wife, succeeded him; and

<sup>1</sup> Demost. Orat. pro Megalop.

<sup>2</sup> *Δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν δόξαι καὶ παρὰ τὴν τὰ δίκαια συνεπαρμένην, δὲ, οὐκ ἀπὸ καὶ συμφέροντα ἔχει αὐτὰ.*

<sup>3</sup> This is not the Pammenes of Thebes, of whom mention has been made before.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. l. xv. p. 402.



as he was supported with all the influence of the king of Persia, she retained her power in the isles lately subjected.<sup>1</sup>

In speaking here of Artemisa, it is proper to observe, that she must not be confounded with another Artemisa, who lived above a hundred years before, in the time of Xerxes, and who distinguished her resolution and prudence so much in the naval battle of Salamis. Several celebrated writers have fallen into this error through inadvertency.

This princess immortalized herself by the honours she rendered to the memory of Mausolus, her husband. She caused a magnificent monument to be erected for him in Halicarnassus, which was called the mausoleum, and for its beauty, was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, and gave the name of mausoleum to all future great and magnificent structures of the same kind.<sup>2</sup>

She endeavoured also to eternize the name of Mausolus by other monuments, which she believed more durable than those of brass or marble, but are often no better proof against the injuries of time; I mean works of wit. She caused excellent panegyrics to be made in honour of her husband, and proposed a prize of great value for the person whose performance should be the best. Among many others, the celebrated Isocrates, Theopompus his disciple, were competitors for it.<sup>3</sup>

Theopompus carried it from them all, and had the weakness and vanity to boast in public of having gained the prize against his master; preferring, as is too common, the fame of fine parts to the glory of a good heart. He had represented Mausolus, in his history, as a prince most sordidly avaricious, to whom all means of amassing treasure were good and eligible. He painted him, without doubt, in very different colours in his panegyric, or else he would never have pleased the princess.

That illustrious widow prepared a different tomb for Mausolus, than what I have been speaking of. Having gathered his ashes, and had the bones beaten in a mortar, she mingled some of the powder every day in her drink, till she had drunk it all off: desiring, by that means, to make her own body the sepulchre of her husband. She survived him only two years; and her grief did not end but with her life.<sup>4</sup>

Instead of tears, in which most writers plunge Artemisa, during her widowhood, there are some who say she made very considerable conquests. It appears by one of the orations of Demosthenes, that she was not considered at Athens as a forlorn relict, who neglected the affairs of her kingdom.<sup>5</sup> But we have something more decisive upon this head. Vitruvius tells us, that after the death of Mausolus, the Rhodians, offended that a woman should reign in Caria, undertook to dethrone her. They left Rhodes for that purpose with their fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnassus. The queen, being

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3650. Ant. J. C. 354. Diocl. l. xvi. p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Aul. Gel. l. x. c. 18. Plut. in Isocrat. p. 838.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. n. 75. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Demost. de Libertat. Rhod. p. 145.



informed of their design, had given the inhabitants orders to keep within the walls, and when the enemy should arrive, to express by shouts and clapping of hands a readiness to surrender the city to them. The Rhodians quitted their ships, and went in all haste to the public place, leaving their fleet without any to guard it. In the mean time, Artemisa came out with her galleys from the little port, through a small canal, which she had caused to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, seized the enemy's fleet without resistance, and having put her soldiers and mariners on board of it, she set sail. The Rhodians, having no means of escaping, were all put to the sword. The queen all the while advanced towards Rhodes. When the inhabitants saw their vessels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they raised great shouts, and received their victorious and triumphant fleet with extraordinary marks of joy. It was so in effect, but in another sense than they imagined. Artemisa, having met with no resistance, took possession of the city, and put the principal inhabitants to death. She caused a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and set up two statues of brass; one of which represented the city of Rhodes, and the other, Artemisa branding it with a hot iron. Vitruvius adds, that the Rhodians dared never demolish that trophy, their religion forbidding it; but they surrounded it with a building which prevented it entirely from being seen.<sup>1</sup>

All this, as Monsieur Bayle observes in his dictionary, does not express a forlorn and inconsolable widow, that passed her whole time in grief and lamentation; which makes it reasonable to suspect, that whatever is exaggerated in the mourning of Artemisa, has no other foundation than its being rashly advanced by some writer, and afterwards copied by all the rest.

I should be better pleased, for the honour of Artemisa, if it had been said, as there is nothing incredible in it, that by a fortitude and greatness of mind, of which her sex has many examples, she had known how to unite the severe affliction of the widow with the active courage of the queen, and made the affairs of her government serve her instead of consolation: "*Negotia pro solatis accipiens.*"

The Rhodians being treated by Artemisa in the manner we have related, and unable to support, any longer, so severe and shameful a servitude, had recourse to the Athenians, and implored their protection. Though they had rendered themselves entirely unworthy of it by their revolt, Demosthenes took upon him to speak to the people in their behalf. He began with setting forth their crime in its full light; he enlarged upon their injustice and perfidy, he seemed to enter into the people's just sentiments of resentment and indignation, and it might have been thought, was going to declare himself in the strongest terms against the Rhodians: but all this was only the art of the orator to insinuate himself into the opinion of his auditors, and to excite in them quite contrary sentiments of goodness and compassion for a people, who acknowledged their fault, who confessed their unworthiness, and who, nevertheless, were come to

<sup>1</sup> Vitruv de Architect. l. ii. c. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Tacit.

implore the republic's protection. He set before them the great maxims, which in all ages had constituted the glory of Athens; the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory, he annexed those of interest; in showing the importance of declaring for a city, that favoured the democratic form of government; and of not abandoning an island so powerful as that of Rhodes: which is the substance of Demosthenes' discourse entitled, "For the liberty of the Rhodians."<sup>1</sup>

The death of Artemisa, which happened the same year, it is very likely, re-established the Rhodians in their liberty. She was succeeded by her brother Idræus, who espoused his own sister Ada, as Mausolus had Artemisa. It was the custom in Caria for the kings to marry their sisters in this manner, and for the widows to succeed their husbands in the throne, in preference to the brothers and even the children of the defunct.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION IV.—EXPEDITION OF OCHUS AGAINST PHŒNICIA, CYPRUS, AND EGYPT.

OCHUS<sup>3</sup> meditated in earnest the reduction of Egypt to his obedience, which had long pretended to maintain itself in independence. While he was making great preparations for this important expedition, he received advice of the revolt of Phœnicia.<sup>4</sup> That people, oppressed by the Persian governors, resolved to throw off so heavy a yoke, and made a league with Nectanebis, king of Egypt, against whom Persia was marching its armies. As there was no other passage for that invasion but through Phœnicia, this revolt was very seasonable for Nectanebis, who therefore sent Mentor the Rhodian to support the rebels with four thousand Grecian troops. He intended by that means to make Phœnicia his barrier, and to stop the Persians there. The Phœnicians took the field with that reinforcement, beat the governors of Syria and Cilicia, that had been sent against them, and drove the Persians entirely out of Phœnicia.

The Cyprians, who were not better treated than the Phœnicians, seeing the good success which had attended this revolt, followed their example, and joined in the league with Egypt. Ochus sent orders to Idræus king of Caria, to make war against them; who soon after fitted out a fleet, and sent eight thousand Greeks along with it, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Evagoras, who was believed to have been the son of Nicocles. It is probable that he had been expelled by his uncle Protagoras, and that he had embraced with pleasure this opportunity of re-ascending the throne. His knowledge of the country, and the party he had there, made the king of Persia choose him very wisely to command in this expedition. They made a descent in the island, where their army increased to double its number by the reinforcements which came from Syria and Cilicia. The hopes of enriching themselves by the spoils of this island, which was very rich, drew thither a great many troops, and

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. Demost. de Libert. Rhod.

<sup>2</sup> Strab. l. xiv. p. 656.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 439.

they formed the siege of Salamin by sea and land. The island of Cyprus had at that time nine cities, considerable enough to have each of them a petty king. But all those kings were, however, subjects of Persia. They had upon this occasion united together to throw off that yoke, and to render themselves independent.<sup>1</sup>

Ochus having observed that the Egyptian war was always unsuccessful, from the ill-conduct of the generals sent thither, resolved to take the care of it upon himself. But before he set out, he signified his desire to the states of Greece, that they would put an end to their divisions, and cease to make war upon one another.

It is a just matter of surprise, that the court of Persia should insist so earnestly and so often, that the people of Greece should live in tranquillity with each other, and observe inviolably the articles of the treaty of Antalcides, the principal end of which was the establishment of a lasting union among them. It had formerly employed a quite different policy.

From the miscarriage of the enterprise against Greece under Xerxes, judging gold and silver a more proper means for subjecting it than the sword, the Persians did not attack it with open force, but by means of secret intrigues. They conveyed considerable sums into it privately, to corrupt the persons of influence and authority in the great cities, and were perpetually watching occasions to arm them against each other, and to deprive them of the leisure and means to invade themselves. They were particularly careful to declare sometimes for one, sometimes for another, in order to support a kind of balance among them, which put it out of the power of any of those republics to aggrandize itself too much, and by that means to become formidable to Persia.

That nation employed a quite different conduct at this time, in prohibiting all wars to the people of Greece, and commanding them to observe a general peace, upon pain of incurring their displeasure and arms, to such as should disobey. Persia, without doubt, did not take that resolution at a venture, but had reasons to behave in such a manner with regard to Greece.

The design might be to soften their spirit by degrees, in disarming them; to blunt the edge of that valour, which spurred them on perpetually by noble emulation; to extinguish in them their passion for glory and victory; to render languid, by long inertion and forced ease, the activity natural to them; and, in fine, to bring them into the number of those people, whom a quiet and effeminate life enervates, and who lose in sloth and peace that martial ardour, which combats, and even dangers, are apt to inspire.

The king of Persia who then reigned, had a personal interest, as well as his predecessor, in imposing these terms upon the Greeks. Egypt had long thrown off the yoke, and given the empire just cause of inquietude. Ochus had resolved to go in person to reduce the rebels. He had the expedition extremely at heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its success. The famous retreat of the

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<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 440, 441.

ten thousand, without enumerating many other actions of a like nature, had left a great idea in Persia of the Grecian valour. That prince relied more upon a small body of Greeks in his pay, than upon the whole army of the Persians, numerous as it was; and he well knew, that the intestine divisions of Greece would render the cities incapable of supplying the number of soldiers he had occasion for.

In fine, as a good politician, he could not enter upon action in Egypt, till he had pacified all behind him, especially Ionia, and its neighbouring provinces. Now, the most certain means to hold them in obedience was to deprive them of all hope of aid from the Greeks, to whom they had always recourse in times of revolt, and without whom they were in no condition to form any great enterprises.<sup>1</sup>

When Ochus had taken all his measures, and made the necessary preparations, he repaired to the frontiers of Phœnicia, where he had an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, and put himself at the head of it. Mentor was at Sidon with the Grecian troops. The approach of so great an army staggered him, and he sent secretly to Ochus, to make him offers, not only of surrendering Sidon to him, but of serving him in Egypt, where he was well acquainted with the country, and might be very useful to him. Ochus agreed entirely to the proposal: upon which he engaged Tenes king of Sidon in the same treason; and they surrendered the place in concert to Ochus.

The Sidonians had set fire to their ships upon the approach of the king's troops, in order to lay the people under the necessity of making a good defence, by removing all hope of any other security. When they saw themselves betrayed, that the enemy were masters of the city, and that there was no possibility of escaping either by sea or land, in the despair of their condition, they shut themselves up in their houses, and set them on fire. Forty thousand men, without reckoning women and children, perished in this manner. The fate of Tenes their king was no better. Ochus, seeing himself master of Sidon, and having no farther occasion for him, caused him to be put to death; a just reward for his treason, and an evident proof, that Ochus did not yield to him in perfidy. At the time this misfortune happened, Sidon was immensely rich. The fire having melted the gold and silver, Ochus sold the cinders for a considerable sum of money.

The dreadful ruin of this city cast so great a terror into the rest of Phœnicia, that it submitted, and obtained conditions reasonable enough from the king. Ochus made no great difficulty in complying with their demands, because he would not lose the time there which he had so much occasion for in the execution of his projects against Egypt.

Before he began his march to enter it, he was joined by a body of ten thousand Greeks. From the beginning of this expedition he had demanded troops in Greece. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians

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<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 441—443.

had excused themselves from furnishing him any at that time; it being impossible for them to do it, whatever desire they might have, as they said, to cultivate a good correspondence with the king. The Thebans sent him a thousand men, under the command of Lachares; the Argives three thousand, under Nicostratus. The rest came from the cities of Asia. All these troops joined him immediately after the taking of Sidon.

The Jews must have had some share in the war of the Phœnicians against Persia; for Sidon was no sooner taken, than Ochus entered Judea, and besieged the city of Jericho, which he took. Besides which, it appears that he carried a great number of Jewish captives into Egypt, and sent many others into Hyrcania, where he settled them along the coast of the Caspian sea.<sup>1</sup>

Ochus also put an end to the war with Cyprus at the same time. That of Egypt so entirely engrossed his attention, that, in order to have nothing to divert him from it, he was satisfied to come to an accommodation with the nine kings of Cyprus, who submitted to him upon certain conditions, and were all continued in their little states. Evagoras demanded to be reinstated in the kingdom of Salamin. It was evidently proved, that he had committed the most flagrant oppressions during his reign, and that he had not been unjustly dethroned. Protagoras was therefore confirmed in the kingdom of Salamin, and the king gave Evagoras a remote government. He behaved no better in that, and was again expelled. He afterwards returned to Salamin, and was seized, and put to death.<sup>2</sup>

After the reduction of the isle of Cyprus, and the province of Phœnicia, Ochus advanced at length towards Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

Upon his arrival, he encamped before Pelusium, from whence he detached three bodies of his troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Persian with equal authority. The first was under Lachares the Theban, and Rosaces, governor of Lydia and Ionia. The second was given to Nicostratus the Argive, and Aristazenes, one of the great officers of the crown. The third was under the command of Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of Ochus's eunuchs. Each detachment had its particular orders. The king remained with the main body of the army in the camp he had made choice of at first, to wait events, and to be ready to support these troops in case of ill success, or to improve the advantages they might obtain.

Nectanebis had long expected this invasion, the preparations for which had made so much noise. He had one hundred thousand men on foot, twenty thousand of whom were Greeks, twenty thousand Libyans, and the rest of Egyptian troops. Part of them he bestowed in the places upon the frontiers, and posted himself with the rest in the passes, to dispute the enemy's entrance into Egypt. Ochus's first detachment was sent against Pelusium, where there was a garrison of five thousand Greeks. Lachares besieged the place. That

Solin. c. xxxv. Euseb. in Chron. &c.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 443

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 444, et 450.

under Nicostratus, on board twenty-four ships of the Persian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the same time, and sailed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed and fortified themselves well in a camp, which was very advantageously situated. All the Egyptian troops in these parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias, a Greek of the isle of Cos, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action ensued, in which Clinias and five thousand of his troops were killed, and the rest entirely broken and dispersed.

This action decided the success of the war. Nectanebis, apprehending that Nicostratus after this victory would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis, the capital of the kingdom, made all the haste he could to defend it, and abandoned the passes, which it was of the first importance to secure, to prevent the entrance of the enemy. When the Greeks who defended Pelusium, were apprised of this precipitate retreat, they believed all lost, and capitulated with Lachares, upon condition of being sent back into Greece with all that belonged to them, and without suffering any injury in their persons or effects.

Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the passes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himself master of it without any opposition. For, after having caused a report to be spread throughout his camp, that Ochus had ordered all those who would submit to be treated with favour, and that such as made resistance should be destroyed, as the Sidonians had been, he let all his prisoners escape, that they might carry the news into the country round about. Those poor people reported in their towns and villages what they had heard, in the enemy's camp. The brutality of Ochus seemed to confirm it; and the terror was so great, that the garrisons, as well Greeks as Egyptians, strove which should be the foremost in making their submission.

Nectanebis, having lost all hopes of being able to defend himself, escaped with the treasures and most valuable effects into Æthiopia, from whence he never returned.<sup>1</sup> He was the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, since whom it has always continued under a foreign yoke, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.<sup>2</sup>

Ochus having entirely conquered Egypt in this manner, dismantled the cities, pillaged the temples, and returned in triumph to Babylon, laden with spoils, and especially with gold and silver, of which he carried away immense sums. He left the government of it to Puerendates, a person of the first quality.

Here Manethon finishes his commentaries, or history of Egypt. He was a priest of Heliopolis in that country, and had written the history of its different dynasties from the commencement of the nation to the time we now treat of.<sup>3</sup> His book is often cited by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and several others. This historian lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt,

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxix. 14, 15.

Syncel. p. 265. Voss. de Hist. Græc. l. i. c. 14.



to whom he dedicates his work, an abridgement of which, has been transmitted to us by Syncellus.<sup>1</sup>

Nectanebis lost the crown by his too good opinion of himself. He had been placed upon the throne by Agesilaus, and afterwards supported in it by the valour and counsels of Diophantes, the Athenian, and Lamius, the Lacedæmonian, who, while they had the command of his troops, and the direction of the war, had rendered his arms victorious over the Persians in all the enterprises they had formed against him. It is to be regretted that we have no account of them, and that Diodorus is silent upon this head. That prince, vain from so many successes, imagined that he was become sufficiently capable of conducting his own affairs in person, and dismissed those to whom he was indebted for all those advantages. He had time enough to repent his error, and to discover that the power does not confer the merit of a king.

Ochus rewarded very liberally the service which Mentor, the Rhodian, had rendered him in the reduction of Phœnicia, and the conquest of Egypt. Before he left that kingdom, he dismissed the other Greeks laden with presents. As for Mentor, to whom the whole success of the expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a present of a hundred thousand talents in money, besides many jewels of great value, but gave him the government of all the coast of Asia, with the direction of the war against some provinces, which had revolted in the beginning of his reign, and declared him *generalissimo* of all his armies on that side.<sup>2</sup>

Mentor made use of his interest to reconcile the king with his brother Memnon, and Artabazus, who had married their sister. Both of them had been in arms against Ochus. We have already related the revolt of Artabazus, and the victories he had obtained over the king's troops. He was, however, overpowered at last, and reduced to take refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had borne a part in his wars, had also a share in his banishment. After this reconciliation, they rendered Ochus and his successors signal services; especially Memnon, who was one of the most valiant men of his times, and no less excellent in the art of war. Nor was Mentor wanting in merit, nor fidelity to the king in the confidence he had reposed in him. For he had scarcely taken possession of his government, when he re-established every where the king's authority, and reduced those who had revolted in his neighbourhood to return to their obedience: some he brought over by his address and stratagems, and others by force of arms. In a word, he knew so well how to take his advantages, that at length he subjected them all to the yoke, and reinstated the king's affairs in those provinces.

In the first year of the 108th Olympiad, died Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher. I shall defer speaking of him at present, that I may not interrupt the chain of the history.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> George, a monk of Constantinople, so called from being *synoellus*, or vicar to the patriarch Tarasus, towards the ninth century.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348.



## SECTION V. — DEATH OF OCHUS. ARSES SUCCEEDS HIM.

OCHUS, after the conquest of Egypt, and reduction of the revolted provinces of his empire, abandoned himself to pleasure and luxurious ease during the rest of his life, and left the care of affairs entirely to his ministers. The two principal of them were the eunuch Bagoas, and Mentor the Rhodian, who divided all power between them; so that the first had all the provinces of the Upper, and the latter all those of the Lower Asia under him.<sup>1</sup>

After having reigned twenty-three years, Ochus died of poison given him by Bagoas. That eunuch, who was by birth an Egyptian, had always retained a love for his country, and a zeal for its religion. When his master conquered it, he flattered himself, that it would have been in his power to have softened the destiny of the one, and protected the other from insult. But he could not restrain the brutality of his prince, who acted a thousand things in regard to both, which the eunuch saw with extreme sorrow, and always violently resented in his heart.<sup>2</sup>

Ochus not contented with having dismantled the cities, and pillaged the houses and temples, as has been said, had besides taken away all the archives of the kingdom, which were deposited and kept with religious care in the temples of the Egyptians; and in derision of their worship, he had caused to be killed, the god Apis, that is, the sacred bull which they adored, under that name.<sup>3</sup> What gave occasion for this last action was, that Ochus, being as lazy and heavy as he was cruel, the Egyptians, from the first of those qualities, had given him the shocking surname of the stupid animal they found he resembled. Violently enraged at this affront, Ochus said that he would make them sensible that he was not an ass, but a lion; and that the ass, whom they despised so much, should eat their ox. Accordingly he ordered Apis to be dragged out of his temple, and sacrificed to an ass. After which he made his cooks dress and serve him up to the officers of his household. This piece of wit incensed Bagoas. As for the archives, he redeemed them afterwards, and sent them back to the place where it was the custom to keep them: but the affront which had been done to his religion, was irreparable; and it is believed, that was the real occasion of his master's death.<sup>4</sup>

His revenge did not stop here: he caused another body to be interred instead of the king's; and to avenge his having made the officers of the house eat the god Apis, he made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in small pieces; and for his bones, those he turned into handles for knives and swords, the natural symbols of his cruelty. It is very probable, that some new cause had awakened in the heart of this monster his ancient resentment; without which, it is not to be conceived that he could carry his barbarity so far in regard to his master and benefactor.<sup>5</sup>

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, in whose hands all power was

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338.

<sup>3</sup> Ælian. l. iv. c. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. de Isid. et Osir. p. 363.

<sup>5</sup> Ælian. l. vi. c. 8.

at that time, placed Arses upon the throne, the youngest of all the late king's sons, and put the rest to death, in order to possess, with better security, and without a rival, the authority he had usurped. He gave Arses only the name of king, while he reserved to himself the whole power of the sovereignty. But perceiving that the young prince began to discover his wickedness, and took measures to punish it, he prevented him, by having him assassinated, and destroyed his whole family with him.

Bagoas, after having rendered the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, placed Darius upon it, the third of that name who reigned in Persia. His true name was Codomanus, of whom much will be said hereafter.

We see here, in full light, the sad effect of the ill policy of the kings of Persia, who, to ease themselves of the weight of public business, abandoned their whole authority to a eunuch. Bagoas may have had more address and understanding than the rest, and thereby merited some distinction. It is the duty of a wise prince to distinguish merit; but it is also incumbent on him to continue always the entire master, judge, and arbiter of his affairs. A prince like Ochus, who had made the greatest crimes his steps for ascending the throne, and who had supported himself in it by the same measures, deserved to have such a minister as Bagoas, who vied with his master in perfidy and cruelty. Ochus experienced their first effects. Had he desired to have nothing to fear from him, he should not have been so imprudent as to render him formidable by giving him an unlimited power.

#### SECTION VI. — ABRIDGEMENT OF THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

As Demosthenes will have a great part in the history of Philip and Alexander, which will be the subject of the ensuing volume, it is necessary to give the reader some previous idea of him, and to let him know by what means he cultivated, and to what a degree of perfection he carried his talent of eloquence; which made him more awful to Philip and Alexander, and enabled him to render greater services to his country than the highest military virtue could have done.

That orator, born two years<sup>1</sup> before Philip, and two hundred and eighty before Cicero, was not the son of a dirty, smoky blacksmith, as Juvenal<sup>2</sup> would seem to intimate, but of a man moderately rich, who gained considerably by forges. Not that the birth of Demosthenes could derogate in the least from his reputation, whose works are a higher title of nobility than the most splendid the world affords. Demosthenes tells us himself, that his father employed thirty slaves at his forges, each of them valued at three minæ, or fifty crowns, except two, who were, without doubt, the most expert in the business,

<sup>1</sup> The fourth year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad. A. M. 3623. Ant. J. C. 381. Plut. in Demost. 847—849.

<sup>2</sup> Quem pater ardentis massæ fuligine lippus,  
A carbone et forcipibus, gladiosque parente  
Incude, et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.—Juv. l. iv. sat. 10.

and directed the work; and these were each of them worth a hundred crowns.<sup>1</sup> It is well known that part of the wealth of the ancients consisted in slaves. Those forges cleared, annually, thirty minæ. To this first manufactory, appropriated to the forging of swords and such kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds and tables of fine wood and ivory were made, which brought him in yearly twelve minæ. In this only twenty slaves were employed, each of them valued at two minæ.

The father of Demosthenes died possessed of an estate of fourteen talents. He had the misfortune to fall into the hands of sordid and avaricious guardians, who had no views but of making the most out of his fortune. They carried that base spirit so far as to refuse their pupil's masters the reward due to them; so that he was not educated with the care which so excellent a genius as his required; besides which, the weakness of his 'constitution, and the delicacy of his health, with the excessive fondness of a mother that doated on him, prevented his masters from obliging him to apply much to his studies.

The school of Isocrates,<sup>2</sup> in which so many great men had been educated, was, at that time, the most famous at Athens. But whether the avarice of the guardians of Demosthenes prevented him from improving under a master, whose price was very high, or that the soft and peaceful eloquence of Isocrates was not to his taste, he at that time studied under Isæus, whose character was strength and vehemence. He found means, however, to get the principles of rhetoric taught by the former: but Plato<sup>3</sup> in reality contributed the most in forming Demosthenes; he read his works with great application, and received lessons from him also; and it is easy to distinguish in the writings of the disciple, the noble and sublime air of the master.

But he soon quitted the school of Isæus and Plato for another, under a different kind of direction; I mean, the bar; which was occasioned by the following circumstance.<sup>4</sup> The orator Calistratus was appointed to plead the cause of the city Oropus, situated between Bœotia and Attica. Chabrias, having disposed the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans, who were in great distress, they hastened thither, and delivered them from the enemy.<sup>5</sup> The Thebans, forgetting so great a service, took from the Athenians the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier. Chabrias was suspected, and charged with treason upon this occasion.<sup>6</sup> Calistratus was chosen to plead against him. The reputation of the orator and the importance of the cause, excited curiosity, and made a great noise in the city. Demosthenes, who was then sixteen years of age, earnestly entreated

<sup>1</sup> In Orat. i. cont. Aphod. p. 896.

<sup>2</sup> Isocrates—cujus e ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt.—De Orat. n. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Lectitavisse Platonem studiose audivisse etiam, Demosthenes dicitur; idque apparet ex genere et granditate sermonis.—Cic. in Brut. n. 121.

Illud jusjurandum, per cæsos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores reip, satis manifesto docet, præceptorem ejus Platonem fuisse.—Quint. l. xii. c. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Aul. Gel. l. iii. c. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Demost. in Midi. n. 618.

his masters to carry him with them to the bar, that he might be present at so famous a trial. The orator was heard with great attention; and having had extraordinary success, was attended home by a crowd of illustrious citizens, who seemed to vie with each other in praising and admiring him. The young man was extremely affected with the honours which he saw paid to the orator, and still more with the supreme power of eloquence on the minds of men, over which it exercises a kind of absolute power. He was himself sensible of its effects; and not being able to resist its charms, he gave himself wholly up to it; from henceforth renounced all other studies and pleasures; and during the continuance of Calistratus at Athens, he never quitted him, but made all the improvement he could from his precepts.<sup>1</sup>

The first essay of his eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to speak before the people, but with very ill success. He had a weak voice, a thick way of speaking, and a very short breath; notwithstanding which, his periods were so long, that he was often obliged to stop in the middle of them for respiration. This occasioned his being hissed by the whole audience; from whence he retired entirely discouraged, and determined to renounce for ever a function of which he believed himself incapable. One of his auditors, who had observed an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new spirit, from the grateful idea of so glorious a resemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore to appear a second time before the people, and was no better received than before. As he withdrew, hanging down his head, and in the utmost confusion, Satyrus, one of the most excellent actors of those times, who was his friend, met him, and having learned from himself the cause of his being so much dejected, assured him that the evil was not without remedy, and that the case was not so desperate as he imagined. He desired him only to repeat some of the verses of Sophocles or Euripides to him, which he accordingly did. Satyrus spoke them after him, and gave them such graces by the tone, gesture, and spirit with which he pronounced them, that Demosthenes himself found them quite different from what they were in his own manner of speaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himself to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himself in pronunciation, the value of which his friend had made him understand, seem almost incredible, and prove that industrious perseverance can surmount all things. He stammered to such a degree, that he could not pronounce some letters, among others, the first in the name of the art he was studying, *rhetoric*, and his breathing was so short, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. He overcame these obstacles at length, by putting small pebbles into his mouth, and pronouncing several verses in that manner without

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<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3639. Ant. J. C. 365.

interruption, while walking, and going up steep and difficult places, so that at last no letter made him hesitate, and his breath held out through the longest period.<sup>1</sup> He went also to the sea-side, and while the waves were in the most violent agitation, he pronounced harangues, to accustom himself by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of the public assemblies.<sup>2</sup>

Demosthenes took no less care of his action than of his voice. He had a large looking-glass in his house, which served to teach him gesture, and at which he used to declaim, before he spoke in public. To correct a fault which he had contracted by an ill habit of continually shrugging his shoulders, he practised standing upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit or rostrum, over which hung a halbert in such a manner, that if, in the heat of action, that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve at the same time to admonish and correct him.<sup>3</sup>

His pains were well bestowed; for it was by this means that he carried the art of declaiming to the highest degree of perfection of which it was capable; whence it was evident that he well knew its value and importance. When he was asked three several times, which quality he thought most necessary in an orator, he only answered, "pronunciation;" and by making that reply three times successively, insinuated, that that qualification was the only one, the want of which could be least concealed, and which was the most capable of concealing other defects; and that pronunciation alone could give considerable weight, even to an indifferent orator, when without it, the most excellent could not expect the least success.<sup>4</sup> He must have had a very high opinion of it, so as to attain a perfection in it: and for the instructions of Neoptolemus, the most excellent comedian then living, he devoted so considerable a sum as ten thousand drachmas, though he was not very rich.

His application to study was no less surprising. To be the more removed from noise, and less subject to distraction, he caused a small chamber to be made for him under ground, in which he sometimes shut himself up for whole months, shaving, on purpose, half his head and face, that he might not be in a condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of a small lamp, he composed the admirable orations, which were said by those who envied him, to smell of the oil; to imply that they were too elaborate. "It is plain," replied he, "yours did not cost you so much trouble." He rose very early in the morning, and used to say, that he was very sorry when any workman was at his business before him.<sup>5</sup> We may judge of his extraordinary efforts to acquire an excellence of every kind, from the pains he took in copying the history of Thucydides eight times

<sup>1</sup> Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 260, 261.

<sup>2</sup> Quintil. l. x. c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Quintil. l. xi. c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac summus orator esse in numero nullo potest, mediocris hac instructos summos sæpe superare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum; huic secundas, huic tertias.—Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 213.

<sup>5</sup> Cui non sunt auditis Demosthenis vigilæ? qui dolere se aiebat, si quando opificum antelucana victus esset industria.—Tusc. Quæst. l. iv. n. 44.

with his own hand, in order to render the style of that great man familiar to him.<sup>1</sup>

Demosthenes, after having exercised his talent of eloquence in several private causes, made his appearance in full light, and mounted the tribunal of harangues, to treat there upon public affairs; with what success we shall see hereafter. Cicero tells us, that his success was so great, that all Greece came in crowds to Athens to hear Demosthenes speak; and he adds, "that merit, so great as his, could not but have had that effect."<sup>2</sup> I do not examine in this place, into the character of his eloquence; I have enlarged sufficiently upon that elsewhere;<sup>3</sup> I only consider its wonderful effects.

If we believe Philip on this head, of which he is certainly an evidence of unquestionable authority, the eloquence of Demosthenes alone did more hurt than all the armies and fleets of the Athenians. His harangues, he said, were like machines of war, and batteries raised at a distance against him, by which he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his enterprises, without its being possible to prevent their effect. "For I myself," says Philip of him, "had I been present, and heard that vehement orator declaim, should have concluded the first, that it was indispensably necessary to declare war against me."<sup>4</sup> No city seemed impregnable to that prince, provided he could introduce a mule laden with gold into it; but he confessed, that to his sorrow, Demosthenes was invincible in that respect, and that he always found him inaccessible to his presents. After the battle of Chæronea, Philip, though victor, was struck with extreme dread at the prospect of the great danger to which that orator, by the powerful league which his influence chiefly had formed against him, exposed himself and his kingdom.

Antipater spoke to the same effect of him. "I value not," said he, "the Piræus, the galleys and armies of the Athenians; for what have we to fear from a people continually employed in games, feasts, and bacchanals? Demosthenes alone gives me pain. Without him, the Athenians differ in nothing from the meanest people of Greece. He alone excites and animates them. It is he that rouses them from their lethargy and stupefaction, and puts their arms and oars into their hands, almost against their will: incessantly representing to them the famous battles of Marathon and Salamin, he transforms them into new men by the ardour of his discourses, and inspires them with incredible valour and fortitude. Nothing escapes his penetrating eyes, nor his consummate prudence. He foresees all our designs; he countermines all our projects; and disconcerts us in every thing: and did Athens entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his advice, we should be inevitably ruined. Nothing can tempt him, nor diminish his love for his country. All the gold of Philip finds no more access to him, than that of Persia did formerly to Aristides."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lucian. *Advers. Indoct.* p. 639.

<sup>2</sup> *Me illud quidem intelligunt, non modo ita memorie proditum esse, sed ita necesse fuisse, cum Demosthenes dicturus esset, ut concursus, audiendi causa, ex tota Græcia fierent.*—*In Brut.* n. 239.

<sup>3</sup> *Art of Studying the Belles Lettres.* Vol. II.

<sup>4</sup> Lucian. in *Encom. Demost.* p. 940, 941.

<sup>5</sup> Lucian. in *Encom. Demost.* p. 934, 936.



He was reduced by necessity to give this glorious testimony for himself in his just defence against Æschines, his accuser and declared enemy. "While all the orators have suffered themselves to be corrupted by the presents of Philip and Alexander, it is well known," says he, "that neither slight conjectures, engaging expressions, magnificent promises, hope, fear, favour, nor any thing in the world, have ever been able to induce me to give up the least right or interest of my country." He adds, that instead of acting like those mercenary persons, who, in all they proposed, declared for such as paid them best, like scales, that always incline to the side from whence they receive most; he, in all the counsels he had given, had solely in view the interest and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible to the Macedonian gold. The sequel will show how well he supported that character to the end.

Such was the orator who is about to ascend the tribunal for harangues, or rather the statesman, to enter upon the administration of the public affairs, and to be the principal and soul of all the great enterprises of Athens against Philip of Macedon.

SECTION VII. — DIGRESSION ON THE MANNER OF FITTING OUT  
FLEETS BY THE ATHENIANS.

THE subject of this digression ought properly to have been inserted in the fourth section of the tenth book, where I have treated of the government and maritime affairs of the Athenians. It was necessary to deviate from the chain of the history, and it may be easily referred to when requisite.

The word trierarch signifies properly the commander of a galley. But those citizens were also called trierarchs, who were appointed to fit out the galleys in time of war, and to furnish them with all things necessary, or at least with part of them.

They were chosen from the richest of the people, and there was no fixed number of them. Sometimes two, sometimes three, and even ten trierarchs, were appointed to equip one vessel.

At length, the number of trierarchs was established at twelve hundred, in the following manner. Athens was divided into ten tribes. One hundred and twenty of the richest citizens of each tribe were nominated to furnish the expenses of these armaments; and thus, each tribe furnishing one hundred and twenty, the number of the trierarchs amounted to twelve hundred.<sup>1</sup>

These twelve hundred men were again divided into two classes, of six hundred each; and those six hundred subdivided into two more, each of three hundred. The first three hundred were chosen from among such as were richest. Upon pressing occasions they advanced the necessary expenses, and were reimbursed by the other three hundred, who paid their proportion, as the state of their affairs would admit.

A law was afterwards made, whereby those twelve hundred were divided into different companies, each consisting of sixteen men, who

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<sup>1</sup> Ulpian in Olynth. ii. p. 33.

joined in the equipment of a galley. That law was very heavy upon the poorer citizens, and equally unjust in its principles; as it decreed that this number of sixteen should be chosen by their age, and not their estates. It ordained that all citizens, from twenty-five to forty, should be included in one of these companies, and contribute one sixteenth; so that by this law the poorer citizens were to contribute as much as the most opulent, and often found it impossible to supply an expense so much above their power. From whence it happened, that the fleet was either not armed in time, or very ill fitted out; by which means Athens lost the most favourable opportunities for action.

Demosthenes, always intent upon the public good, to remedy those inconveniences, proposed the abrogation of this law by another. By the latter, the trierarchs were to be chosen, not by the number of their years, but by the value of their fortunes. Each citizen, whose estate amounted to ten talents, was obliged to fit out one galley; and if to twenty talents, two; and so on in proportion. Such as were not worth ten talents, were to join with as many others as were necessary to complete that sum, and to fit out a galley.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing could be wiser than this law of Demosthenes, which reformed all the abuses of the other. By these means the fleet was fitted out in time, and provided with all things necessary: the poor were considerably relieved, and none but the rich displeased with it: for, instead of contributing only a sixteenth, as by the former law, they were sometimes obliged by the latter to equip a galley, and sometimes two or more, according to the amount of their estates.

The rich were consequently very much offended at Demosthenes on account of this regulation; and it was, without doubt, an instance of no small courage in him to disregard their complaints, and to hazard the making himself as many enemies, as there were powerful citizens in Athens. Let us hear himself. "Seeing," says he, speaking to the Athenians, "that your maritime affairs are in the greatest decline, the rich possessed of an immunity purchased at a very low rate, the citizens of moderate or small fortunes oppressed with taxes, and the republic itself, in consequence of these inconveniences, never attempting any thing until too late for its service; I had the courage to establish a law, whereby the rich are restrained to their duty, the poor relieved from oppression, and what was of the highest importance, the republic enabled to make the necessary preparations for war in due time." He adds, that there was nothing the rich would not have given him to forbear the proposing of this law, or at least to have suspended its execution: but he did not suffer himself to be swayed either by their threats or promises, and continued firm to the public good.<sup>2</sup>

Not having been able to make him change his resolution, they contrived a stratagem to render it ineffectual; for it was without doubt at their instigation, that a certain person, named Patroclus, cited Demosthenes before the judges, and prosecuted him juridically as an infringer of the laws of his country. The accuser having only the

<sup>1</sup> Demost. in Orat. de Classib.

<sup>2</sup> Demost. pro Ctesip. p. 419.



fifth part of the voices on his side, was, according to custom, fined five hundred drachmas, and Demosthenes acquitted of the charge, as related by himself.

It is doubtful, whether at Rome, especially in the latter times, the affair would have taken this turn; for we see, that whatever attempts were made by the tribunes of the people, and to whatever height the quarrel arose, it never was possible to induce the rich, who were far more powerful and enterprising than those of Athens, to renounce the possession of the lands, which they had usurped in manifest contravention of the institutions of the state. The law of Demosthenes was approved and confirmed by the senate and people.

We find, from what has been said, that the trierarchs fitted out the galleys and their equipage at their own expense. The state paid the mariners and soldiers, generally at the rate of three oboh, or five pence a-day, as has been observed elsewhere. The officers had greater pay.

The trierarchs commanded the vessel, and gave all orders on board. When there were two of them to a ship, each commanded six months.

When they quitted their office, they were obliged to give an account of their administration, and delivered a state of the vessel's equipage to their successor, or the republic. The successor was obliged to go immediately and fill up the vacant place; and if he failed to be at his post by a time assigned him, he was fined for his neglect.

As the charge of trierarch was very expensive, those who were nominated to it were admitted to point out some other person richer than themselves, and to demand that they should be put into their place; provided they were ready to change estates with such person, and to perform the duties of trierarch after such exchange. This law was instituted by Solon, and was called the Law of Exchanges.

Besides the equipment of galleys, which must have amounted to very great sums, the rich had another charge to support in the time of war, in the extraordinary taxes and imposts laid on their estates; upon which, sometimes the hundredth, sometimes a fiftieth, and even a twelfth, were levied, according to the different occasions of the state.

Nobody at Athens, upon any pretence whatever, could be exempted from these two charges, except the novemviri, or nine archontes, who were not obliged to fit out galleys. So that we see, without ships or money, the republic was not in a condition, either to support wars, or defend itself.<sup>1</sup>

There were other immunities and exemptions, which were granted to such as had rendered great services to the republic, and sometimes even to all their descendants; as maintaining public places of exercise, with all things necessary for such as frequented them; instituting a public feast for one of the ten tribes; and defraying the expenses of games and shows; all which amounted to great sums.

These immunities, as has already been said, were marks of honour

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<sup>1</sup> Demost. advers. Lept. p. 545.

and rewards of services rendered the state; as well as statues which were erected to great men, the freedom of the city, and the privilege of being maintained in the prytanæum at the public expense. The view of Athens in these honourable distinctions was to express their high sense of gratitude, and to kindle at the same time in the hearts of their citizens a noble thirst of glory, and an ardent love for their country.

Besides the statues erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, the deliverers of Athens, their descendants were for ever exempted from all public employments, and enjoyed that honourable privilege many ages after.

As Aristides died without any estate, and left his son Lysimachus no other patrimony than his glory and poverty, the republic gave him a hundred acres of wood, and as much arable land in Eubœa, besides one hundred minæ at one payment, and four drachmas, or forty pence a-day.<sup>1</sup>

Athens, in these services which were done it, regarded more the good will than the action itself. A certain person of Cyrene, named Epicerdus, being at Syracuse when the Athenians were defeated, touched with compassion for the unfortunate prisoners dispersed in Sicily, whom he saw ready to expire for want of food, distributed a hundred minæ among them. Athens adopted him into the number of its citizens, and granted him all the immunities before mentioned. Some time after, in the war against the thirty tyrants, the same Epicerdus gave the city a talent. These were but small matters on either occasion with regard to the grandeur and power of Athens; but they were infinitely affected with the good heart of a stranger, who without any view of interest, in a time of public calamity, exhausted himself in some measure for the relief of those with whom he had no affinity, and from whom he had nothing to expect.<sup>2</sup>

The same freedom of the city of Athens, granted an exemption from customs to Leucon, who reigned in the Bosphorus, and his children, because they yearly imported from the lands of that prince a considerable quantity of corn, of which they were in extreme want, subsisting almost entirely upon what came from other parts. Leucon, in his turn, not to be outdone in generosity, exempted the Athenian merchants from a duty of a thirtieth upon all grain exported from his dominions, and granted them the privilege of supplying themselves with corn in his country in preference to all other people. That exemption amounted to a considerable sum; for they brought from thence only two millions of quarters of corn, the thirtieth part of which amounted to almost seventy thousand.<sup>3</sup>

The children of Conon and Chabrias were also granted an immunity from public offices. The names only of these illustrious generals sufficiently justify that liberality of the Athenian people. A person, however, named Leptinus, out of a mistaken zeal for the public good, proposed the abrogation by a new law, of all the grants of that kind,

<sup>1</sup> Demost. in Orat. ad Lept. p. 553.

<sup>2</sup> Demost. in Orat. ad Lept. p. 757.

<sup>3</sup> Demost. Orat. ad Lept. p. 545, 546.

which had been made from time immemorial, except those which regarded the posterity of Harmodius and Aristogiton; and to enact, that for the future, the people should not be capable of granting such privileges.

Demosthenes strongly opposed this law, though with great complacency to the person who proposed it; praising his good intentions, and not speaking of him but with esteem; a much more efficacious manner of refuting, than those violent invectives, and that eager and passionate style, which serve only to alienate the people, and to render an orator suspected, who decries his cause himself, and shows its weak side, by substituting injurious terms for reasons, which are alone capable of convincing.

After having shown that so odious a reduction would prove of little or no advantage to the republic, from the inconsiderable number of the exempted persons, he goes on to explain its conveniences, and to set them in a proper light.

"It is first," says he, "doing injury to the memory of those great men, whose merit the state intended to acknowledge, and reward by such immunities; it is in some manner calling in question the services they have done their country; it is throwing a suspicion upon their great actions, injurious to, if not destructive of, their glory. And were they now alive, and present in this assembly, which of us all would presume to offer them such an affront? Should not the respect we owe their memories, make us consider them as always alive and present?"

"But if we are little affected with what concerns them, can we be insensible to our own interest? Besides condemning the conduct of our ancestors, by abrogating a law so ancient, what shame shall we bring upon ourselves, and what an injury shall we do our reputation? The glory of Athens, and of every well-governed state, is to value itself upon its gratitude, to keep its word religiously, and to be true to all its engagements. A private person who fails in these respects, is hated and abhorred: and who is not afraid of being reproached with ingratitude? And shall the commonwealth, in cancelling a law that has received the sanction of public authority, and been in a manner consecrated by the usage of many ages, be guilty of so notorious a prevarication? We prohibit lying in the very markets, under heavy penalties, and require truth and faith to be observed in them; and shall we renounce them ourselves, by the revocation of grants, passed in all their forms, and upon which every private man has a right to insist?"

"To act in such a manner, would be to extinguish in the hearts of our citizens all emulation for glory, all desire to distinguish themselves by great exploits, all zeal for the honour and welfare of their country, which are the great sources and principles of almost all the actions of life. And it is to no purpose to hold up the example of Sparta and Thebes, which grant no such exemptions. Do we repent our not resembling them in many things? and is there any wisdom in proposing their defects, and not their virtues, for our imitation?"

Demosthenes concludes with demanding the law of exemptions to

be retained in all its extent; with this exception, that all persons should be deprived of the benefits of it, but those who had a just title to them; and that a strict inquiry should be made for that purpose.

It is evident that I have made but a very short extract, in this place, of an exceeding long discourse, and that I designed to express only the spirit and sense, without confining myself to the method and expressions of it.

There was a meanness of spirit in Leptinus, in desiring to obtain a trivial advantage for the republic, by retrenching the moderate expenses that were an honour to it, and no charge to himself; while there were other abuses of far greater importance to reform.

Such marks of public gratitude perpetuated in a family, perpetuate also in a state, an ardent zeal for its happiness, and a warm desire to distinguish that passion by glorious actions. It is not without pain, that I find among ourselves, that part of the privileges granted to the family of the Maid of Orleans have been retrenched.<sup>1</sup> Charles VII. had ennobled her, her father, three brothers, and all their descendants, even by the female line. In 1614, at the request of the attorney-general, the article of nobility by the women was retrenched.

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## BOOK FOURTEENTH.

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### THE HISTORY OF PHILIP.

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#### PLAN.

The reigns of Philip, king of Macedon, and Alexander his son, contain the space of thirty-six years, the reign of the former including twenty-four, and that of the latter twelve. They extend from the first year to the 105th Olympiad, or the year of the world 3644, to the first of the 114th Olympiad, which answers to the year of the world 3680.

The kings who reigned during that time in Persia, were Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses, and Darius Codomanus. The Persian empire expired with the last.

We know not any thing concerning the transactions of the Jews during these thirty-six years, except what we are told by Josephus, book xi. c. 7. & 8. of his Antiquities of the Jews, under the high priests John, or Johanan, and Jaddus. These will be mentioned in the course of this history, with which, that of the Jews is intermixed.

The above-mentioned space of thirty-six years, with respect to the Roman history, extends from the 393d to the 429th year from the foundation of Rome. The great men who made the most conspicuous figure among the Romans during that space of time, were Appius Claudius the dictator, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, Tit. Manlius Torquatus, L. Papirius Cursor, M. Valerius Corvinus, Q. Fabius Maximus, and the two Decii, who devoted themselves to death for the sake of their country.

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#### SECTION I.

THE BIRTH AND INFANCY OF PHILIP. HIS FIRST CONQUESTS. THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER.

MACEDON was a hereditary kingdom, situated in ancient Thrace, and bounded on the south by the mountains of Thessaly; on the east

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<sup>1</sup> Mezerai.

by Bœotia and Pieria, on the west by the Lyncestes, and on the north by Mygdonia and Pelagonia. But after Philip had conquered Thrace and Illyrium, this kingdom extended from the Adriatic sea to the river Strymon. Edesse was at first the capital of it, but afterwards resigned that honour to Pella, famous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whose history we are now entering on, was the son of Amyntas II. who is reckoned the sixteenth king of Macedon from Caranus, who had founded that kingdom about four hundred and thirty years before, that is anno mundi 3212, and before Christ 794. The history of all these monarchs is sufficiently obscure, and includes little more than several wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring people.

The kings of Macedon pretended to be descended from Hercules by Caranus, and consequently to have been Greeks originally. Notwithstanding this, Demosthenes often styles them barbarians, especially in his invectives against Philip. The Greeks indeed gave this name to all other nations without excepting the Macedonians. Alexander king of Macedon, in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded from the Olympic games upon pretence of his being a barbarian, and was not admitted to share in them, till after having proved his being originally descended from Argos.<sup>1</sup> The above mentioned Alexander, when he went over from the Persian camp, to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter that Mardonius was determined to charge them by surprise at day-break, justified his perfidy by his ancient descent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.<sup>2</sup>

The ancient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath them to live, at different times, under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans, and Spartans, changing their alliances as it suited their interest. Of this we have several instances in Thucydides. One of them, named Perdiccas, with whom the Athenians were dissatisfied, became their tributary; which continued from their settling a colony in Amphipolis, under Agnon, the son of Nicias, about forty-eight years before the Peloponnesian war, till Brasidas the Lacedæmonian general, about the fifth or sixth year of that war, raised that whole province against them, and drove them from the frontiers of Macedon.

We shall soon see this Macedon, which formerly had paid tribute to Athens, become, under Philip, the arbiter of Greece, and triumph, under Alexander, over all the forces of Asia.

Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the 96th Olympiad.<sup>3</sup> Having, the very year after, been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarcely possible for him ever to recover again, he addressed himself to the Olynthians; and in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, ceded to them a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of their city. According to some authors, Argæus, who was of the royal blood, being supported by the Athe-

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. v. c. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Idem. l. ix. c. 44.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398. Diod. l. xiv. p. 307, 341.

nians, and taking advantage of the trouble which broke out in Macedonia, reigned there two years.<sup>1</sup> Amyntas was restored to the throne by the Thessalians; upon which he was desirous of resuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the unfavourable situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war, but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, sent him succours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with total ruin. It was then that Amyntas, in an assembly of the Greeks, to which he had sent a deputation, engaged to unite with them, to enable the Athenians to possess themselves of Amphipolis, declaring that this city belonged to the last mentioned people. This strong alliance was continued after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as we shall soon see.<sup>2</sup>

Philip, one of the sons of Amyntas, was born the same year in which this monarch declared war against the Olynthians.<sup>3</sup> This Philip was father of Alexander the Great, for we cannot distinguish him better, than by calling him the father of such a son, as Cicero observes of the father of Cato of Utica.<sup>4</sup>

Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eurydice had brought him, viz. Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and a natural son named Ptolemy.<sup>5</sup>

Alexander succeeded his father as eldest son. In the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a sharp war with the Illyrians, neighbours and perpetual enemies of Macedonia. Concluding afterwards a peace with them, he placed in their hands, as a hostage, his younger brother Philip, an infant, who was soon sent back to him. Alexander reigned but one year.

The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas, his brother, as the next eldest; but Pausanias, a prince of the royal blood, who had been exiled, disputed it with him, and was supported by a great number of Macedonians. He began by seizing some fortresses. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates was then in that country, where the Athenians had sent him with a small fleet—not to besiege Amphipolis immediately, but only to take a view of the place, and make the necessary preparations for besieging it. Eurydice, hearing of his arrival, desired to see him, intending to request his assistance against Pausanias. When he came into the palace, and had seated himself, the afflicted queen, the better to excite his compassion, took her two children, Perdiccas and Philip,<sup>6</sup> and placed the former in the arms, and the latter on the knees, of Iphicrates; she then spoke thus to him: “remember, Iphicrates that Amyntas, the father of these unhappy orphans, had always a love for your country, and adopted you for his son. This double tie lays you under a double obligation.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

<sup>2</sup> *Æschin. de Fals. Legat.* p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3321. Ant. J. C. 383.

<sup>4</sup> *M. Cato sententiam dixit hujus nostri Catonis pater. Ut enim cæteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui lumen illuc procenuit, ex folio est nominandus.—De Offic. l. iii. n. 66.*

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3629. Ant. J. C. 375. Diod. p. 373. Justin. l. vii. c. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Philip was then not less than nine years old.



The amity which that king entertained for Athens, requires that you should acknowledge us publicly for your friends; and the tenderness which that father had for your person, claims from you the heart of a brother to these children." Iphicrates, moved with this sight and discourse, expelled the usurper and restored the lawful sovereign.<sup>1</sup>

Perdiccas<sup>2</sup> did not long continue in tranquillity. A new enemy, more formidable than the first, soon invaded his repose; this was Ptolemy his brother, natural son of Amyntas, as was before observed. He might possibly be the eldest son, and claim the crown as such. The two brothers referred the decision of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and having judged it necessary to take pledges on both sides, in order to oblige the two competitors to observe the articles of the treaty accepted by them, he carried Philip as one of the hostages with him to Thebes,<sup>3</sup> where he resided several years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this much loved son, earnestly besought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philosopher in his house for the education of his son. Philip improved greatly by the instructions of his preceptor, and much more by those of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made some campaigns, though no mention is made of this. He could not possibly have had a more excellent master, whether for war or the ordinary affairs of life; for this illustrious Theban was at the same time a great philosopher, that is to say, a wise and virtuous man, and a great commander, as well as a great statesman. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and proposed him as a model to himself; most happy, could he have copied him perfectly! From Epaminondas he acquired his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occasions, which, however, formed but a very inconsiderable part of the merit of this illustrious personage: but with regard to his temperance, his justice, his disinterestedness, his sincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, these were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.<sup>4</sup>

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the most dangerous enemy of Greece. After Philip had spent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him resolve to leave Thebes clandestinely. Accordingly he stole away, and made the utmost expedition, and found the Macedonians greatly surprised at having lost their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians, but much more so, to

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. *Æsch. de Fals. Legat.* p. 399, 400.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch supposes, that it was with Alexander that Ptolemy disputed the empire, which cannot be made to agree with the relation of *Æschines*, who, being his cotemporary, is more worthy of credit. I therefore thought proper to substitute Perdiccas instead of Alexander.

<sup>3</sup> *Thebis triennio obses habitus, prima pueritæ rudimenta in urbe severitatis antiquæ, et in domo Epaminondæ summi et philosophi et imperatoris, deposuit.*—Justin. l. vii. c. 5. Philip lived in Thebes not only three, but nine or ten years.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch in *Pelop.* p. 292.

find that they had as many enemies as neighbours.<sup>1</sup> The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a greater force, the Peonians infested it with perpetual incursions; the Thracians were determined to place Pausanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretensions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias, their general, was ordered to support with a strong fleet and a considerable body of troops. Macedonia at the time wanted a prince of years to govern, and had only a child, Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for some time, by the title of guardian to the prince; but the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and, instead of the heir, whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjuncture of affairs required, persuaded that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. Accordingly Philip, at twenty-four years of age, ascended the throne the first year of the 105th Olympiad.<sup>2</sup>

The new king, with great coolness and presence of mind, used all his endeavours to answer the expectations of the people: he accordingly provided for and remedied everything, revived the desponding courage of the Macedonians, and reinstated and disciplined the army. He was inflexibly rigid in the last point, well knowing that the success of all his enterprises, depended on it. A soldier, who was thirsty, went out of the ranks to drink, which Philip punished with great severity. Another soldier, who ought to have stood to his arms, laid them down: he immediately ordered him to be put to death.<sup>3</sup>

It was at this time he established the Macedonian phalanx, which afterwards became so famous, and was the choicest and best disciplined body of an army the world had ever seen, and might dispute precedency in those respects with the Greeks of Marathon and Salamin. He drew up the plan, or at least improved it, from the idea suggested by Homer.<sup>4</sup> That poet describes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the soldiers of which, by the assemblage or conjunction of their shields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy's darts. I rather believe, that Philip formed the idea of the phalanx from the lessons of Epaminondas, and the sacred battalion of the Thebans. He treated those chosen foot-soldiers with peculiar distinction, honoured them with the title of his comrades or companions,<sup>5</sup> and, by such marks of honour and confidence, induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the greatest fatigues, and to confront the greatest dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as these cost a monarch little, and are of no common advantage to him. I shall insert, at the end of this section, a more particular description of the phalanx, and the use made of it in battles. I shall borrow from Polybius this description, the length of which would too much interrupt the series of our history; yet being placed separately, may probably please, especially by the judicious

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 407. Justin. l. vii. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. Diod. l. xvi. p. 404—413.

<sup>3</sup> Ælian. l. xiv. c. 49

<sup>4</sup> Ilad. n. v. 130.

<sup>5</sup> *Παῖδες* signifies verbatim, a foot-soldier, comrade, companion



reflections of a man so well skilled in the art of war as that historian.

One of the first things Philip took care of, was the negotiating a cautious peace with the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he was not willing to make his enemies, in the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill established. He therefore sent ambassadors to Athens, spared neither promises nor protestations of amity, and at last was so happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the advantages he had proposed to himself.

Immediately after this, he did not seem so much to act like a monarch of but twenty-four years of age, as like a politician profoundly versed in the art of dissimulation; and who, without the assistance of experience, was already sensible, that to know when to lose at a proper season is to gain. He had seized upon Amphipolis, a city situated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which consequently stood very convenient for him. He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army too much, not to mention that the Athenians, whose friendship it was his interest to preserve, would have been exasperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other side, he was determined not to give up to his enemies one of the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the resolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themselves as a republic, and in this manner to set them at variance with their ancient masters. At the same time he disarmed the Peonians by means of promises and presents; resolving to attack them, after he had disunited his enemies, and weakened them by that disunion.<sup>1</sup>

This address and subtlety established him more firmly on the throne, and he soon found himself without competitors. Having barred the entrance of his kingdom to Pausanius, he marched against Argæus, came up with him in the road from Ægæ to Methone, defeated him, killed a great number of his soldiers, and took a multitude of prisoners; attacked the Peonians, and subjected them to his power: he afterwards turned his arms against the Illyrians, cut them to pieces, and obliged them to restore to him all the places possessed by them in Macedonia.

About this time the Athenians acted with the greatest generosity in regard to the inhabitants of Eubœa. That island, which is separated from Bœotia by the Euripus, was so called from its large and beautiful pasture lands, and is now called Negropont.<sup>2</sup> It had been subject to the Athenians, who had settled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities. Thucydides relates, that in the Peloponnesian war, the revolt of the Eubœans dismayed the Athenians very much, because they drew greater revenues from thence than from Attica. From that time Eubœa became a prey to factions; and at the same time of which we are now speaking, one of these factions implored the assistance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At first the Thebans met with no obstacle, and easily made the faction

<sup>1</sup> Polyan. Stratag. l. iv. c. 17.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

they espoused triumphant. However, at the arrival of the Athenians, matters took a different turn. Though they were very much offended at the Eubœans, who had behaved very injuriously towards them, nevertheless, sensibly affected with the great danger to which they were exposed, and forgetting their private resentments, they immediately gave them such powerful succour both by sea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. Being now absolute masters of the island, they restored the inhabitants their cities and liberties, persuaded, says Æschines,<sup>1</sup> in relating this circumstance, that justice requires we should obliterate the remembrance of past injuries, when the parties offending repose their trust in the offended. The Athenians, after having restored Eubœa to its former tranquillity, retired, without desiring any other benefit for all their services, than the glory of having appeased the troubles of that island.<sup>2</sup>

But they did not always behave in this manner with regard to other states; and this gave rise to the "war of the allies,"<sup>3</sup> of which I have spoken elsewhere.

Hitherto, that is, during the first years of his reign, Philip had employed his endeavours to triumph over his competitors for the throne; to pacify domestic divisions, to repel the attacks of his foreign enemies, and to disable them, by his frequent victories, from troubling him in the possession of his kingdom.

But he is now to appear in another character. Sparta and Athens, after having long disputed the empire of Greece, had weakened themselves by their reciprocal divisions. This circumstance had given Thebes an opportunity of regaining its former grandeur; but Thebes, having weakened itself by the wars in which it had been engaged against Sparta and Athens, gave Philip an occasion of aspiring also in his turn to the sovereignty of Greece. As a politician and a conqueror, he now resolved how he might best extend his frontiers, reduce his neighbours, and weaken those whom he was not able to conquer at present; how he might introduce himself into the affairs of Greece, share in its intestine feuds, make himself its arbiter, join with one side to destroy the other; in a word, to obtain the empire over all. In the execution of this great design, he spared neither artifices, open force, presents, nor promises. He employed, for this purpose, negotiations, treaties, and alliances, and each of them singly, in such a manner as he judged most conducive to the success of his design; advantage solely determining him in the choice of measures.

We shall always see him acting under this second character in all the steps he takes henceforth, till he assumes a third and last character, which is, preparing to attack the great king of Persia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by subverting an empire which before had attempted its subjugation, and which had always continued its irreconcilable enemy, either by open invasions or secret intrigues.

We have seen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign, had

<sup>1</sup> Οὐχ ἡγεμενοὶ δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπονημονεύειν ἐν τῷ μετῴθηναι.

<sup>2</sup> Vell. Patenc. l. i. c. 4. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 613. Demost. pro Ctesiph. p. 489. Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 441.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

seized upon Amphipolis, because well situated for his views; but that, to avoid restoring it to the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But, at this time, being no longer under such great apprehension from the Athenians, he resumed his former design of seizing Amphipolis. The inhabitants of this city, being threatened with a speedy siege, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, offering to put themselves and their city under the protection of Athens, and beseeching them to accept the keys of Amphipolis.<sup>1</sup> But that republic rejected their offer, for fear of breaking the peace they had concluded the preceding year with Philip. This monarch, however, was not so delicate in this point; for he besieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intrigues he carried on in the city, and made it one of the strongest barriers of his kingdom. Demosthenes, in his orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occasion, by representing to them, that, had they acted at this time with the expedition they ought, they would have saved a confederate city, and spared themselves a great many misfortunes.<sup>2</sup>

Philip had promised the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands, and by this means had made them supine and inactive; but he did not value himself upon keeping his word, and sincerity was in no manner the virtue he professed. So far from surrendering this city, he also possessed himself of Pydna<sup>3</sup> and of Potidæa.<sup>4</sup> The Athenians kept a garrison in the latter; these he dismissed without doing them the least injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians, to engage them in his interest.<sup>5</sup>

From thence he proceeded to seize Crenides, which the Thasians had built but two years before, and which he called Philippi, from his own name. It was near this city, afterwards famous for the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of a thousand talents; a prodigious sum of money in that age. By this means, money became much more current in Macedon than before; and Philip first caused gold specie to be coined there, which outlived monarchy.<sup>6</sup> Superiority of finances is of endless advantage to a state; and no prince understood them better than Philip, or neglected them less. By this

<sup>1</sup> Demost. Olynth. i. p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 858. Diod. p. 412.

<sup>3</sup> Pydna, a city of Macedon, situated on the gulf anciently called Sinus Thermaicus, and now Golfo di Salonichi.

<sup>4</sup> Potidæa, another city of Macedon, on the borders of ancient Thrace. It was but sixty stadia, or three leagues, from Olynthus. <sup>5</sup> Diod. p. 412.

<sup>6</sup> Gratus Alexandro regi magna fuit ille  
Chœrilus, incuitis qui versibus et male natis  
Retulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.

Horat. l. ii. Ep. ad August.

Cherilus the Pelean youth approved,  
Him he rewarded well, and him he loved;  
His dull uneven verse, by great good fate,  
Got him his favour, and a fair estate.

Creech's Hor.

His sunt numerati aurei trecenti nummi, qui vocantur Philippi.  
Plant. in Poen.

and he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in most of the cities of Greece.<sup>1</sup>

Demosthenes says, that when Greece was in its most flourishing condition, "gold and silver were ranked in the number of prohibited arms."<sup>2</sup> But Philip thought, spoke, and acted in a quite different manner. It is said, that consulting the oracle of Delphos, he received the following answer;

*Ἀργυρίαις λόγχαισι μάχη καὶ πάντα κρατήσει*

Make coin thy weapons, and thou'lt conquer all.—Suidas.

The advice of the priestess became his rule, and he applied it with great success. He owned that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate till after having attempted to open it with a golden key; and he did not think any fortress impregnable, into which a mule laden with silver could find entrance. It has been said, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror; that it was not Philip, but his gold, that subdued Greece, and that he bought his cities rather than took them.<sup>3</sup> He had pensioners in all the commonwealths of Greece, and retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the public affairs. And indeed he was less proud of the success of a battle than that of a negotiation, well knowing, that neither his generals nor his soldiers could share in the honour of the latter.

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus: the latter was son of Alcetas, king of Molussus or Epirus. Olympias brought him Alexander, surnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the first year of the 106th Olympiad. Philip, who at that time was absent from his kingdom, had three very agreeable advices brought him; that he had carried the prize in the Olympic games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a son.<sup>4</sup> This prince, terrified at so signal a happiness, which the heathens thought frequently the omen of some mournful catastrophe, cried out, "Great Jupiter! in return for so many blessings, send me as soon as possible some slight misfortune."<sup>5</sup>

We may form a judgment of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince, by the letter he wrote a short time after his birth to Aristotle, to acquaint him so early, that he had made choice of him for his son's preceptor. "I am to inform

<sup>1</sup> Diod. p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> Philip. iii. p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Callidus emptor Olynthi.—Juv. Sat. xii. l. 47.

Philippus majore ex parte mercator Græciæ, quam victor.

Val. Max. lib. vii. c. 2.

—————Diffidit hostium

Portas vir Macedo, et subruit æmulos

Reges muneribus.—Horat. lib. iii. Od. xvi.

When engines, and when arts do fail,

The golden edge can cleave the wall,

Gold, Philip's rival kings o'erthrew.

Creech's Hor.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch supposes that this news was brought him immediately after the taking of Potidaea, but this city had been taken two years before.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plut. in Alex. p. 666. Justin. l. xii. c. 16. Plut. in Apophth. p. 187.

you,' said he, "that I have a son born. I return thanks to the gods, not so much for having given him to me, as to have given him me in the time that Aristotle lived. I may justly promise myself that you will make him a successor worthy of us both, and a king worthy of Macedonia."<sup>1</sup> What noble thoughts arise from the perusal of this letter, far different from the manners of the present age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I shall leave the reader to make such reflections on it as he shall think proper; and shall only observe, that this example may serve as a lesson even to private persons, as it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good master, and the extraordinary care they should take to find such a one; for every son is an Alexander to his father.<sup>2</sup> It appears that Philip put his son very early under Aristotle, convinced that the success of studies depends on the foundation first laid; and that the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner they ought to be inculcated.<sup>3</sup>

#### A DESCRIPTION OF THE MACEDONIAN PHALANX.

THIS was a body of infantry, consisting of sixteen thousand heavy-armed troops, who were always placed in the centre of the battle.<sup>4</sup> Besides a sword, they were armed with a shield, and a pike or spear called by the Greeks *Σαρίσσα*, (*sarissa*.) This pike was fourteen cubits, or twenty-one feet, long, for the cubit consists of a foot and a half.<sup>5</sup>

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten corps or battalions, each of which was composed of sixteen hundred men, one hundred in rank, and sixteen in file. Sometimes the file of sixteen was doubled, and sometimes divided, according to occasion; so that the phalanx was sometimes but eight, and at other times thirty-two deep; but its usual and regular depth was sixteen.

The space between each soldier upon a march was six feet, or, which is the same, four cubits; and the ranks were also about six feet asunder. When the phalanx advanced towards an enemy, there was but three feet distance between each soldier, and the ranks were closed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to receive the enemy, the men who composed it drew still closer, each soldier occupying only the space of a foot and a half.

This evidently shows the different space which the front of the phalanx took up in these three cases, supposing the whole to consist of sixteen thousand men, at sixteen deep, and consequently always a thousand men in front. This space or distance, in the first case, was six thousand feet, or one thousand fathoms, which make ten furlongs,

<sup>1</sup> Aul. Gel. l. ix. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Fingamus Alexandrum dari nobis, impositam gremio, dignum tanta cura infantem: (quamquam suus cuique dignus est.)—Quintil. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initio a perfectissimo quoque optime tractari, pertinere ad summam credidisset?—Quintil. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Decem et sex millia peditum more Macedonum armati fuere qui phalangitæ appellabantur. Hæc media acies fuit in fronte, in decem partes divisa.—Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40.

Polyb. l. i. p. 764—767. Id. l. xii. p. 664. Ælian. de Instruend. Acieb.

or half a league. In the second case it was but half as much, and took up five furlongs, or five hundred fathoms.<sup>1</sup> And, in the third case, it was again diminished another half, and extended to the distance of only two furlongs and a half, or two hundred and fifty fathoms.

Polybius examines the phalanx in the second case, in which it marched to attack the enemy. There were then three feet in breadth and depth between each soldier. We observed above, that their pikes were fourteen cubits long. The space between the two hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four; and consequently the pike advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the soldier who carried it. This being supposed, the pikes of the soldiers placed in the fifth rank, whom I will call the fifths, and so of the rest, projected two cubits beyond the first rank; the pikes of the fourths, four; those of the thirds, six; those of the seconds, eight cubits; and the pikes of the soldiers who formed the first rank, projected ten cubits towards the enemy.

The reader will easily conceive, that when the soldiers who composed the phalanx, a great and unwieldy machine, every part of which bristled with pikes, as we have seen, moved all at once, presenting their pikes to attack the enemy, they must charge with great force. The soldiers, who were behind the fifth rank, held their pikes raised, but inclining a little over the ranks which preceded them; thereby forming a kind of roof, which, not to mention their shields, secured them from darts discharged at a distance, which fell without doing them any hurt.

The soldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage against the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great assistance in battle to those in front of them; for, by supporting them behind with the utmost strength, and propping them with their backs, they increased in a prodigious manner the strength and impetuosity of the onset; they gave their comrades such a force as rendered them immovable in attacks, and at the same time deprived them of every hope or opportunity of flight by the rear; so that they were under the necessity of either conquering or dying.

Polybius indeed acknowledges, that as long as the soldiers of the phalanx preserved their disposition and order as a phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the close order we have described, it was impossible for an enemy either to sustain its weight, or to open and break it. And this he demonstrates to us in a plain and sensible manner. The Roman soldiers, for it is these he compares to the Greeks in the place in question, says he, take up, in fight, three feet each. And as they must necessarily move about very much, either to shift their bucklers to the right and left, in defending themselves, or to thrust with the point, or strike with the edge, we must be obliged to suppose the distance of three feet between every soldier. In this manner every Roman soldier takes up six feet, that is, twice

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<sup>1</sup> Five stadia.



as much distance as one of the phalanx, and consequently opposes singly two soldiers of the first rank; and, for the same reason, is obliged to make head against ten pikes, as we before observed. Now it is impossible for a single soldier to break, or force his way through ten pikes.<sup>1</sup>

Livy shows this evidently in a few words, where he describes in what manner the Romans were repulsed by the Macedonians at the siege of a city.<sup>2</sup> The consul, says he, made his cohorts to advance, in order, if possible, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very close together, had presented their long pikes, the Romans, having ineffectually discharged their javelins against the Macedonians, whom their shields, pressed very close together, covered like a roof, drew their swords. But it was not possible for them either to come to a close engagement, or to cut or break the pikes of the enemy; and if they happened to cut or break any one of them, the broken piece of the pike served as a point; so that this range of pikes, with which the front of the phalanx was armed, still existed.<sup>3</sup>

Paulus Æmilius acknowledged, that in the battle with Perseus, the last king of Macedon, this rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terror and astonishment. He did not remember, he said, any thing so formidable as this phalanx; and often afterwards declared, that this dreadful spectacle had made so strong an impression upon him, as almost made him despair of the victory.<sup>4</sup>

From what has been said above, it will appear that the Macedonian phalanx was considered invincible; but we find by history, that the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquished and subdued by the Romans. "It was invincible," says Polybius, "so long as it continued a phalanx, but this happened very rarely; for to form in that order, a flat even spot of ground of great extent, without either tree, bush, intrenchment, ditch, valley, hill, or river, was requisite. Now we seldom find a spot of ground, of fifteen, twenty, or more furlongs, in extent; for so large a space is necessary for containing a whole army, of which the phalanx is but a part.

"But, let us suppose," continues Polybius, "that a tract of ground, such as could be wished, were found, yet of what use could a body of troops drawn up in the form of a phalanx be, should the enemy, instead of advancing and offering battle, send out detachments to lay waste the country, plunder the cities, or cut off the convoys? That in case the enemy should come to battle, the general need only com-

<sup>1</sup> It was before said, that each soldier of the phalanx took up three feet when he advanced to attack the enemy, and but half as much when he waited his coming up. In this last case, each Roman soldier was obliged to make head against twenty pikes.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xxxii. n. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cohortes invicem sub signis, quæ cuneum Macedonum (phalangem ipsi vocant) si possent, vi percurrerunt, mittebat. — Ubi conferti hastas ingentis longitudinis præ se Macedones objecissent, velut in constructam densitate clypeorum testudinem, Romani, pilis nequicquam, emissis, cum stringissent gladios; neque progredi propius, neque præcedere hastas poterant; et, si quam incidissent aut præfregissent hastila fragmento ipso acuto inter spicula integrarum hastarum, velut vallum explebat.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265.

mand part of his front, the centre for instance, to give way and fly, that the phalanx might have an opportunity of pursuing them; in this case, it is manifest the phalanx would be broken, and a large cavity made in it, in which the Romans would not fail to charge the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the same time that those soldiers who were pursuing the enemy, might be attacked in the same manner.'

The reasoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at the same time gives us a very just idea of the manner in which the ancients fought; which certainly ought to have a place in history, as it is an essential part of it.

Hence appears, as Mr. Bossuet<sup>1</sup> observed after Polybius, the difference between the Macedonian phalanx,<sup>2</sup> formed of one large body, very close on all sides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army, divided into small bodies, which for that reason were nimbler, and consequently more aptly disposed for motions of every kind. "The phalanx cannot long preserve its natural property," says Polybius; "that is to say, its solidity and thickness, because it requires its peculiar spots of ground, and those, as it were, made purposely for it; and that for want of such tracts, it encumbers, or rather breaks itself by its own motion; not to mention, that, if it is once broken, the soldiers who compose it can never rally again. Whereas the Roman army, by its division into small bodies, takes advantage of all places and situations, and suits itself to them. It is united or separated at pleasure. It files off, or draws together, without the least difficulty. It can very easily detach, rally, and perform every kind of evolution, either in whole or in part, as occasion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and consequently more activity and strength, than the phalanx."

This enabled Paulus Æmilius to gain his celebrated victory over Perseus.<sup>3</sup> He first attacked the phalanx in front. But the Macedonians, keeping very close together, holding their pikes with both hands, and presenting this iron rampart to the enemy, could not be either broken or forced in any manner, but made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans. But at last, the unevenness of the ground, and the great extent of the front, not allowing the Macedonians to continue, in all parts, that range of shields and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed

<sup>1</sup> Discourse on Universal History.

<sup>2</sup> *Stratarius uterque miles, ordines servans; sed illa phalanx immobilis, et unius generis; Romana acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans; facilis partienti quacumque opus esset, facilis jugenti.*—Tit. Liv. l. ix. n. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Erant pleraque sylvestria circa, incommoda phalangi, maxime Macedonum, quæ nisi ubi prælongis hastis velut vallum ante clypeos objecit, quod ut fiat, libero campo opus est, nullius admodum usus est.*—Id. l. xxxi. n. 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Secunda legio immissa dissipavit phalangem; neque ulla evidentior causa victoriæ fuit, quam quod multa passim prælia erant, quæ fluctuantem turbarent primo, deinde disjecerunt phalangem; cujus confectæ, et intentis horrentis hastis, intolerabiles vires sunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusa strue implicantur: si vero ab latere, aut ab tergo, aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinæ modo turbantur. Sicut tum adversus catervatim irruentes Romanos, et interrupta multifariam acie, obviam ire cogebantur; et Romani, quacumque data intervalla essent, insinuabant ordines suos. Qui si universa acie in frontem adversus instructam phalangem concurrissent—induisent se hastis, nec confectam aciem sustinuissent.*—Tit. Liv.



that the phalanx was obliged to leave several openings and intervals. Upon this he attacked them at these openings, not as before, in front, and in a general onset, but by detached bodies, and in different parts at one and the same time. By this means the phalanx was broken, and its whole force, which consisted merely in its union, and the impression it made all at once, was entirely lost, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.<sup>1</sup>

Polybius, in the twelfth book above cited, also describes in a few words the order of battle observed by the cavalry. According to him, a squadron of horse consisted of eight hundred, generally drawn up one hundred in front, and eight deep; consequently such a squadron as this took up a furlong, or one hundred fathoms, supposing the distance of one fathom or six feet for each horseman, which space he must necessarily occupy, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten squadrons, or eight thousand horse, occupied ten times as much ground, that is, ten furlongs, or a thousand fathoms, which make about half a league.<sup>2</sup>

From what has been said, the reader may judge how much ground an army took, according to the number of infantry and cavalry of which it consisted.

## SECTION II.—THE SACRED WAR. SEQUEL OF THE HISTORY OF PHILIP.

DISCORD, which constantly excited in the Greeks dispositions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocæans. Those people, who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphos, ploughed up certain lands that were sacred to Apollo, which were thereby profaned. Immediately the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed against them as guilty of sacrilege; some, from a spirit of sincerity, and others, in order to cover their private revenge with the veil of religion. The war that broke out on this occasion, was called the Sacred War, as undertaken from a religious motive, and lasted ten years. The people guilty of this profanation, were summoned to appear before the Amphyctions, or states-general of Greece; and the whole affair being duly examined, the Phocæans were declared sacrilegious, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine.<sup>3</sup>

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man, and of great authority, having proved by some verses in Homer,<sup>4</sup> that the sovereignty of Delphos belonged anciently to the Phocæans, inflamed them against this decree, resolved with them to take up arms, and was appointed their general. He immediately went to Sparta to engage the Lacedæmonians in his interest. They were very much disgusted at the sentence which the Amphyctions had pronounced against them at the solicitation of the Thebans, by which they had also been condemned to pay a fine, for having seized upon the citadel of Thebes, by fraud and violence. Archidamus, one of the kings

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch in Paul. Æmil. p. 265, 266. Liv. l. xliv. n. 41.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355. Diod. l. xvi. p. 425—433.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. xii. p. 633.

<sup>4</sup> Iliad. l. ii. v. 516.

of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handsome reception. This monarch, however, did not dare to declare openly in favour of the Phocæans, but promised to assist him with money, and to furnish him secretly with troops, which he accordingly did.

Philomelus, at his return home, raised soldiers, and began by attacking the temple of Delphos, of which he possessed himself without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak resistance. The Locrians, or Locri, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphos, took arms against him, but were defeated in several encounters. Philomelus, encouraged by these first successes, increased his troops daily, and put himself in a condition to carry on his enterprise with vigour. He accordingly entered the temple, tore from the pillars the decree of the Amphyctions against the Phocæans, published all over the country, that he had no design to seize the riches of the temple, and that his sole view was to restore the Phocæans their ancient rights and privileges. It was necessary for him to have a sanction from the god who presided at Delphos, and to receive such an answer from the oracle as might be favourable to him. The priestess at first refused to co-operate on this occasion; but, being terrified by his menaces, she answered that the god permitted him to do whatever he should think proper; a circumstance he took care to publish to all the neighbouring nations.

The affair was now become a serious one. The Amphyctions meeting a second time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocæans. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; while Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocæans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed, than in his (the deity's) defence, for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt; and being enabled, by this fresh supply, to double the pay of his soldiers, he raised a very considerable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the success for some time seemed doubtful on both sides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded, and the prodigious length to which a false zeal, when veiled with so venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencounter taken several prisoners, condemned them all to die as sacrilegious wretches, who were excommunicated. The Phocæans did the same by way of reprisal. These had at first gained several advantages; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus their leader, being closely attacked upon an eminence, from which there was no retreating, defended himself for a long time with incredible bravery; which, however, not availing, he threw himself headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he must unavoidably have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

This new general soon levied another army, the advantageous pay he offered procuring him soldiers from all sides. He also, by dint of money, brought over several chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire or to do little or nothing, by which he gained great advantages.<sup>1</sup>

Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neutral in this general movement of the Greeks, in favour either of the Phœceans or the Thebans. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the interest of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war from which he could not reap the least benefit; and to take advantage of the circumstance in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehension or opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties weaken and consume each other, as he should thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards with greater advantage.

Being desirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made in it, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city, incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs whenever it was in the hands of his enemies.<sup>2</sup> He accordingly besieged that city, made himself master of and razed it. He lost one of his eyes before Methone, by a very singular accident. Aster of Amphipolis had offered his service to Philip, as so excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer: "Well, I will take you into my service when I make war upon starlings;" which answer stung the cross-bowman to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it, and it is not a small merit to know when to hold one's tongue. After having thrown himself into the city, he shot an arrow, on which was written, "to Philip's right eye," and gave him a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman, for he hit him in his right eye. Philip sent him back the same arrow, with this inscription, "If Philip takes the city, he will hang up Aster;" and he was accordingly as good as his word.<sup>3</sup>

A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, yet he took away the blemish.<sup>4</sup> This monarch was, however, so weak as to be angry whenever any person happened to mention the word Cyclops, or even the word eye, in his presence. Men, however, seldom blush for an honourable imperfection. A Lacedæmonian woman thought more like a man, when, to console her son for a glorious wound that had lamed him, she said, "Now my son, every step you take will put you in mind of your valour."<sup>5</sup>

After the taking of Methone, Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquests, or gain new friends by doing them

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. Diod. p. 434.

<sup>3</sup> Suidas in *Kæcar*.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. l. vii. n. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Domet. Phaler. de Elocut. c. iii.

some important service, marched into Thessaly, which had implored his assistance against the tyrants. The liberty of that country seemed now secure, since Alexander of Pheræ was no more. But, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebe, had murdered him, grown weary of having some time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppressed the Thessalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldest of the three brothers, who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocæans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a second time, he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were pursued to the sea-shore. Upwards of six thousand men were killed on the spot, among whom was Onomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gallows; and three thousand, who were taken prisoners, were thrown into the sea, by Philip's order, as so many sacrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Pheræ, and restored Thessaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy success of this expedition Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Thessalians, whose excellent cavalry, joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards so great a share in his victories, and those of his son.<sup>1</sup>

Phayllus, who succeeded his brother Onomarchus, deriving the same advantages he had done, from the immense riches he found in the temple, raised a numerous army, and, supported by the troops of the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and the other allies, whom he paid very largely, went into Boeotia, and invaded the Thebans. For a long time victory shifted sides; but at last, Phayllus being attacked with a sudden and violent distemper, after suffering the most cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and sacrilegious actions. Phalecus, then very young, the son of Onomarchus, was placed in his room, and Mnaseas, a man of great experience, and strongly attached to his family, was appointed his counsellor.

The new leader, treading in the steps of his predecessors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched all his friends. At last the Phocæans opened their eyes, and appointed commissioners to call all those to account who had any concern in the public moneys. Upon this Phalecus was deposed; and, after an exact inquiry, it was found that, from the beginning of the war, there had been taken out of the temple upwards of ten thousand talents.

Philip, after having freed the Thessalians, resolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This was his first attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a share in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis, in order to punish the sacrilegious Phocæans, he marched towards Thermopylæ, to possess himself of a pass, which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march

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<sup>1</sup> Diod. p. 432—435.

which might prove of the most fatal consequence to them, hastened to Thermopylæ, and possessed themselves very seasonably of this important pass, which Philip did not dare attempt to force; so that he was obliged to return back into Macedonia.<sup>1</sup>

SECTION III. — DEMOSTHENES HARANGUES THE ATHENIANS AGAINST PHILIP. THAT PRINCE TAKES OLYNTHUS.

As we shall soon see Philip engaged against the Athenians, who, by the strong exhortations and prudent counsels of Demosthenes, will become his greatest enemies, and the most powerful opposers of his ambitious designs; it may not be improper, before we enter into that part of the history, to give a short account of the state of Athens, and of the disposition of the citizens at that time.

We must not form a judgment of the character of the Athenians, in the age we are now speaking of, from that of their ancestors, in the time of the battles of Marathon and of Salamis, from whose virtues they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the same men, and had no longer the same maxims, and the same manners. They no longer discovered the same zeal for the public good; the same application to the affairs of the state; the same courage to support the fatigues of war by sea and land; the same care of the revenues, the same willingness to hear salutary advice; the same discernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of magistrates to whom they entrusted the administration of the state. To these happy, these glorious dispositions, succeeded a fondness for repose, and indolence with regard to public affairs: an aversion for military fatigues, which they now left entirely to mercenary troops; and a profusion of the public treasures in games and shows; a love for the flattery which their orators lavished upon them; and an unhappy facility in conferring public offices by intrigue and cabal; all which usually precede the approaching ruin of states. Such was the situation of Athens at the time the king of Macedon began to turn his arms against Greece.

We have seen that Philip, after various conquests, had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; because the Athenians, justly alarmed at the impending danger, had stopped him at the pass of Thermopylæ. Demosthenes, taking advantage of so favourable a disposition of things, mounted the tribunal, in order to set before them a lively image of the impending danger to which they were exposed by the boundless ambition of Philip, and to convince them of the absolute necessity they were consequently under, of applying the most speedy remedies. Now, as the success of his arms, and the rapidity of his progress spread throughout Athens a kind of terror, bordering very near upon despair, the orator, by a wonderful artifice, first endeavours to revive their courage, and ascribes their calamities to their sloth and indolence. For, if they hitherto had acquitted themselves of their duty, and that, in spite of their activity and their utmost efforts, Philip had prevailed over them, they then, indeed,

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.



would not have the least resource or hope left. But in this oration, and all those which follow, Demosthenes insists strongly, that the grandeur of Philip is wholly owing to the supineness of the Athenians; and that this supineness, which makes him bold and daring, swells him with such a spirit of haughtiness, as even insults the Athenians.<sup>1</sup>

"See," says Demosthenes to them, speaking of Philip, "to what a height the arrogance of that man rises, who will not suffer you to choose either action or repose; but employs menaces, and, as fame says, speaks in the most insolent terms; and not contented with his first conquests, but incapable of satiating his lust of dominion, engages every day in some new enterprise. Possibly, you wait till necessity reduces you to act. Can any one be greater to free-born men than shame and infamy? Will you then for ever walk the public places with this question in your mouths, 'What news is there?' Can there be greater news than that a Macedonian has vanquished the Athenians, and made himself the supreme arbiter of Greece? 'Philip is dead,' says one; 'He is only sick,' replies another. His being wounded at Methone had occasioned all these reports. But whether he be sick or dead is nothing to the purpose, O, Athenians, for the moment after heaven had delivered you from him, should you still behave as you now do, you would raise up another Philip against yourselves: since the man in question owes his grandeur infinitely more to your indolence than to his own strength."

But Demosthenes, not satisfied with bare remonstrances, or with giving his opinion in general terms, proposed a plan, the execution of which he believed would check the attempts of Philip. In the first place, he advised the Athenians to fit out a fleet of fifty galleys, and to resolve firmly to man them themselves. He required them to reinforce these with ten galleys lightly armed, which might serve as a convoy to the fleet and transports. With regard to the land forces, as in his time, the general, elected by the most powerful faction, formed the army only of a confused assemblage of foreigners and mercenary troops, who did little service; Demosthenes required them to levy no more than two thousand chosen troops, five hundred of whom should be Athenians, and the rest raised from among the allies, with two hundred horse, fifty of which should also be Athenians.

The expense of this small army, with regard only to provisions and other matters independent of their pay, was to amount to little more per month than ninety talents, viz. forty talents for ten convoy galleys, at the rate of twenty minæ per month for each galley; forty talents for the two thousand infantry, and ten drachmas per month for each foot soldier; lastly, twelve talents for the two hundred horse, or thirty drachmas per month for each horseman. The reader may hence form an idea of the expenses of an army in those times. Demosthenes adds, "If any one imagine that the preparation of provisions is not a considerable step, he is very much mistaken; for

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<sup>1</sup> Demost. 1. Phil.

he is persuaded, that provided the forces do not want provisions, the war will furnish them with every thing besides; and that, without doing the least wrong to the Greeks or allies, they will not fail of sufficient acquisitions to make up all deficiencies and arrears of pay."

But, as the Athenians might be surprised that Demosthenes required so small a body of forces, he gave this reason for it, viz. that at present, the commonwealth did not permit the Athenians to oppose Philip with a sufficient force in the field; and that it would be their business to make excursions only. Thus his design was, that this little army should be hovering perpetually about the frontiers of Macedonia, to awe, observe, harass, and keep close to the enemy, in order to prevent them from concerting and executing such enterprises with ease, as they might think fit to attempt.

What the success of this harangue was, is not known. It is very probable, that as the Athenians were not attacked personally, they, according to the supineness natural to them, were very indolent with regard to the progress of Philip's arms. The divisions at this time in Greece were very favourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedæmon, on one side, employed themselves wholly in reducing the strength of Thebes, their rival; while, on the other side, the Thessalians, in order to free themselves from their tyrants, and the Thebans, to maintain the superiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, devoted themselves in the most resolute manner to Philip, and assisted him, undesignedly, in making chains for themselves.

Philip, as an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all these dissensions. This king, in order to secure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace; and this he could not well attempt but at the expense of the Athenians, who since the defeat of Xerxes had many colonies, besides several states, who were either their allies or tributaries, in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace, in the peninsula of Pallene, was one of these colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas, father of Philip, and had even very much opposed the latter, upon his accession to the crown. He, however, being not firmly established on the throne, at first employed dissimulation, and requested the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, some time after, he gave up Potidæa, an important fortress, which he had conquered, in concert with and for them, from the Athenians. When he found himself able to execute his project, he took proper measures for the siege of Olynthus. The inhabitants of this city, who saw the storm gathering at a distance, had recourse to the Athenians, of whom they requested immediate aid. The affair was debated in an assembly of the people, and as it was of the utmost importance, a great number of orators met in the assembly. Each of them mounted it in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demosthenes, who was then but thirty-four, did not speak till after his seniors had discussed the matter a long time.

In this discourse,<sup>1</sup> the orator, the better to succeed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athenians.<sup>2</sup> For this purpose, he represents Philip in two very different lights. On one side, he is a man whose unbounded ambition the empire of the world could not satiate; a haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies, as so many subjects or slaves; and who, for that reason, is no less incensed by too slow a submission, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent on taking advantage of the oversights and errors of others, seizes every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior, whom his activity multiplies, and who continually undergoes the most severe toils, without allowing himself a moment's repose, or having the least regard to the difference of seasons; an intrepid hero, who rushes through obstacles, and plunges into the midst of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purse, traffics, buys, and employs gold no less than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune lavishes her favours, and for whom she seems to have forgotten her inconstancy; but, on the other side, this same Philip is an imprudent man, who measures his vast projects, not by his strength, but merely by his ambition; a rash man, who, by his attempts, digs the grave of his own grandeur, and opens precipices before him, down which a small effort would throw him; a knave, whose power is raised on the most ruinous of all foundations, breach of faith, and villany; a usurper, hated universally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws, human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, detested even in the heart of his dominions, in which, by the infamy of his manners and other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his soldiers, and of all his subjects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and whom the gods are now upon the point of destroying by any hand that will administer to their wrath, and second their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Turreil draws, by uniting the several detached lineaments in the present oration of Demosthenes. He herein shows the great freedom with which the Athenians spoke of so powerful a monarch.

Our orator, after having one moment represented Philip as formidable, and the next, as very easy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing such an enemy, would be to reform the new abuses, to revive the ancient order and regulations, to appease domestic dissensions, and to suppress the cabals which are incessantly forming; and all this in such a manner that every thing may unite in the single point, the public service; and that, at a common expense, every man, according to his abilities, may concur in the destruction of the common enemy.

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<sup>1</sup> The oration which Demosthenes pronounced at that time, is generally looked upon as the second of the three Olynthiacs, which relate to this subject. But M. de Turreil, chiefly on the authority of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, which ought to be of great weight on this occasion, changes the order generally observed in the orations of Demosthenes, and places this at the head of the Olynthiacs. Though I am of his opinion, I shall cite the orations in the order they are printed.

<sup>2</sup> Olynth. ii.



Demades,<sup>1</sup> bribed by Philip's gold, opposed very strenuously, but in vain, the advice of Demosthenes; for the Athenians sent, under the conduct of Chares, the general, thirty galleys and two thousand men to succour the Olynthians, who, in this urgent necessity, which so nearly affected the Greeks generally, could obtain assistance only from Athens.

This succour, however, did not prevent the designs of Philip, or the progress of his arms. For he marched into Chalcis, took several places of strength, the fortress of Gira, and spread terror throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus in great danger of an invasion, and menaced with destruction, sent a second embassy to Athens, to solicit a new reinforcement. Demosthenes argued very strongly in favour of their request, and proved to the Athenians that they were equally obliged by honour and interest to have regard to it. This is the subject of the Olynthiac, generally taken as the third.

The orator, always animated with a strong and lively zeal for the safety and glory of his country, endeavoured to intimidate the Athenians, by setting before them the dangers with which they were threatened; exhibiting to them a most dreadful prospect of the future, if they did not rouse them from their lethargy; for that, in case Philip seized upon Olynthus, he would inevitably attack Athens afterwards with all his forces.

The greatest difficulty was the means of raising sufficient sums for defraying the expenses requisite for the succour of the Olynthians, because the military funds were otherwise employed, viz. for the celebration of the public games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Ægina, had concluded a peace for thirty years with the Lacedæmonians, they resolved to put into their treasury, by way of reserve, a thousand talents every year; at the same time prohibiting any person, upon pain of death, from mentioning the employing any part of it, except for repulsing an enemy who should invade Attica. This was at first observed with the warmth and fervour which men have for all new institutions. But Pericles, afterwards, to court popularity, proposed to distribute among the citizens, in times of peace, the thousand talents, and to give to each individual at the public shows, two oboli, upon condition, however that they might resume this fund in time of war.<sup>2</sup> The proposal and restriction were both approved. But, as all concessions of this kind degenerate one time or other into license, the Athenians were so highly pleased with this distribution, called by Demades, "a bird-lime by which the Athenians might be caught," that they absolutely would not suffer it to be retrenched on any account. The abuse was carried to such a height, that Eubulus, one of the faction which opposed Demosthenes, prohibited any person, upon pain of death, so much as to propose the restoring for the service of the war, those funds which Pericles had transferred to the games and

<sup>1</sup> Suidas in voce Δημάδης.

<sup>2</sup> These games, besides the two oboli which were distributed to each of the persons present, occasioned a greater number of other expenses.

public shows. Apollodorus was even punished for declaring himself of a contrary opinion, and for insisting upon it.

This absurd profusion had very strange effects. It was impossible to supply it but by imposing taxes, the inequality of which, being entirely arbitrary, perpetuated strong feuds, and made the military preparations so very slow, as quite defeated the designs of them without lessening the expense. As the artificers and sea-faring people, who composed about two-thirds of the population of Athens, did not contribute any part of their substance, and only gave their persons, the whole weight of the taxes fell entirely upon the rich. These murmured upon that account, and reproached the others with the expenditure of the public moneys upon festivals, comedies, and the like superfluities. But the people, being sensible of their superiority, paid very little regard to their complaints, and had no manner of inclination to subtract from their diversions, merely to ease people who possessed employments and dignities, from which they were entirely excluded. Besides, any person who should dare to propose this to the people seriously and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

Demosthenes, however, presumed to introduce this subject at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmost art and circumspection. After showing that the Athenians were indispensably obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprises of Philip, he hinted, but in a distant way, that those funds which were expended in theatrical representations, ought to be employed for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demanded that commissioners should be nominated, not to enact new laws, there being already but too many established, but to examine and abolish such as should be prejudicial to the commonwealth. He did not thereby become liable to capital punishment, as enacted by those laws, because he did not require that they should be actually abolished, but only that commissioners might be nominated to inspect them. He only hinted, how highly necessary it was to abolish a law, which grieved the most zealous citizens, and reduced them to this sad necessity, either to ruin themselves, in case they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to destroy their country, in case they observed a fearful, prevaricating silence.

These remonstrances do not seem to have had the success they deserved, since in the following Olynthiac, which is commonly placed as the first, the orator was obliged to inveigh once more against the misapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigorously attacked by Philip, and having hitherto been very ill served by the venal succours of Athens, required, by a third embassy, a body of troops, which should not consist of mercenaries and foreigners as before, but of true Athenians, of men inspired with a sincere ardour for the interest both of their own glory, and the common cause. The Athenians, at the earnest solicitation of Demosthenes, sent Chares a second time, with a reinforcement of seventeen galleys, and two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians had requested.

The following year Philip possessed himself of Olynthus. Neither the succours nor efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domestic enemies. It was betrayed by Euthycrates and Lasthenes, two of the most eminent citizens in actual employment at that time. Thus Philip entered by the breach which his gold had made. He immediately plundered this unhappy city, laid one part of the inhabitants in chains, and sold the rest for slaves; distinguishing those who had betrayed their city, in no other way than by the supreme contempt he expressed for them.<sup>1</sup> This king, like his son Alexander, loved the treason, but abhorred the traitor. And, indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country? Every one, even the common soldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Lasthenes for the perfidy, who, complaining to Philip upon that account, received only this ironical answer, infinitely more severe than the reproach itself, "Do not mind what a pack of vulgar fellows say, who call every thing by its real name."<sup>2</sup>

The king was overjoyed at his being possessed of this city, which was of the utmost importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conquests. Some years before, the Olynthians had long resisted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedæmon: whereas Philip had taken it with very little resistance, or had not lost many men in the siege.<sup>3</sup>

He now caused shows and public games to be exhibited with the utmost magnificence; to these he added feasts, in which he made himself very popular, bestowing on all the guests considerable gifts, and treating them with the utmost marks of his friendship.

#### SECTION IV. — PHILIP DECLARES FOR THEBES AGAINST THE PHOCÆANS: HE SEIZES ON THERMOPYLÆ.

THE Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war, which they had so long carried on against the Phocæans, addressed Philip.<sup>4</sup> Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neutrality with respect to the sacred war; and he seemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himself, that is, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war, which equally exhausted them both. The Thebans had now lost much of that haughtiness, and those ambitious views, with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired them. The instant therefore that they requested the alliance of Philip, he resolved to espouse the interest of that republic, in opposition to the Phocæans. He had not lost sight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himself master of it. To give success to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties which at that time divided all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not so void of sense as to imagine, that the latter party would assist his design of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do than to join the

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. Diod. l. xvi. p. 450—452.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. xv. p. 341.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347

Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But, to give a colour of justice to his cause, besides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired, with regard to the violated god; and was very glad to pass for a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god, and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views, and endeavour to screen the most unjust attempts with the veil of probity, and sometimes even of religion; though they very frequently have little or no regard for either.

There was nothing Philip had more at heart, than to possess himself of Thermopylæ, as it opened him a passage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the sacred war to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair; and to preside in the Pythian games. He was desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to possess himself of Phocis; but, in order to put this double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who had been, for many years, in alliance with the Phocæans. His business therefore was to make them change their measures by placing other objects in their view; and on this occasion the policy of Philip succeeded wonderfully.<sup>1</sup>

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burdensome, and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phrynon to sound the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he stood disposed with regard to peace. These related that Philip did not appear averse to it, and that he even expressed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this, the Athenians, resolved to send a solemn embassy, to inquire more strictly into the truth of things, and to procure the last explanations previously necessary to so important a negotiation. Æschines and Demosthenes were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. All the ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this, they were immediately sent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then that Demosthenes, who in his first embassy had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promised to return and ransom them, at his own expense, endeavoured to enable himself to keep his word; and, in the mean time, advised his colleagues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republic had commanded; and to wait as soon as possible upon Philip, in whatever place he might be. These, however, instead of expediting their journey as they were desired, proceeded slowly to Macedonia by land, remained three months in that country, and gave Philip time to possess himself of several other strong places belonging

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<sup>1</sup> Demost. Orat. de Fals. Legat.

to the Athenians in Thrace. At last, meeting with the king of Macedon, they agreed with him upon articles of peace: but having lulled them to sleep with the precious pretence of a treaty, he deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the ambassadors, one after another, by presents, Demosthenes excepted, who being but one, opposed his colleagues to no manner of purpose.

In the mean time, Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at Pheræ in Thessaly, he at last ratified the treaty of peace, but refused to include the Phocæans in it. When news was brought to Athens that Philip had signed the treaty, it occasioned very great joy in that city, especially to those who were adverse to the war, and dreaded the consequences of it. Among these was Isocrates.<sup>1</sup> He was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whose prosperity he had very much at heart. The weakness of his voice, with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in public, and from mounting, like others, the tribunal of harangues. He had opened a school in Athens, in which he read rhetorical lectures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and success. He had not, however, entirely renounced the care of public affairs; and as others served their country *viva voce*, in the public assemblies, Isocrates contributed to it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and these being soon made public, were very eagerly sought after.

On the present occasion, he wrote a piece of considerable length, which he addressed to Philip, with whom he held a correspondence, but in such terms as were worthy a good and faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at least eighty-eight. The scope of this discourse was, to exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had just before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations, and afterwards to turn his arms against the king of Persia. The business was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the rest depended, viz. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos. He confessed, that had Sparta or Athens been as powerful as formerly, he should have been far from making such a proposal, which he was sensible they would never approve, and which the pride of those two republics, while sustained and augmented by success, would reject with disdain. But that now, as the most powerful cities of Greece, wearied out and exhausted by long wars, and humbled in their turns by fatal reverses of fortune, had equally an interest in laying down their arms, and living in peace, pursuant to the example which the Athenians had begun to set them, the present was the most favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the several cities of Greece.

In case he, Philip, should be so happy as to succeed in such a project, so glorious and beneficial a success would raise him above whatever had appeared most august in Greece. But this project, in itself, though it should not have so happy an effect as he might expect from

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<sup>1</sup> Isocrat. Orat. ad Philip.



it, would yet infallibly gain him the esteem, the affection, and confidence of all the nations of Greece; advantages infinitely preferable to the taking of cities, and all the conquests he might hope to obtain.

Such persons indeed, as were inimical to Philip, exclaimed against him as a crafty prince, who gave a specious pretext to his march, but, at the same time, had in reality no other object in view than the enslaving of Greece. Isocrates, either from a too great credulity, or from a desire of bringing Philip into his views, supposed that rumours so injurious as these had no manner of foundation, it not being probable, that a prince who gloried in being descended from Hercules, the deliverer of Greece, should think of invading and possessing himself of it. But these very reports, which were so capable of blackening his name, and of sullyng all his glory, should prompt him to demonstrate the falsity of them in the presence of all Greece by the least suspicions of proofs, in leaving and maintaining each city in the full possession of its laws and liberties; in removing, with the utmost care, all suspicions of partiality; in not espousing the interest of one people against another; in winning the confidence of all men by a noble disinterestedness, and an invariable love of justice; in fine, by aspiring to no other title than that of the Reconciler of the divisions of Greece, a title far more glorious than that of Conqueror. That it was in the king of Persia's dominions he ought to acquire the last title. The conquest of it was open and sure to him, in case he could succeed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He should call to mind that Agesilaus, with no other forces than those of Sparta, shook the Persian throne, and would infallibly have subverted it, had he not been recalled into Greece, by the intestine divisions which then broke out. The signal victory of the ten thousand under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat, in the sight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip, against a prince, inferior in every respect to him whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Isocrates concluded with declaring, that one would believe the gods had hitherto granted Philip so long a train of successes, with no other view than that he might be enabled to form and execute the glorious enterprise, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduced the counsel he gave to three heads; that this prince should govern his own empire with wisdom and justice; should heal the divisions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without desiring to possess any part of it to himself; and this being done, that he should turn his victorious arms against the country, which from all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their destruction. It must be confessed, that this was a most noble plan, and highly worthy of a great prince. But Isocrates had a very false idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not possess the equity, moderation, or disinterestedness, which such a project required. He really intended to attack Persia, but was persuaded, that it was his business to secure himself first of Greece, which indeed he was determined to do, not by services, but

by force. He did not endeavour either to win over or persuade nations, but to subject and reduce them. As on his side he had no manner of regard for alliances and treaties, he judged of others by himself, and was for assuring himself of them by much stronger ties than those of friendship, gratitude, and sincerity.

As Demosthenes was better acquainted with the state of affairs than Isocrates, so he formed a truer judgment of Philip's designs. Upon his return from his embassy, he declared expressly, that he did not approve either of the discourse or the conduct of the Macedonian king, but that every thing was to be dreaded from him. On the contrary, Æschines, who had been bribed, assured the Athenians, that he had discovered the greatest candour and sincerity in the promises and proceedings of this king. He had engaged, that Thespiæ and Plataeæ should be re-peopled in spite of the opposition of the Thebans; that in case he should proceed so far as to subject the Phocæans, he would preserve them, and not do them the least injury; that he would restore Thebes to the good order which had before been observed in it; that Oropus should be given up absolutely to the Athenians; and that, in lieu of Amphipolis, they should be put in possession of Eubœa. It was to no purpose that Demosthenes demonstrated to his fellow-citizens, that Philip, notwithstanding all these glorious promises, endeavoured to possess himself, in an absolute manner, of Phocis; and that by abandoning it to him, they would betray the commonwealth, and give up all Greece into his hands. He was not regarded, but the oration of Æschines, who engaged that Philip would make good his several promises, prevailed over that of Demosthenes.

These deliberations gave that prince an opportunity to possess himself of Thermopylæ, and to enter Phocis.<sup>1</sup> Hitherto there had been no possibility of reducing the Phocæans; but it was only necessary that Philip should appear, for the mere mention of his name filled them with terror. Upon the supposition that he was marching against a herd of sacrilegious wretches, not against common enemies, he ordered all his soldiers to wear crowns of laurel, and led them himself to battle, as under the conduct of the gods, whose honour they revenged. The instant they appeared, the Phocæans believed themselves overcome. Accordingly they sued for peace, and yielded to Philip's mercy, who gave Phalecus, their leader, leave to retire into Peloponnesus, with the eight thousand men in his service. In this manner, Philip, with very little trouble, engrossed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhausted the forces of both parties. This victory gained him incredible honour throughout all Greece, and his glorious expedition was the topic of all conversation in that country. He was considered as the avenger of sacrilege, and the protector of religion; and they almost ranked him in the number of the gods, as the man who had defended their majesty with so much courage and success.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Diod. l. xvi. p. 455.

<sup>2</sup> Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo gloriæ dedit. Illum vindicem sacrilegit, illum ultorem religionum. Itaque Diis proximus habetur, per quem deorum majestas vindicata sit.—Justin. l. viii. c. 2.



Philip, that he might not seem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, assembled the council of the Amphictyons, and appointed them, for form sake, supreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phocæans had rendered themselves obnoxious. Under the name of those judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decreed that the cities of Phocis should be destroyed; that they should all be reduced to small towns of sixty houses each, and that those towns should be at a certain distance one from the other; that those wretches who had committed sacrilege, should be absolutely proscribed; and that the rest should not enjoy their possessions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which should continue to be levied till such time as the whole sums taken out of the temple of Delphos should be repaid. Philip did not forget himself on this occasion. After he had subjected the rebellious Phocæans, he demanded that their seat in the council of the Amphictyons, which they had been declared to have forfeited, should be transferred to him. The Amphictyons, the instrument of whose vengeance he had now been, were afraid of refusing him, and accordingly admitted him a member of their body; a circumstance of the highest importance to him, as we shall see in the sequel, and of very dangerous consequence to all the rest of Greece. They also gave him the superintendence of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Boeotians and Thessalians; because the Corinthians, who possessed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themselves unworthy of it, by sharing the sacrilege of the Phocæans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phocæans had met with, the former perceived, but too late, the wrong step they had taken in refusing to comply with the counsels of Demosthenes, and in abandoning themselves blindly to the vain and idle promises of a traitor who had sold his country. Besides the shame and grief with which they were seized, for having failed in their obligations with the Phocæans, they found that they had betrayed their own interests in abandoning their allies. For, Philip, by possessing himself of Phocis, was become master of Thermopylæ, which opened him the gates, and put into his hands the keys of Greece. The Athenians, therefore, alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children should be brought out of the country into the city; that the walls should be repaired, and the Piræus fortified, in order to put themselves in a state of defence in case of an invasion.<sup>1</sup>

The Athenians had no share in the decree by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphictyons. They, perhaps, had absented themselves purposely, that they might not authorize it by their presence; or, which was more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obstacles, and avoid the remoras<sup>2</sup> he might meet with in the execution of his design, assembled such of the Amphictyons only as

<sup>1</sup> Demost. de Fals. Legat. p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> A figurative expression, from the name of a worm that injures the bottoms of vessels, and thereby impedes their sailing.

were entirely at his devotion. In short, he conducted his intrigue so very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be disputed as clandestine and irregular; and, therefore, he required a confirmation of it by the people, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the circular invitation; but, in an assembly of the people, which was called in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, several were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of it. Demosthenes, however, was of a contrary opinion; and though he did not approve in any manner of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their interest to infringe it in the present juncture; since that could not be done without stirring up against the Athenians, both the new Amphictyon, and those who had elected him. His advice, therefore, was, that they should not expose themselves unseasonably to the dangerous consequences which might ensue, in case of their determinate refusal to consent to the almost unanimous decree of the Amphictyons; and protested that it was their interest to submit, for fear of worse, to the present condition of the times; that is, to comply with what it was not in their power to prevent. This is the subject of the discourse of Demosthenes, entitled, *Oration on the Peace*. We may reasonably believe that his advice was followed.

SECTION V. — PHILIP EXTENDS HIS CONQUESTS INTO ILLYRIA AND THRACE. CHARACTER OF PHOCION. HIS SUCCESS AGAINST PHILIP.

AFTER Philip had settled every thing relating to the worship of the god, and the security of the temple of Delphos, he returned into Macedonia with great glory, and the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror.<sup>1</sup> Diodorus observes, that all those who had shared in profaning and plundering the temple, perished miserably, and came to a tragical end.<sup>2</sup>

Philip, satisfied that he had opened himself a passage into Greece by his seizure of Thermopylæ; that he had subjected Phocis; had established himself one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphictyon; and that he had gained the esteem and applause of all nations, by his zeal to revenge the honour of the deity; judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to stop his career, in order to prevent all the states of Greece from taking arms against him, in case they should discover too soon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order, therefore, to remove all suspicion, and to soothe the disquietudes which arose on that occasion, he turned his arms against Illyria, purposely to extend his frontiers on that side, and to keep his troops always in exercise by some new expedition.<sup>3</sup>

The same motive prompted him afterwards to go over into Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he had dispossessed the Athenians of several strong places in that country. Philip still carried on his conquests there. Suidas in *Kapav* observes, that before he took Olyn-

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 456.

<sup>3</sup> Idem. p. 463.

thus, he had made himself master of thirty-two cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. Chersonesus also was situated very commodiously for him. This was a very rich peninsula, in which there were a great number of powerful cities and fine pasture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants of it put themselves under the protection of Lacedæmon, after Lysander had destroyed Athens, but submitted again to their first masters, after Conon, the son of Timotheus, had reinstated that country. Cotys, king of Thrace, then dispossessed the Athenians of Chersonesus; but it was afterwards restored to them by Chersobleptus, son of Cotys, who, finding himself unable to defend it against Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad; reserving, however, to himself Cardia, which was the most considerable city of the peninsula, and formed, as it were, the gate and entrance of it.<sup>1</sup> After Philip had deprived Chersobleptus of his kingdom, which happened the second year of the 109th Olympiad,<sup>2</sup> the inhabitants of Cardia, being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athenians, who claimed their city, which formerly belonged to them, submitted themselves to Philip, who did not fail to take them under his protection.<sup>3</sup>

Diopithes, principal of the colony which the Athenians had sent into Chersonesus, looking upon this step in Philip as an act of hostility against the commonwealth, without waiting for an order, and fully persuaded that it would not be disavowed, marched suddenly into the dominions of that prince in the maritime part of Thrace, while he was carrying on an important war in Upper Thrace; plundered them before he had time to return and make head against him, and carried off a rich booty, all which he lodged safe in Chersonesus. Philip, not being able to revenge himself in the manner he could have wished, contented himself with making grievous complaints to the Athenians, by letters upon that account. Such as received pensions from him in Athens, served him but too effectually. These venal wretches loudly exclaimed against a conduct, which, if not prudent, was at least excusable. They declaimed against Diopithes; impeached him of involving the state in war; accused him of extortion and piracy; insisted upon his being recalled, and pursued his condemnation with the utmost heat and violence.<sup>4</sup>

Demosthenes, seeing at this juncture that the public warfare was inseparable from that of Diopithes, undertook his defence, which is the subject of his oration on Chersonesus. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comic poet, whom Terence has copied so faithfully.

Diopithes was accused of oppressing the allies by his unjust exactions. Demosthenes, however, laid the least stress on this, because it was personal; he, nevertheless, pleaded his apology from the example of all the generals, to whom the islands and cities of Asia Minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchased security to their merchants, and procured convoys for them to guard them against the pirates. "It is indeed true," said he, "that a man

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 464.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3669. Ant. J. C. 335.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. Liban. Demost. p. 75.

may exercise oppressions, and ransom allies very unreasonably. But in this case, a bare decree,<sup>1</sup> an accusation in due form, a galley appointed to bring home the general recalled; all this is sufficient to put a stop to abuses. But it is otherwise with regard to Philip's enterprises. These cannot be checked either by decrees or menaces; and nothing will do this effectually, but raising troops and fitting out galleys.

"Your orators cry out continually to you, that we must make choice either of peace or war; but Philip does not leave this at our option, he who is daily meditating some new enterprise against us. And can we doubt that it was he who broke the peace, unless it is pretended, that we have no reason to complain of him, as long as he shall forbear making any attempts on Attica and the Piræus? But it will then be too late for us to oppose him; and it is now we must prepare strong barriers against his ambitious designs. You ought to lay it down as a certain maxim, Athenians, that it is you he aims at; that he considers you as his most dangerous enemies; that your ruin only can establish his tranquillity, and secure his conquests; and that whatever he is now projecting, is merely with the view of falling upon you, and of reducing Athens to a state of subjection. And can any of you be so very simple, as to imagine that Philip is so desirous of obtaining a few unimportant towns in Thrace, for what other name can we bestow on those he now attacks? that he submits to fatigues, seasons, and dangers, merely for the sake of gaining them; but that as for the harbours, the arsenals, the galleys, the silver mines, and the immense revenues of the Athenians, he regards these with indifference; does not covet them in the least; but will suffer you to remain in quiet possession of them?

"What conclusion are we to draw from all that has been said? Why, that so far from disbanding the army we have in Thrace, we must considerably reinforce and strengthen it by new levies, in order that, as Philip has always one in readiness to oppress and enslave the Greeks, we, on our side, may always have one on foot to defend and preserve them." There is reason to believe that the advice of Demosthenes was followed.

The same year that this oration was pronounced, Arymbas, king of Molossus, or Epirus, died. He was son of Alcetas, and had a brother called Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias was married to Philip. This Neoptolemus, by the influence and authority of his son-in-law, was raised so high as to share the regal power with his elder brother, to whom only it lawfully belonged. This first unjust action was followed by a greater. For, after the death of Arymbas,<sup>2</sup> Philip played his part so well, either by his intrigues, or his menaces, that the Molossians expelled Æacidus, son and lawful successor to Arymbas, and established Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, sole king of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brother-in-law, but son-in-law to Philip, whose daughter Cleopatra he had married, as will be

<sup>1</sup> It was called Παράλογος.

<sup>2</sup> Justin, book viii. chap. vi. curtails the genealogy of this prince and confounds his succession.

observed in the sequel, carried his arms into Italy, and there died. After this, Æacidas reascended the throne of his ancestors, reigned alone in Epirus, and transmitted the crown to his son, the famous Pyrrhus, so celebrated in Roman history, and second cousin to Alexander the Great, Alcetas being grandfather to both these monarchs.<sup>1</sup>

Philip, after his expedition into Illyria and Thrace, turned his views towards Peloponnesus. Terrible commotions prevailed at that time in this part of Greece. Lacedæmon assumed the sovereignty of it, with no other right than that of being the strongest. Argos and Messene, being oppressed, had recourse to Philip. He had just before concluded a peace with the Athenians, who, on the faith of their orators, who had been bribed by this prince, imagined he was going to break with the Thebans. His designs, however, were so far from that, that after having subdued Phocia, he divided the conquest with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which presented itself, of opening him a gate through which he might pass into Peloponnesus, in which country, the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta, made them foment divisions perpetually, and continue the war. They, therefore, solicited Philip to join with them, the Messenians and Argives, in order to humble, in concert, the power of Lacedæmon.<sup>2</sup>

This prince readily came into an alliance which suited with his views. He proposed to the Amphictyons, or rather dictated to them, the decree which ordained that Lacedæmon should permit Argos and Messene to enjoy an entire independence, pursuant to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded; and, upon pretence of not exposing the authority of the states-general of Greece, he ordered at the same time, a large body of troops to march that way. The Lacedæmonians, being justly alarmed, requested the Athenians to succour them; and by an embassy pressed earnestly for the concluding such an alliance as their common safety might require. The several powers, whose interest it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, used their utmost endeavours to gain their ends. Philip represented, by his ambassadors to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war against him; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing so was no infraction of the treaties; that before he could have broken his word in this particular, he must first have given it; and that the treaties themselves proved manifestly, that he had not made any promise to that purpose. Philip indeed said true, with regard to the written articles and the public stipulations; but Æschines had made this promise verbally in his name. On the other side, the ambassadors of Thebes, of Argos, and Messene, were also very urgent with the Athenians; and reproached them with having already secretly favoured the Lacedæmonians but too much, who were the professed enemies of the Thebans, and the tyrants of Peloponnesus.

But Demosthenes, insensible to all these solicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real interest of his country, ascended the tribunal,

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. in Philip. ii. Liban in Demosth.



in order to enforce the negotiations of the Lacedæmonians. He reproached the Athenians, according to his usual custom, with supineness and indolence. He exposed the ambitious designs of Philip, which he still pursued; and declared that they aimed at no less than the conquest of all Greece. "You excel," says he to them, "both you and he, in that circumstance which is the object of your application and your cares. You speak in a better manner than he, and he acts better than you. The experience of the past ought at least to open your eyes, and make you more suspicious and circumspect with regard to him: but this serves no other purpose than to lull you asleep. At this time, his troops are marching towards Peloponnesus; he is sending money to it, and his arrival in person, at the head of a powerful army, is expected every moment. Do you think that you will be secure, after he shall have possessed himself of the territories around you? Art has invented, for the security of cities, various methods of defence, as ramparts, walls, ditches, and the like works; but nature surrounds the wise with a common bulwark, which covers them on all sides, and provides for the security of states. What is this bulwark? It is diffidence." He concluded with exhorting the Athenians to rouse from their lethargy, to send immediate succour to the Lacedæmonians; and, above all, to punish directly all such domestic traitors as had deceived the people, and brought their present calamities upon them by spreading false reports, and employing captious assurances.<sup>1</sup>

The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed his invasion of Peloponnesus, in order that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at the same time. He did not, however, sit still, but turned his views another way. Philip had a long time considered Eubœa as proper, from its situation, to favour the designs he meditated against Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign, had attempted to possess himself of it. He indeed set every engine to work at that time, in order to seize upon that island, which he called the Shackles of Greece. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other side, not to suffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy; especially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge. But, that people, according to their usual custom, continued indolent, while Philip pursued his conquests. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his interest, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the island, and, by dint of presents, bribed those who had the greatest authority in it. At the request of certain of the inhabitants, he sent some troops privately thither; possessed himself of several strong places; dismantled Porthmos, a very important fortress in Eubœa, and established three tyrants or kings over the country. He also seized upon Oreum, one of the strongest cities of Eubœa, the fourth part of which it possessed; and established five tyrants over it, who exercised an absolute authority there in his name.<sup>2</sup>

Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria sent a deputation to the Athenians,

<sup>1</sup> Philip. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. Philip. iii. p. 39.

conjuring them to come and deliver that island, every part of which was upon the point of submitting entirely to the Macedonians. The Athenians, upon this, sent some troops under the command of Phocion.<sup>1</sup> That general had already acquired great reputation, and will have, in the sequel, a great share in the administration of affairs, both foreign and domestic. He had studied in the academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in that school had formed his morals and his life upon the model of the most austere virtue. We are told, that no Athenians ever saw him laugh, weep, or go to the public baths. Whenever he went into the country, or was in the army, he always walked barefoot, or without a cloak,<sup>2</sup> unless the weather happened to be insupportably cold; so that the soldiers used to say, laughing, "See! Phocion has got his cloak on; it is a sign of a hard winter."<sup>3</sup>

He knew that eloquence is a necessary quality in a statesman, for enabling him to execute happily the great designs he may undertake during his administration. He therefore applied himself particularly to the attainment of it, and with great success. Persuaded that it is with words as with coins, of which the most esteemed are those that with less weight have most intrinsic value; Phocion had formed himself to a lively, close, concise style, which expressed a great many ideas in a few words. Appearing one day absent in an assembly, where he was preparing to speak, he was asked the reason of it; "I am considering," says he, "whether it is not possible for me to retrench any part of the discourse I am to make." He was a strong reasoner, and by that means carried everything against the most sublime eloquence; which made Demosthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the public, say, "There is the axe which cuts away the effects of my words." One would imagine, that this kind of eloquence is absolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the same things to be often repeated, and with greater extent, in order to their being the more intelligible. But it was not so with the Athenians; lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden sense, they valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word, and really understood him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in this point surpassed even Demosthenes; which is saying a great deal.

Phocion, observing that those persons who at this time were concerned in the administration, had divided it into military and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, confined themselves merely to haranguing the people, and proposing decrees; that the other part, as Diopithes, Leosthenes, and Chares, advanced themselves by military employments; he chose rather to imitate the conduct of Solon, Aristides, and Pericles, who had known how to unite both talents, the art of government with military valour. While he was in employment, peace and tranquillity were always his object, as being the end of every wise government;

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Phoc. p. 746, 747.

<sup>2</sup> Socrates used often to walk in that manner

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Phoc. p. 743, 745.



and yet he commanded in more expeditions, not only than all the generals of his time, but even than all his predecessors. He was honoured with the supreme command forty-five times, without having once asked or made interest for it; and frequently appointed in his absence to command the armies. The world was astonished, that, being of so severe a turn of mind, and so great an enemy to flattery of every kind, it was possible for him, in a manner, to fix in his own favour the natural levity and inconstancy of the Athenians, though he frequently used to oppose, very strenuously, their will and caprice, without regard to their captiousness and delicacy. The idea they had formed to themselves of his probity and zeal for the public good, extinguished every other opinion of him; and that, according to Plutarch, generally made his eloquence so efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it necessary to give the reader this idea of Phocion's character, because frequent mention will be made of him hereafter. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude, set up the standard against them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the very army he had requested. Phocion, however, was not at a loss how to act upon this unforeseen perfidy; for he pursued his enterprise, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Eretria.

After this great success, Phocion returned to Athens; but he was no sooner gone, than all the allies regretted the absence of his goodness and justice. Though the professed enemy of every kind of oppression and extortion, he knew how to insinuate himself artfully into the minds of men; and at the same time that he made others fear him, he had the rare talent of making them love him still more. He one day made Chabrias a fine answer, who appointed him to go with ten light vessels to raise the tribute which certain cities, in alliance with Athens, paid every year. "To what purpose," says he, "is such a squadron? Too strong, if I am only to visit allies; but too weak, if I am to fight enemies." The Athenians knew very well, by the consequences, the signal service which Phocion's great capacity, valour, and experience, had done them in the expedition of Eubœa. For Molossus, who succeeded him, and who took upon himself the command of the troops after that general, was so unsuccessful, that he fell into the hands of the enemy.

Philip, who did not lay aside the design he had formed of conquering all Greece, changed the attack, and sought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want of foreign corn than any other. To dispose at discretion of their transports, and by that means starve Athens, he marched towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to besiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his absence, he left his son Alexander in it, with sovereign authority, though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, some proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring states, subject to Macedon who had considered

the king's absence as a very proper time for executing the design they had formed of revolting. This happy success of Alexander's first expedition was highly agreeable to his father, and at the same time an earnest of what might be expected from him. But fearing, that allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon himself to his vivacity and fire, he sent for him, in order to become his master, and instruct him in person in the art of war.<sup>1</sup>

Demosthenes still continued his invectives against the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouse from their lethargy; and also against the avarice of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amused the people upon the specious pretence of a peace he had sworn to, and yet violated openly every day, by the enterprises he formed against the commonwealth. This is the subject of his orations, called the *Philippics*.

"Whence comes it," says he, "that all the Greeks formerly panted so strongly after liberty, and now run so eagerly into servitude? The reason is, because there prevailed at that time among the people what prevails no longer among us; that which triumphed over the riches of the Persians; which maintained the freedom of Greece; which never acted inconsistently on any occasion, either by sea or by land; but, which being now extinguished in every heart, has entirely ruined our affairs, and subverted the constitution of Greece. It is that common hatred, that general detestation, in which they held every person who had a soul abject enough to sell himself to any man who desired either to enslave, or even corrupt Greece. In those times, to accept of a present was a capital crime, which never failed of being punished with death. Neither their orators nor their generals exercised the scandalous traffic, now become so common in Athens, where a price is set upon every thing, and where all things are sold to the highest bidder."<sup>2</sup>

"In those happy times, the Greeks lived in perfect union, founded on the love of the public good, and the desire of preserving and defending the common liberty. But in this age, the states abandon one another, and give themselves up to reciprocal distrusts and jealousies. All of them without exception, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, and ourselves no less than others; all form a separate interest; and it is this that renders the common enemy so powerful."<sup>3</sup>

"The safety of Greece consists, therefore, in our uniting together against this common enemy, if that be possible. But at least, as to what concerns each of us in particular, it is absolutely necessary to hold this incontestable maxim, that Philip attacks you actually at this time; that he has infringed the peace; that by seizing upon all the fortresses around you, he opens and prepares the way for attacking you yourselves; and that he considers us as his mortal enemies, because he knows that we only are able to oppose the ambitious designs he entertains of grasping universal power."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. pro. Ctes. p. 486, 487. A. M. 3664. Ant. J. C. 340.

Philip. iii. p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iv. p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. iii. p. 97.

“These consequently we must oppose with all imaginable vigour ; and for that purpose must ship off, without loss of time, the necessary aids for Chersonesus and Byzantium ; you must provide instantly whatever necessities your generals may require ; in fine, you must concert together on such means as are most proper to save Greece, which is now threatened with the utmost danger.<sup>1</sup> Though all the rest of the Greeks, O Athenians ! should bow their necks to the yoke, yet you ought to persist in fighting always for the cause of liberty. After such preparations, made in the presence of all Greece, let us excite all other states to second us ; let us acquaint every people with our resolutions, and send ambassadors to Peloponnesus, Rhodes, Chio, and especially to the king of Persia ; for it is his interest, as well as ours, to check the career of that man.”<sup>2</sup>

It will be found that the advice of Demosthenes was followed almost exactly. At the time he was declaiming in that manner, Philip was marching towards Chersonesus. He opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace. The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to succour that place, the orators prevailed so far by their speeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet.<sup>3</sup> This general was universally despised, for his manners, oppressions, and mean capacity ; but interest and credit supplied the place of merit on this occasion, and faction prevailed over the counsels of the most prudent and virtuous men, as happens but too often. The success answered the rashness of the choice which had been made : but what could be expected from a general, whose abilities were as mean as his voluptuousness was great ; who took along with him, in his military expeditions, a band of musicians, both vocal and instrumental, who were in his pay, which was levied out of the moneys appointed for the service of the fleet ! In short, the cities themselves, to whose succour he was sent, would not suffer him to come into their harbours ; so that, his fidelity being universally suspected, he was obliged to sail from coast to coast, buying the allies, and contemned by the enemy.<sup>4</sup>

In the mean time Philip was carrying on the siege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had thirty thousand chosen troops, and military engines of all kinds without number. He had raised towers eighty cubits high, which far exceeded those of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one side he shook the foundations of them by subterraneous mines ; and on the other, he beat down whole angles of it with his battering-rams : nor did the besieged make a less vigorous resistance ; for as soon as one breach was made, Philip was surprised to see another wall behind it, just raised. The inhabitants of Byzantium sent them all the succours necessary. The Asiatic satraps, or governors, by the king of Persia's order, whose assistance we observed, the Athenians had requested, likewise threw forces into the place. Philip, in order to deprive the besieged of the succours the Byzantines gave them,

<sup>1</sup> Philip. iii. p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch in Phoc. p. 747.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 94, 95.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. l. xii. p. 530.

went in person to form the siege of that important city, leaving his army to carry on that of Perinthus.<sup>1</sup>

He was desirous to appear, in outward show, very scrupulous of giving umbrage to the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuse with fine words. At the time we now speak of, Philip, by way of precaution against their disgust of his measures, wrote a letter to them, in which he endeavoured to take off the edge of their resentment, by reproaching them in the strongest terms, for their infraction of the several treaties, which he boasted he had observed very religiously; this piece he interspersed very artfully, for he was a great master of eloquence, with such complaints and menaces, as were best calculated to restrain mankind, either from a principle of fear or shame. This letter is a master-piece in the original. A majestic and persuasive vivacity shines in every part of it; a strength and justness of reasoning sustained throughout; a plain and unaffected declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural consequence; a delicate irony; in fine, that noble and concise style so proper for crowned heads. We might here very justly apply to Philip what was said of Cæsar, "That he handled the pen as well as he did the sword."<sup>2</sup>

This letter is so long, and besides is filled with so great a number of private facts, though each of these is important, that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgment made of it. I shall therefore cite but one passage, by which the reader may form a judgment of the rest.

"At the time of your most open ruptures," says Philip to the Athenians, "you went no farther than to fit out privateers against me; to seize and sell the merchants that came to trade in my dominions; to favour any party that opposed my measures; and to infest the places subject to me by your hostilities: but now you carry hatred and injustice to such prodigious lengths, as even to send ambassadors to the Persian king, in order to excite him to declare war against me. This must appear a most astonishing circumstance; for before he had made himself master of Egypt and Phœnicia, you had resolved, in the most solemn manner, that in case he should attempt any new enterprise, you then would invite me, in common with the rest of the Greeks, to unite our forces against him. And yet, at this time you carry your hatred to such a height, as to negotiate an alliance with him against me. I have been told, that formerly your fathers imputed to Pisistratus, as an unpardonable crime, his having requested the succour of the Persians against the Greeks, and now you do not blush to commit a thing which you were perpetually condemning in the person of your tyrants."

Philip's letter did him as much service as a good manifesto, and gave his pensioners in Athens a fine opportunity of justifying him to the people, who were very desirous of freeing themselves of political inquietudes; and greater enemies to expense and labour, than to usurpation and tyranny. The boundless ambition of Philip, and the

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 466—468.

<sup>2</sup> *Eodem animo dixit, quo bellavit.*—Quintil. l. x, c. 1.

eloquent zeal of Demosthenes, were perpetually clashing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very industriously, with a specious pretence, his enterprises and infractions of treaty; and the other endeavoured as strongly to reveal the true motives of them to a people, whose resolutions had a great influence with respect to the fate of Greece. On this occasion Demosthenes was sensible how vastly necessary it was to erase, as soon as possible, the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athenians. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately ascended the tribunal. He at first spoke with bold affirmation, which is more than half, and sometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixed to the heavy complaints of Philip the idea of an express declaration of war; then, to animate his fellow-citizens, to fill them with confidence in the resolution with which he inspired them, he assured them, that all things portended the ruin of Philip; gods, Greeks, Persians, Macodonians, and even Philip himself. Demosthenes did not observe, in this harangue, the exact rules of refutation; he avoided contesting facts, which might have been disadvantageous, so happily had Philip disposed them, and so well had he supported them by proofs that seemed unanswerable.

The conclusion which this orator draws from all his arguments is this: "Convinced by these truths, Athenians! and strongly persuaded that we can no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace, for Philip has now declared war against us by this letter, and has long done the same by his conduct, you ought not to spare either the public treasure, or the possessions of private persons; but, when occasion shall require, hasten to your respective standards, and set abler generals at your head than those you have hitherto employed. For no one among you ought to imagine, that the same men, who have ruined your affairs, will be able to restore them to their former happy situation. Think how infamous it is, that a man from Macedon should contemn dangers to such a degree, that, merely to aggrandize his empire, he should rush into the midst of combats, and return from battle covered with wounds; and that Athenians, whose hereditary right is to obey no man, but to impose laws on others by the sword; that Athenians, merely through dejection of spirit and indolence, should degenerate from the glory of their ancestors, and abandon the interest of their country."<sup>1</sup>

At the very time they were examining this affair, news was brought of the shameful reception Chares had met with from the allies, which raised a general murmur among the people, who now, fired with indignation, greatly repented having sent aid to the Byzantines. Phocion then rose up and told the people, "that they ought not to be exasperated at the diffidence of the allies, but at the conduct of the generals who had occasioned it. For they are the persons," continued he, "who render you odious and formidable even to those who cannot save themselves from destruction without your assistance." And indeed

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<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.



Chares, as we have already observed, was a general without valour or military knowledge. His whole merit consisted in having gained a great ascendant over the people by the haughty and bold air he assumed. His presumption concealed his incapacity from himself; and a sordid principle of avarice made him commit as many blunders as enterprises.

The people, struck with this discourse, immediately changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion himself to command a body of fresh troops, in order to succour the allies upon the Hellespont. This choice contributed chiefly to the preservation of Byzantium.<sup>1</sup> Phocion had already acquired great reputation, not only for his valour and ability in the art of war, but much more for his probity and disinterestedness. The Byzantines, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct. Nor were they less admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which danger seemed only to improve. Phocion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, soon forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was driven out of the Hellespont, which diminished very much his fame and glory, for he hitherto had been thought not only invincible, but irresistible. Phocion took some of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he had garrisoned, and having made several descents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces assembling to check his progress, he was obliged to retire, after having been wounded.<sup>2</sup>

The Byzantines and Perinthians testified their gratitude to the people of Athens, by a very honourable decree, preserved by Demosthenes in one of his orations, the substance of which I shall repeat here. "Under Bosphoricus the pontiff, Damagetus,<sup>3</sup> after having desired leave of the senate to speak, said in a full assembly, that as in times past the continual benevolence of the people of Athens towards the Byzantines and Perinthians, united by alliance and their common origin, has never failed upon any occasion; that this benevolence, so often signalized, has lately displayed itself, when Philip of Macedon, who had taken up arms to destroy Byzantium and Perinthus, battered our walls, burned our country, cut down our forests; that in a season of so great calamity, these beneficent people succoured us with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail, furnished with provisions, arms, and forces; that they have saved us from the greatest dangers; in fine, that they have restored us to the quiet possession of our government, our laws, and our tombs; the Byzantines and Perinthians allow, by decree, the Athenians to settle in the countries belonging to Perinthus and Byzantium; to marry in them, to purchase lands, and to enjoy all the prerogatives of citizens; they also

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3665. Ant. J. C. 339.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. L. xvi. p. 468.

<sup>3</sup> He probably was the chief magistrate.

grant them a distinguished place at public shows, and the right of sitting both in the senate and the assembly of the people, next to the pontiffs; and also, that every Athenian who shall think proper to settle in either of the two cities above mentioned, shall be exempted from taxes of any kind; that in the harbours, three statues of sixteen cubits each shall be set up, which statues shall represent the people of Athens crowned by those of Byzantium and Perinthus; and besides, that presents shall be sent to the four solemn games of Greece, and that the crown we have decreed to the Athenians, shall there be proclaimed; so that the same ceremony may inform all the Greeks of the magnanimity of the Athenians, and the gratitude of the Perinthians and Byzantines."<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants of Chersonesus made a like decree, the tenor of which is as follows: "Among the nations inhabiting the Chersonesus, the people of Sestos, of Ælia, of Madytis, and of Alopeconnesus, decree to the people and senate of Athens, a crown of gold of sixty talents; and erect two altars, the one to the goddess of gratitude, and the other to the Athenians, for having, by the most glorious of all benefactions, freed from the yoke of Philip the people of Chersonesus, and restored them to the possession of their country, their laws, their liberty, and their temples; an act of beneficence, which they shall fix eternally in their memories, and never cease to acknowledge to the utmost of their power. All of which they have resolved in full senate."

Philip, after having been forced to raise the siege of Byzantium, marched against Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his son with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold or silver, the use and value of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as to know; but in cattle, in horses, and a great number of women and children.<sup>2</sup>

At his return from Scythia, the Traballi, a people of Moesa, disputed the pass with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers were killed on both sides. The king himself was wounded in the thigh, and with the same thrust had his horse killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, and covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

SECTION VI. — PHILIP APPOINTED GENERALISSIMO OF THE GREEKS.  
THE ATHENIANS AND THEBANS UNITE AGAINST HIM. HE  
GAINS A BATTLE AT CHÆRONEA.

The Athenians had considered the siege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open declaration of war. The king of Macedon, who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentments.

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. pro. Otes. p. 487, 488.

<sup>2</sup> Justin. l. ix. c. 2, 3.



Phocion, little suspicious, and apprehensive of the uncertainty of military events, was of opinion that the Athenians should accept his offers. But Demosthenes, who had studied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and was persuaded that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to amuse and impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacific proposals.<sup>1</sup>

It was very much the interest of this prince to terminate immediately a war which gave him great cause of disquiet, and particularly distressed him by the frequent depredations of the Athenian privateers, who infested the sea bordering upon his dominions. They entirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his subjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries; or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the necessary supplies of merchandize. Philip was sensible that it would be impossible for him to put an end to this war, and free himself from the inconveniences attending it, but by exciting the Thessalians and Thebans to a rupture with Athens. He could not yet attack that city with any advantage either by sea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to those of that republic; and the passage by land to Attica would be shut against him, as long as the Thessalians should refuse to join him, and the Thebans should oppose his passage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war against Athens, he should ascribe no other motive for it than his private enmity, he was very sensible that it would have no effect with either of the states: but that in case he could once prevail with them to appoint him their chief, upon the specious pretence of espousing their common cause, he then hoped it would be easier for him to make them acquiesce with his desires, either by persuasion or deceit.<sup>2</sup>

This was his aim, the smallest indications of which, it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the least opportunity for any one to suspect the design he meditated. In every city he retained pensioners, who sent him notice of whatever passed, and by that means were of great use to him, and were accordingly well paid. By their machinations, he raised divisions among the Ozolæ of Locris, otherwise called the Locrians of Amphissa, from their capital city: their country was situated between Ætolia and Phocis; and they were accused of having profaned a spot of sacred ground, by ploughing up the Cirrhæan field, which lay very near the temple of Delphos. The reader has seen that a like cause of complaint occasioned the first sacred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphictyons. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or suspicious agent, he plainly saw that the Thebans and the Thessalians would infallibly suspect his design, in which case all parties would not fail to stand upon their guard.

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his designs by unknown persons, which entirely prevented their taking air. By the assiduity of his pensioners in Athens, he had caused Æschines, who was entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the Pylagori,

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 2366. Ant. J. C. 333. Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.    <sup>2</sup> Demosth. pro. Ctes. p. 497. 498

(persons who were sent by the several Greek cities to the assembly of the Amphictyons.) The instant he was admitted to that body, he acted the more effectually in favour of Philip; as a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly against this prince, was less suspected. Upon his remonstrances, a descent was appointed, in order to visit the spot of ground, of which the Amphissians had hitherto been considered as the lawful possessors; but which they now were accused of usurping, by a most sacrilegious act.

While the Amphictyons were visiting the spot of ground in question, the Locrians fell upon them unawares, poured in a shower of darts, and obliged them to fly. So open an outrage drew resentment and war upon these Locrians. Cottyphus, one of the Amphictyons, took the field with the army intended to punish the rebels; but, few assembling at the rendezvous, the army retired without acting. In the following assembly of the Amphictyons, the affair was debated very seriously. It was there *Æschines* exerted all his eloquence, and by a studied oration, proved to the deputies, or representatives, that they must either assess themselves to support foreign soldiers, and punish the rebels, or elect Philip for their general. The deputies, to save their commonwealth the expense, and secure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, resolved on the latter. Upon which, by a public decree, "ambassadors were sent to Philip of Macedon, who, in the name of Apollo and the Amphictyons, implored his assistance; besought him not to neglect the cause of that god, whom the impious Amphissians made their sport; and informed him, that for this purpose, all the Greeks, of the council of the Amphictyons, elected him for their general, with full power to act as he might think proper."

This was the honour to which Philip had long aspired, the object of all his views, and purpose of all the engines he had set at work till that time. He therefore did not lose a moment, but immediately assembled his forces, and marched by a feint, towards the Cirrhæan field; forgetting now both the Cirrhæans and Locrians, who had only served as a specious pretext for his journey, and for whom he had not the least regard; he possessed himself of *Elatæa*, the greatest city in Phocis, standing on the river *Cephissus*, and the most happily situated for the design he meditated, of aweing the Thebans, who now began to open their eyes, and to perceive the danger they were in.

This news being brought to Athens in the evening, spread a terror through every part of it. The next morning, an assembly was summoned, when the herald, as was the usual custom, cried with a loud voice, "Who among you will ascend the tribunal?" However, no person appeared for that purpose; upon which he repeated the invitation several times, but still no one rose up, though all the generals and orators were present; and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured somebody to propose a salutary counsel; "for," says *Demosthenes*, from whom these particulars are taken, "whenever the voice of the herald speaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be considered as the voice of the country." During this general silence, occasioned by the universal alarm with

which the minds of the Athenians were seized, Demosthenes, animated at the sight of the great danger his fellow-citizens were in, ascended the tribunal for harangues, and endeavoured to revive the drooping Athenians, and inspire them with sentiments suitable to the present conjuncture, and the necessities of the state. Excelling equally in politics and eloquence, by the extent of his superior genius, he immediately advised them of all that was necessary for the Athenians to do both at home and abroad, by land as well as by sea.<sup>1</sup>

The people of Athens were under a double error with regard to the Thebans, which he therefore endeavoured to show. They imagined that people to be inviolably attached, both from interest and inclination, to Philip; but he proved to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare against that monarch; and that the conquest of Elatæa had apprised them of what they were to expect from him. On the other side, they looked upon the Thebans as their most ancient and most dangerous enemies, and therefore could not prevail with themselves to afford them the least aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It must be confessed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Athenians, which rose so high, that Pindar was sentenced by the Thebans to pay a considerable fine, for having applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems.<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes, notwithstanding that prejudice had taken such deep root in the minds of the people, yet declared in their favour; and proved to the Athenians, that their own interest was at stake; and that they could not please Philip more than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free passage to Athens.

Demosthenes afterwards discovered to them the views of Philip in taking that city. "What then is his design, and wherefore did he possess himself of Elatæa? He is desirous, on one side, to encourage those of his faction in Thebes, and to inspire them with greater boldness, by appearing at the head of his army, and advancing his power and forces around that city. On the other side, he would strike unexpectedly the opposite faction, and stun them in such a manner, as may enable him to get the better of the other by terror or force." "Philip," says he, "prescribes the manner in which you ought to act, by the example he himself sets you. Assemble, under Eleusis, a body of Athenians of an age fit for service, and support these by your cavalry. By this step you will show all Greece, that you are ready armed to defend yourselves: and inspire your partisans in Thebes with such resolution, as may enable them both to support their reasons, and to make head against the opposite party, when they shall perceive, that as those who sell their country to Philip, have forces in Elatæa ready to assist them upon occasion, in like manner, those who were willing to fight for the preservation of their own

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. pro. Ctes. p. 501—504. Diod. l. xvi. p. 474—477.

<sup>2</sup> He had called Athens a flourishing and renowned city, the bulwark of Greece. *Δῖκασι, καὶ Δόδοσι.* *Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλεινὰ Ἀθῆναι.* But the Athenians not only indemnified the poet, and sent him money to pay his fine, but even erected a statue in honour of him.

liberties, have you at their gates ready to defend them in case of an invasion." Demosthenes added, that it would be proper for them to send ambassadors immediately to the different states of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a common league against Philip.

This prudent and salutary counsel was followed in every particular; and in consequence thereof, a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the several enterprises by which Philip had infringed the peace, it was likewise resolved that "For this reason the senate and people of Athens, calling to mind the magnanimity of their ancestors, who preferred the liberty of Greece to the safety of their own country, have resolved, that after offering up prayers and sacrifices, to call down the assistance of the tutelar gods and demi-gods of Athens and Attica, two hundred sail of ships shall be put to sea. That the admiral of their fleet shall go, as soon as possible, and cruise on the other side of the pass of Thermopylæ; at the same time, that the land-generals, at the head of a considerable body of horse and foot, shall march and encamp in the neighbourhood of Eleusis. That ambassadors shall likewise be sent to the other Greeks; but first to the Thebans, as these are most threatened by Philip. Let them be exhorted not to dread Philip in any manner, but to maintain courageously their particular independence, and the common liberty of all Greece. And let it be declared to them, that though formerly some motives of discontent might have cooled the reciprocal friendship between them and us, the Athenians, however, obliterating the remembrance of past transactions, will now assist them with men, money, darts, and all kinds of military weapons; persuaded, that such as are natives of Greece may, very honourably, dispute with one another for pre-eminence; but that they can never, without sully the glory of the Greeks, and derogating from the virtue of their ancestors, suffer a foreigner to despoil them of that pre-eminence, nor consent to so ignominious a slavery."

Demosthenes, who was at the head of this embassy, immediately set out for Thebes; and indeed he had no time to lose, since Philip might reach Attica in two days.<sup>1</sup> This prince also sent ambassadors to Thebes. Among whom Python<sup>2</sup> was the chief, who distinguished himself greatly by his lively persuasive eloquence, which it was scarcely possible to withstand; so that the rest of the deputies were mere novices in comparison with him; he, however, here met with a superior. And Demosthenes, in an oration, where he relates the services he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very strongly on this, and places the happy success of so important a negotiation at the head of his political exploits.<sup>3</sup>

It was of the utmost importance for the Athenians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they were neighbours to Attica, and

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Demosth. p. 853, 854.

<sup>2</sup> This Python was of Byzantium. The Athenians had presented him with the freedom of their city; after which he went over to Philip.—Demosth. p. 193. 745.

<sup>3</sup> Demosth. in Orat. pro Coron. p. 509.

covered it; had well disciplined troops, and had been considered, from the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, among the several states of Greece, as those who held the first rank for valour and ability in war. To effect this was no easy matter; not only because of the great service Philip had lately done them during the war of Phocis, but likewise because of the ancient inveterate antipathy between Thebes and Athens.<sup>1</sup>

Philip's deputies spoke first. These displayed in the strongest light the kindnesses with which Philip had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which the Athenians had made them suffer. They represented to the utmost advantage the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waste, the flocks, goods, and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in league with the Athenians, Boeotia would thereby become the seat of war, and would alone suffer the losses, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable consequences of it. They concluded with requesting, that the Thebans would join their forces with those of Philip against the Athenians; or, at least, permit him to pass through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a just indignation at the breach of faith and usurpations of Philip, had already sufficiently animated Demosthenes: but the sight of an orator, who seemed to dispute with him the superiority of eloquence, inflamed his zeal, and animated him still more. To the captious arguments of Python, he opposed the actions themselves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elatea, which evidently discovered his designs. He represented him as a restless, enterprising, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the design of enslaving all Greece; but who, to succeed the better in his schemes, was determined to attack the different states of it singly: a prince whose pretended beneficence was only a snare for the credulity of those who did not know him, in order to disarm those whose zeal for the public liberty might be an obstacle to his enterprises. He proved to them, that the conquest of Attica, so far from satiating the immeasurable avidity of this usurper, would only give him an opportunity of subjecting Thebes, and the rest of the cities of Greece. That, therefore, the interests of the two commonwealths being henceforward inseparable, they ought to erase entirely the remembrance of their former divisions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.

The Thebans were not long in determining. The strong eloquence of Demosthenes, says a historian, blowing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so warm a zeal for their country, and so ardent a passion for liberty, that banishing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence, or gratitude, his discourse transported and ravished them like a fit of enthusiasm, and inflamed them solely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the mighty influence which eloquence has over the minds of men, especially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the public good. One single man

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Theopom. apud Plut. in Vit. Demosth. p. 854



swayed all things at his will in the assemblies of Athens and Thebes, where he was equally loved, respected and feared.<sup>1</sup>

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. But they were too justly alarmed and exasperated to listen to any accommodation, and would no longer depend on the word of a prince whose whole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the soldiery discovered incredible ardour. However, many evil-disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions, which the priestess of Delphos was said to have uttered: but Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who desired only to march against the enemy, would not suffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion he said, that the priestess philippized, meaning, that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever he thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epamidictions as idle scare-crows, and consulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans, surprised at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on the other side, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with the Athenians, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, assembled all his forces, and entered Bœotia. This army consisted of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse: that of the enemy was not quite so numerous. The valour of the troops may be said to have been equal on both sides; but the merit of the chiefs was not so. And indeed, what warrior was comparable to Philip at that time? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were not his superiors. Phocion, indeed, might have opposed him; but not to mention that this war had been undertaken against his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him the command, and had appointed generals, Chares, universally despised, and Lysicles, distinguished for nothing but his rash and daring audacity. It is the choice of such leaders as these, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of states.

The two armies encamped near Chæronea, a city of Bœotia. Philip gave the command of his left wing to his son Alexander, who was then but sixteen or seventeen years old, having posted his ablest officers near him; and took the command of the right wing upon himself. In the opposite army, the Thebans formed the right wing, and the Athenians the left.

At sunrise, the signal was given on both sides. The battle was bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both sides exerting themselves with astonishing valour and bravery. Alexander, at that time, animated with a noble ardour for glory, and endeavoured to

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<sup>1</sup> Theopom. apud Plut. in Vit. Demosth. p. 254.

signalize himself, in order to answer the confidence his father reposed in him, under whose eye he fought, in quality of a commander, for the first time, discovered in this battle all the ability which could have been expected from a veteran general, with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous resistance, the Sacred Battalion of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The rest of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his son, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. They soon, however, resumed their courage, and recovered their first post. Lysicles, one of the two generals, having broken into some troops which formed the centre of the Macedonians, imagined himself already victorious, and in that rash confidence cried out, "Come on, men, let us pursue them into Macedonia." Philip, perceiving that the Athenians, instead of seizing the advantage of taking the phalanx in flank, pursued his troops too vigorously, calmly remarked, "The Athenians do not know how to conquer." He immediately commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence: and perceiving that the Athenians, in disorder, were wholly intent on pursuing those they had broke, he charged them with his phalanx, and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demosthenes, who was a greater statesman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholesome counsel in his harangues, than of supporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms, and fled with the rest. It is even said, that in his flight, his robe being caught by a bramble, he imagined that some of the enemy had laid hold of him, and cried out, "spare my life." More than a thousand Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above two thousand taken prisoners, among whom was Demades the orator. The loss was as great on the Theban side.<sup>2</sup>

Philip, after having set up a trophy, and offered to the gods a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his victory, distributed rewards to the officers and soldiers, each according to his merit, and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory shows that it is much easier to overcome an enemy, than to conquer one's self, and triumph over one's own passions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment, which he had given his officers, being equally transported with joy and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the spot where the battle had been fought, and there, insulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a song the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war; and sung thus, himself beating time, "Demosthenes the Peanian son of Demosthenes, has said." Every body was shocked to see the king dishonour himself by this behaviour, and sully his glory by an action so unworthy a king and conqueror; but no one opened his lips about it. Demades the orator, whose soul was free, though his body was

<sup>1</sup> Polyæn. Strateg. lib. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. in Vit. Decem. Orat. p. 845.



a prisoner, was the only person who ventured to make him sensible of the indecency of this conduct, telling him, "Ah, Sir, since fortune has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act that of Thersites?" These words, spoken with so generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and caused him to reflect; and, so far from being displeased with Demades, he esteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmost respect and friendship, and conferred all possible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip seemed quite changed, both in his disposition and behaviour, as if, says a historian, the conversation of Demades had softened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attic graces.<sup>1</sup> He dismissed all the Athenian captives without any ransom, and gave the greater part of them clothes; with a view of acquiring the confidence of so powerful a commonwealth as Athens by that kind of treatment: in which, says Polybius,<sup>2</sup> he gained a second triumph, more gracious for himself, and even more advantageous than the first, for in the battle, his courage had prevailed over none but those who were present in it; but on this occasion, his kindness and clemency acquired him a whole city, and subjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the ancient treaty of friendship and alliance, and granted the Bœotians a peace, after having left a strong garrison in Thebes.

We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loss of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of it, being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He was ninety-eight years of age.<sup>3</sup> I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere of his style and of his works.

Demosthenes seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power a wound, from which it never recovered. But at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seized with terror and alarm, given way to an emotion of blind zeal against the man whom they might have considered, in some measure, as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the ditches, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls; which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Υπὸ τῷ Δημάδῃ καθυμνηθέντας ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς χάρισι.—Diod.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. i. v. p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Isocr. p. 837.

<sup>4</sup> Demost. pro. Ctes. p. 514. Plut. in Demost. 855.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæroneæ, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all risen up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians, a fickle wavering people, and apt to punish their own errors and omissions in the persons of those whose projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reason than because they had executed them too slowly, in thus crowning Demosthenes, in the midst of a public calamity, which he alone seemed to have brought upon them, paid the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wise and brave conduct, they seem in some measure to confess their own error, in not having followed his counsel neither fully nor early enough; and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

But the people did not stop here.<sup>1</sup> The bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæroneæ, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the eulogium of those brave men; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure; a circumstance which was expressly mentioned in the inscription engraved on the monument of those illustrious deceased warriors.

“This earth entombs those victims to the state,  
Who fell a glorious sacrifice to zeal.  
Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant chains,  
Did, by their deaths alone, escape the yoke.  
This Jupiter decreed: no effort, mortals,  
Can save you from the mighty will of fate.  
To gods alone belong the attribute  
Of being free from crimes with never-ending joy.”

Demosthenes opposed Æschines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question, with this solid answer: “Censure me,” says he, “for the counsels I give, but do not calumniate me for the ill success of them. For it is the Supreme Being who conducts and terminates all things; whereas it is from the nature of the counsel itself that we are to judge of the intention of him who offers it. If therefore the event has declared in favour of Philip, impute it not to me as a crime, since it is God, and not myself, who disposed of the victory. But, if you can prove that I did not exert myself with probity, vigilance, and an activity, indefatigable, and superior to my strength; that I did not seek, did not employ, every method which human prudence could suggest; and did not inspire the most necessary and noble resolutions, such as were truly worthy of Athenians, then give what scope you please to your accusations.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plat. in Demost. p. 855. Demost. pro. Ctes. p. 519, 520.

<sup>2</sup> Demost. pro. Ctes. p. 505.

He afterwards<sup>1</sup> used the bold, sublime figure following, which is looked upon as the most beautiful passage in his oration, and is so highly applauded by Longinus. Demosthenes endeavours to justify his own conduct, and prove to the Athenians, that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not satisfied with merely citing, in a frigid manner, the example of the great men who had fought for the same cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamin, and before Plataeæ: he makes a quite different use of them, says this rhetorician; and on a sudden, as if inspired by some god, and possessed with the spirit of Apollo himself, cries out, swearing by those brave defenders of Greece, "No, Athenians! you have not erred. I swear by those illustrious men who fought on land at Marathon and Plataeæ; at sea before Salamin and Artemisium; and all those who have been honoured by the commonwealth with the common rites of burial; and not those only who have been crowned with success, and came off victorious." Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof, in this grand and pathetic manner of affirming by oaths of so extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in some measure, those ancient citizens; and makes all who die in the same glorious manner so many gods, by whose names it is proper to swear!<sup>2</sup>

I have already observed in another place, how naturally apt these orations, spoken in a most solemn manner to the glory of those who lost their lives in fighting for the cause of liberty, were to inspire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm desire to signalize themselves in battle.<sup>3</sup>

Another ceremony observed with regard to the children of those whose fathers died in the bed of honour, was no less efficacious to inspire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated festival, in which shows were exhibited to all the people, a herald came upon the stage, and producing the young orphans dressed in complete armour, said with a loud voice: "These young orphans, whom an untimely death, in the midst of dangers, has deprived of their illustrious fathers, have found in the people a parent, who has taken care of them till no longer in a state of infancy. And now they send them back armed cap-a-pie, to follow, under the most happy auspices, their own affairs; and invite each of them to emulate each other in deserving the chief employments of the state." By such means, martial bravery, the love of country, and a taste for virtue and solid glory, are perpetuated in a state.<sup>4</sup>

It was the very year of the battle of Chæroneæ, and two years before the death of Philip, that Æschines drew up an accusation against Ctesiphon, or rather against Demosthenes; but the cause was not pleaded till seven or eight years after, about the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Alexander. I shall relate the event of it in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the history of the life and actions of that prince.

<sup>1</sup> Demost. pro Ctes. p. 508.

<sup>2</sup> Longin. de Sublim. c. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> Demosthenes, in his oration against Leptinus, p. 562, observes, that the Athenians were the only people who caused funeral orations to be spoken in honour of such persons as had lost their lives in the defence of their country.

<sup>4</sup> Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 462.

No cause ever excited so much curiosity, nor was pleaded with so much pomp. People flocked to it from all parts, says Cicero, and they had great reason for so doing; for what sight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way; both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual dissensions, and an implacable animosity against each other?<sup>1</sup>

These two orations have always been considered as the master-pieces of antiquity, especially that of Demosthenes. Cicero had translated the latter; a strong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it.<sup>2</sup> Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that performance is now extant, which suffices to make us very much regret the loss of the rest.

Among the numberless beauties which are conspicuous in every part of these two orations, there appears, in my opinion, if I may be allowed to censure the writings of such great men, a considerable error, which very much lessens their perfection, and appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of solid, just eloquence; and that is the gross, injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The same objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations against Anthony. I have already declared, that this manner of writing, this kind of gross, opprobrious expressions, are the very reverse of solid eloquence; and, indeed, every speech which is dictated by passion and revenge, never fails of being suspected by those who judge of it; whereas, an oration that is strong and invincible from reason and argument, and which at the same time is conducted with reserve and moderation, wins the heart, while it informs the understanding; and persuades no less by the esteem it inspires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The juncture seemed to favour Æschines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Æschines, however, lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æschines; but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled: and it was then he spoke these words, so greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival: "But what applauses would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself!"

To conclude, the victor made a good use of his conquest; for the instant Æschines left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money; which must have obliged him so much the more, as he had less room to expect such an offer. On this occasion Æschines cried out, "How

<sup>1</sup> Ad quod judicium concursus dicitur e tota Græcia factus esse. Quid enim aut tam visentum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum, in gravissima causa, accurata et mimicitis incensa, contentio? Cicer. de Opt. Gen. Orat. n. 22.

<sup>2</sup> De Opt. Gen. Orat.

will it be possible for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous than I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world!"<sup>1</sup>

SECTION VII. — PHILIP DECLARED GENERALISSIMO OF THE GREEKS AGAINST THE PERSIANS. HIS DEATH.

THE battle of Chæronea may be said to have enslaved Greece.<sup>2</sup> Macedon at that time, with no more than thirty thousand soldiers, gained a point, which Persia, with millions of men, had attempted unsuccessfully at Plataeæ, at Salamin, and Marathon. Philip, in the first year of his reign, had repulsed, divided, and disarmed his enemies. In the succeeding ones, he had subjected, by artifice or force, the most powerful states of Greece, and had made himself its arbiter; but now he prepared to revenge the injuries which Greece had received from the barbarians, and meditated no less a design than the destruction of their empire. The greatest advantage he gained by his last victory, and this was the object he long had in view, and never lost sight of, was to get himself appointed, in the assembly of the Greeks, their generalissimo against the Persians. In this quality he made preparations in order to invade that mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part of his forces, Attalus, and Parmenio, two of his captains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied, and made them set out for Asia Minor.<sup>3</sup>

But while everything abroad was glorious and happy for Philip, he found the utmost uneasiness at home; division and trouble reigning in every part of his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was naturally jealous, choleric, and vindictive, raised dissensions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost out of love with life. Not to mention, that as he himself had defiled the marriage-bed, it is said that his consort had repaid his infidelity in kind. But whether he had a just subject of complaint, or was grown weary of Olympias, it is certain he proceeded so far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been disgusted upon several other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.<sup>4</sup>

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whose beauty was so exquisite, that he could not resist its charms. In the midst of their rejoicings upon occasion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine, Attalus, who was uncle to the new queen by the mother's side, took it into his head to say, that the Macedonians ought to beseech the gods to give them a lawful successor to their king. Upon this, Alexander, who was naturally choleric, exasperated at these injurious words, cried out, "Wretch that thou art, dost thou then take me for a bastard?" And at the same time threw the cup at his head. Attalus returned the compliment, upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who sat at another table, was very much offended to see the feast interrupted in this manner; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his sword,

<sup>1</sup> Some authors ascribe these words to Demosthenes, when, three years after, he met with the same fate as Æschines, and was also banished from Athens.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3637. Ant. J. C. 287.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. l. xvi. p. 479.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. in Alex. p. 669.



and ran directly to his son. Happily the father fell, so that the guests had an opportunity of stepping in between them. The greatest difficulty was, to keep Alexander from rushing upon his ruin. Exasperated at a succession of such heinous affronts, in spite of all that the guests could say, concerning the duty he owed Philip as his father and his sovereign, he vented his resentments in the bitter words following: "The Macedonians, indeed, have a captain there, vastly able to cross from Europe into Asia; he, who cannot step from one table to another without running the hazard of breaking his neck!" After these words, he left the hall, and taking with him his mother Olympias, who had been so highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and went over to the Illyrians.

In the mean time, Demaratus of Corinth, who was engaged to Philip by the ties of friendship and hospitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the first civilities and caresses were over, Philip asked him whether the Greeks were in amity? "It indeed becomes you, Sir," replied Demaratus, "to be concerned about Greece, who have filled your own house with feuds and dissensions." The prince, sensibly affected with this reproach, recovered himself, acknowledged his error, and sent Demaratus to Alexander, to persuade him to return home.

Philip did not lose sight of the conquest of Asia. Full of the mighty project he revolved, he consulted the gods to know what would be the event of it.<sup>1</sup> The priestess replied, "the victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will soon be sacrificed." Philip hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour, the ambiguity of which ought at least to have kept him in some suspense. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and devote himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he despatched, with all possible diligence, his domestic affairs. After this, he offered up a solemn sacrifice to the gods, and prepared to celebrate, with incredible magnificence, in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra, his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander, king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece; and heaped upon them friendships and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generalissimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by sending him gold crowns; and Athens distinguished its zeal above all the rest. Neoptolemus the poet had written purposely for that festival, a tragedy, entitled *Cinyras*,<sup>2</sup> in which, under fictitious names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy; and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shows were solemnized. As these formed part of the reli-

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 388.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, among the presages of Caligula's death, who died in much the same manner as Philip, observes, that Mnester the pantomime, exhibited the same piece which Neoptolemus had represented the very day Philip was murdered.



gious worship, twelve statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art, were carried with great pomp and ceremony. A thirteenth, that surpassed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which represented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived, and he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majesty, in the midst of acclamations, toward the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving, by his order, a considerable space between themselves and him, to give the spectators a better opportunity of surveying him; and also to show that he considered the affections which the Grecians bore him as his safest guard.

But all the festivity and pomp of these nuptials ended in the murder of Philip, and it was his refusal to do an act of justice that occasioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had insulted, in the most shocking manner, Pausanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was continually imploring the king's justice. But Philip, unwilling to disgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after divorcing Olympias his first queen, would never listen to the complaints of Pausanias. However, to console him in some measure, and to express the high esteem he had for, and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury against his judge, he formed the design of wiping out his shame, by imbruing his hands in a most horrid murder.

When once a man is determined to die, he is vastly strong and formidable. Pausanias, the better to put his bloody design in execution, chose the instant of that pompous ceremony, when the eyes of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince; doubtless to make his vengeance more conspicuous, and proportion it to the injury for which he conceived he had a right to make the king responsible, as he had long solicited that prince in vain for the satisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the great space which his guards left around him, he advanced, stabbed him with a dagger, and laid him dead at his feet. Diodorus observes, that he was assassinated the very instant his statue entered the theatre. The assassin had prepared horses ready for his escape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which stopped him, and gave the pursuers time to overtake him. Pausanias was immediately torn to pieces on the spot. Thus died Philip, at forty-seven years of age, after having reigned twenty-four. Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia, died also the same year.<sup>1</sup>

Demosthenes had private notice sent him of Philip's death, and in order to prepare the Athenians to resume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and said, that the night before, he had a dream, which promised some great felicity to the Athenians. Shortly after, couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death, on which occa-

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. *Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 440.*

mon, the people abandoned themselves to transports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demosthenes had particularly inspired them with these sentiments; for he himself appeared in public, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and dressed with the utmost magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but seven days. He also engaged the Athenians to offer sacrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Pausanias, who had committed the murder.

On this occasion Demosthenes and the Athenians acted quite out of character; and we can scarcely conceive, how it came to pass that, in so detestable a crime as the murder of a king, policy, at least, did not induce them to dissemble such sentiments as reflected dishonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which showed that honour and probity were utterly extinct in their minds.

SECTION VIII.—MEMORABLE ACTIONS AND SAYINGS OF PHILIP. GOOD AND BAD QUALITIES OF THAT PRINCE.

THERE are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expressions, which often give us a better idea of their character than their most splendid actions; because in the latter, they generally study their conduct, act a borrowed part, and propose themselves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they speak and act from nature they exhibit themselves such as they really are, without art and disguise. M. de Turreil has collected, with great industry, most of the memorable actions and sayings of Philip, and has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connexion, in the recital of these detached actions and sayings.

Though Philip loved flattery, so far as to reward the adulation of Thrasideus with the title of king in Thessaly, he however at some intervals loved truth. He permitted Aristotle to give him precepts on the art of reigning.<sup>1</sup> He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his service to tell him every day, before he gave audience, "Philip, remember thou art mortal."

He discovered great moderation, even when he was spoken to in the most shocking and injurious terms; and also, which is no less worthy of admiration, when truth was told him; a great quality, says Seneca, in kings, and highly conducive to the happiness of their reign.<sup>2</sup> At the close of an audience, which he gave to some Athenian ambassadors who were come to complain of some act of hostility, he asked, whether he could do them any service? "The greatest service thou couldst do us," said Demosthenes. "would be to hang thyself." Philip, though he perceived that all the persons present were highly offended at these words, made the following answer, with the utmost calmness of temper: "Go tell your superiors, that those who dare

<sup>1</sup> Arist. Epist. Plutarch. in Apoph. p. 177. Ælian. lib. viii. c. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Siquæ alia in Philippo virtus, fuit et contumeliarum patientia, ingens instrumentum ad tutelam regni. Senec. de Ira. l. iii. c. 23.

make us of such insolent language, are more haughty, and less peaceably inclined, than they who can forgive them."

Being present in an indecent posture at the sale of some captives, one of them, going up to him, whispered in his ear, "Let down the lappet of your robe;" upon which Philip replied, "Set the man at liberty: I did not know till now that he was one of my friends."<sup>1</sup>

The whole court soliciting him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians, who had hissed him publicly in the Olympic games; "What will they not attempt," replied Philip, "should I do them any injury, since they laugh at me, after having received so many favours at my hand?"<sup>2</sup>

His courtiers advising him to drive from him a certain person who spoke ill of him; "Yes, indeed," said he, "and so he'll go and speak injuriously of me every where." Another time, when they advised him to dismiss a man of probity, who reproached him: "Let us first take care," said he, "that we have not given him any reason to do so." Hearing afterwards that the person in question was but in poor circumstances, and in no favour with the courtiers, he was very bountiful to him; on which occasion his reproaches were changed into applauses, which occasioned another fine saying by this prince; "It is in the power of kings to make themselves beloved or hated."<sup>3</sup>

Being urged to assist, with the influence and authority he had with the judges, a person whose reputation would be quite lost by the sentence which was going to be pronounced against him: "I had rather," said he, "he should lose his reputation, than I mine."<sup>4</sup>

Philip, rising from an entertainment, at which he had sat several hours, was addressed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cause, and to hear several reasons she had to allege which were not pleasing to him. He accordingly heard them, and gave sentence against her; upon which she replied very calmly, "I appeal." "How!" said Philip, "from your king? To whom then?" "To Philip when fasting," replied the woman. The manner in which he received this answer, would do honour to the most sober prince. He afterwards gave the cause a second hearing, found the injustice of his sentence, and condemned himself to make it good.<sup>5</sup>

A poor woman used to appear often before him, to sue for audience, and to beseech him to put an end to her law-suit; but Philip always told her he had no time. Exasperated at these refusals, which had been so often repeated, she replied one day with emotion, "If you have no time to do me justice, be no longer king." Philip was greatly affected at this rebuke, which a just indignation had extorted from this poor woman; and so far from being offended at it, he satisfied her that instant, and afterwards became more exact in giving audience. He indeed was sensible, that a king and a judge are the same thing: that the throne is a tribunal; that the sovereign authority is a supreme power, and at the same time an indispensable obligation to do justice; that to distribute it to his subjects, and to grant them the time necessary for that purpose, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt; that h:

<sup>1</sup> Plut.<sup>2</sup> Ibid.<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Apophth.<sup>4</sup> Plut.<sup>5</sup> Plut.

ought to appoint persons to assist him in this function, but not to discharge himself absolutely from it: and that he was no less obliged to be a judge than a king. All these circumstances are included in this natural, unaffected, and very wise expression, "Be no longer king;"<sup>1</sup> and Philip comprehended all its force.<sup>2</sup>

He understood raillery, was very fond of smart sayings, and very happy at them himself. Having received a wound near the throat, and his surgeon importuning him daily with some new request: "Take what thou wilt," said he, "for thou hast me by the throat."<sup>3</sup>

It is also related, that after hearing two villains, who accused each other of various crimes, he banished the one, and sentenced the other to follow him.<sup>4</sup>

Menecrates, the physician, who was so mad as to fancy himself Jupiter, wrote to Philip as follows: "Menecrates Jupiter to Philip, greeting." Philip answered, "Philip to Menecrates, health and reason."<sup>5</sup> But the king did not stop here; for he hit upon a pleasant remedy for his visionary correspondent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a separate table at it, where nothing was served up to him but incense and perfume, while all the other guests fed upon the most exquisite dainties. The first transports of joy with which he was seized, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was a man; but hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being so, he was quite tired with the character of Jupiter, and took leave of the company abruptly.<sup>6</sup>

Philip made an answer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime minister. Being one day reproached with devoting too many hours to sleep; "I indeed sleep," said he, "but Antipater wakes."<sup>7</sup>

Parmenio hearing the ambassadors of all Greece murmuring one day because Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience: "Do not wonder," said he, "if he sleeps while you wake; for he was awake while you slept." By this he wittily reproached them for their supineness, in neglecting their interests, while Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demosthenes was perpetually observing to them with his usual freedom.<sup>8</sup>

Every one of the ten tribes of Athens used to elect a new general every year. These did their duty by turns, and every general for the day commanded as generalissimo. But Philip joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and said, "In my whole life I could never find but one general, Parmenio, whereas the Athenians can find ten every year, at the very instant they want them."<sup>9</sup>

The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle on the birth of his son, proves the regard which that prince paid to learned men; and at the same time, the taste he himself had for the polite arts and sciences. His other letters, which are still extant, do him no less honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled

<sup>1</sup> *Kai η βασιλευς.*

<sup>2</sup> *Plut.*

<sup>3</sup> *Plut.*

<sup>4</sup> *Plut.*

<sup>5</sup> The Greek word *byialvav* signifies both these things. *Plutarch.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ælian. lib. xi. cap. 51.* <sup>7</sup> *Plut.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid. in. Apophth. p. 177.*

by few ; and it is time to consider him under this double character. I beg the reader to remember, that M. de Turreil is the author of most of the subsequent particulars, and that it is he who has drawn this picture of king Philip.

It would be difficult to determine whether this prince was more conspicuous as a warrior or a statesman. Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful enemies, he employed artifice and force alternately to defeat them. He used his endeavours with success to divide his opponents : to strike the surer, he eluded and diverted the blows which were aimed at himself ; equally prudent in good or ill fortune, he did not abuse victory ; equally ready to pursue or wait for it, he either acted with expedition, or was slow in his movements, as necessity required ; he left nothing to the caprice of chance, but what could not be directed by wisdom ; in fine, he was ever immoveable, ever fixed in the just bounds between boldness and temerity.

In Philip, we perceive a king who commanded his allies as much as his own subjects, and was as formidable in treaties as in battle ; a vigilant and active monarch, who was his own superintendent, his own prime minister and generalissimo. We see him fired with an insatiable thirst of glory, searching for it where it was sold at the dearest price ; making fatigue and danger his dearest delights ; forming incessantly that just, that speedy harmony of reflection and action which military expeditions require ; and with all these advantages, turning the fury of his arms against commonwealths, exhausted by long wars, torn by intestine divisions, sold by their own citizens, served by a body of mercenary or undisciplined troops, obstinately deaf to good advice, and seemingly determined on their ruin.

He united in himself two qualities which are commonly found incompatible, viz. a steadiness and calmness of soul that enabled him to weigh all things, in order to take advantage of every juncture, and to seize the favourable moment, without being disconcerted by disappointments ; this moderation was united with a restless activity, ardour, and vivacity, which were regardless of the difference of seasons, or the greatest of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder or more intrepid in fight. Demosthenes, who cannot be suspected to have flattered him, gives a glorious testimony of him on this head ; for which reason I will cite his own words. " I saw," says this orator, " this very Philip, with whom we disputed for sovereignty and empire ; I saw him, though covered with wounds, his eye struck out, his collar-bone broke, maimed both in his hands and feet ; still resolutely rush into the midst of dangers, and ready to deliver up to fortune, any other part of his body she might desire provided he might live honourably and gloriously with the rest of it."

Philip was not only brave himself, but inspired his whole army with the same valour. Instructed by able masters in the science of war, as the reader has seen, he had brought his troops to the most exact discipline ; and trained up men capable of seconding him in

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<sup>1</sup> Demosth. pro. Ctes. p. 483.



his great enterprises. He had the art, without lessening his own authority, to familiarize himself with his soldiers; and commanded rather as the father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever consistent with discipline; and indeed, from his affability, which merited so much the greater submission and respect, as he required less, and seemed to dispense with it, his soldiers were always ready to follow him to the greatest dangers, and paid him the most implicit obedience.

No general ever made a greater use of military stratagems than Philip. The dangers to which he had been exposed in his youth, had taught him the necessity of precaution, and the art of resources. A wise diffidence, which is of service, as it shows danger in its true light, made him, not fearful and irresolute, but cautious and prudent. Whatever reason he might have to flatter himself with the hope of success, he never depended upon it; and thought himself superior to the enemy only in vigilance. Ever just in his projects, and inexhaustible in expedients; his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful, in fixing upon proper junctures for executing his designs; and his dexterity in acting in an imperceptible manner, no less admirable. Impenetrable, as to his secrets, even to his best friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. The reader may have observed, that he strenuously endeavoured to lull the Athenians asleep, by a specious outside of peace; and to lay silently the foundations of his grandeur, in their credulous security and blind indolence.

But these exalted qualities were not without imperfections. Not to mention his excess in eating and carousing, to which he abandoned himself with the utmost intemperance, he has also been reproached with the most dissolute abandoned manners. We may form a judgment of this from those who were most intimate with him, and the company which usually frequented his palace. A set of profligate debauchees, buffoons, pantomimes, and wretches worse than these, I mean flatterers, whom avarice and ambition draw in crowds round the great and powerful,—such were the people who had the greatest share in his confidence and bounty. Demosthenes was not the only person who reproached Philip with these frailties, for this might be expected in an enemy; but Theopompus,<sup>1</sup> a famous historian who had written the history of that prince in fifty-eight books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a still more disadvantageous character of him. “Philip,” says he, “despised modesty and regularity of life. He lavished his esteem and liberality on men abandoned to debauch and the last excesses of licentiousness. He was pleased to see the companions of his pleasures excel no less in the abominable arts of injustice and malignity, than in the science of debauchery. Alas! what species of infamy, what sort of crimes did they not commit!”<sup>2</sup>

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reflects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one in which he is chiefly esteemed by

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. Sic. l. xvi. p. 408.*

<sup>2</sup> *Apud. Athen. l. vi. p. 602.*



many persons; I mean his politics. He is considered as a prince of the greatest abilities in this art that ever lived: and, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated, and this was to raise himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When scarcely seated on his throne, and surrounded on every side with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at least that he could execute, such a project as this? He did not, however, once lose sight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliance, confederacies, in short, all things terminated there. He was very lavish with his gold and silver, merely to engage creatures in his service. He carried on a private intelligence with the cities of Greece; and by the assistance of pensioners, on whom he had settled very large stipends, he was informed very exactly of all the resolutions taken in them, and generally gave them the turn in his own favour. By these means he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled asleep the vigilance of states, who till then had been looked upon as the most active, the wisest, and most penetrating of all Greece. In treading in these steps for twenty years together, we see him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed; but always by windings and subterraneous passages, the outlets of which only discovered the design.

Polyænus shows us evidently the methods whereby he subjected Thessaly, which was of great advantage to the completing of his other designs. "He did not," says he, "carry on an open war against the Thessalians; but took advantage of the discord that divided the cities and the whole country into different factions. He succoured those who sued for his assistance; and whenever he had conquered, he did not entirely ruin the vanquished, he did not disarm them, nor raze their walls; on the contrary, he protected the weakest, and endeavoured to weaken and subject the strongest; in a word, he rather fomented than appeased their divisions, having in every place orators in his pay, those artificers of discord, those firebrands of commonwealths. And it was by these stratagems, not by his arms, that Philip subdued Thessaly."<sup>1</sup>

All this is a masterpiece, a miracle in point of politics.<sup>2</sup> But what engines does this art play, what methods does it employ, to compass its designs? Deceit, craft, fraud, falsehood, perfidy and perjury. Are these the weapons of virtue? We see in this prince a boundless ambition, conducted by an artful, insinuating, subtle genius; but we do not find him possessed of the qualities which formed the truly great man. Philip had neither faith nor honour; every thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his power, was in his sense just and lawful. He gave his word with a firm resolution to break it; and made promises that he would have been very sorry to keep. He thought himself skilful in proportion as he was perfidious, and made his glory consist in deceiving all with whom he treated. He

Polyæn. l. iv. c. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. Olyn. ii. p. 22.

did not blush to say, "That children were amused with playthings, and men with oaths."<sup>1</sup>

How shameful was it for a prince to be distinguished by being more artful, a greater dissembler, more profound in malice, and more a knave, than any other person of his age, and to leave so infamous an idea of himself to all posterity? What idea could we form to ourselves, in the intercourse of the world, of a man who should value himself for tricking others, and rank insincerity and fraud among the virtues? Such a character in private life, is detested as the bane and ruin of society. How then can it become an object of esteem and admiration in princes and ministers of state, persons who are bound by stronger ties than the rest of men, because of the eminence of their stations, and the importance of the employments they fill, to revere sincerity, justice, and, above all, the sanctity of treaties and oaths; to bind which, they invoke the name and majesty of a God, the inexorable avenger of perfidy and impiety! A bare promise among private persons ought to be sacred and inviolable, if they have the least sense of honour; but how much more ought it to be so among princes! "We are bound," says a celebrated writer, "to speak truth to our neighbour; for the use and application of speech implies a tacit promise of truth; speech having been given us for no other purpose. It is not a compact between one private man and another; it is a common compact of mankind in general, and a kind of right of nations, or rather a law of nature. Now, whoever tells an untruth, violates this law and common compact." How greatly is the enormity of violating the sanctity of an oath increased, when we call upon the name of God to witness it, as is the custom always in treaties? "Were sincerity and truth banished from every other part of the earth," said John I. king of France, upon his being solicited to violate a treaty, "they ought to be found in the hearts and in the mouths of kings."<sup>2</sup>

The circumstance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being persuaded that it is the only means of making a negotiation succeed. But though this were the case, yet can it ever be lawful to purchase such success at the expense of probity, honour, and religion? "If your father-in-law, Ferdinand the Catholic," said Lewis XII. to Philip, archduke of Austria, "has acted perfidiously, I am determined not to imitate him, and I am more pleased in having lost a kingdom, (Naples,) which I am able to recover, than I should have been, had I lost my honour, which can never be recovered."<sup>3</sup>

But those politicians, who have neither honour nor religion deceive themselves, even in this very particular. I shall not have recourse to the Christian world for princes and ministers whose notions of policy were very different from these. To go no farther than our Greek history, how many great men have we seen perfectly successful in the administration of public affairs, in treaties of peace and war, in a word, in the most important negotiations, without once

<sup>1</sup> *Ælian*. l. vii. c. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Mexeral*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*.

making use of artifice and deceit! An Aristides, a Cimon, a Phocion, and so many others, some of whom were so very scrupulous in matters relating to truth, as to believe that they were not allowed to tell a falsehood, even in sport. Cyrus, the most famous conqueror of the East, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, than lying and deceit. It therefore ought to be looked upon as a truth, that no success, however brilliant, can, or ought to cover the shame and ignominy which arise from breach of faith and perjury.

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## BOOK FIFTEENTH.

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### THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

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#### PLAN.

I have already observed, that the history of Alexander, comprised in the following book, contains the space of twelve years and eight months.

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#### SECTION I.

ALEXANDER'S BIRTH. ARISTOTLE APPOINTED HIS PRECEPTOR. HE BREAKS BUCEPHALUS.

ALEXANDER was born the first year of the 106th Olympiad.

The very day he came into the world, the celebrated temple of Diana at Ephesus was burned. The reader knows, without doubt, that it was one of the seven wonders of the world. It had been built in the name and at the expense of all Asia Minor. A great number of years were occupied in building it.<sup>2</sup> Its length was four hundred and twenty-five feet, and its breadth two hundred and twenty. It was supported by one hundred and twenty-seven columns, sixty feet high, which so many kings<sup>3</sup> had caused to be wrought, at a great expense, and by the most excellent artists, who endeavoured to excel one another on this occasion. The rest of the temple was equal to the columns in magnificence.

Hegesias, a historian of Magnesia, who lived in the time of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, says, according to Plutarch, "That it was no wonder the temple was burned, because Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate the birth of Alexander."<sup>4</sup>

A person named Herostratus had fired that temple on purpose. Being put to the torture, in order to force him to confess his motive for committing so infamous an action, he confessed that it was with

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<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny says two hundred and twenty years, which is not probable.

<sup>3</sup> Anciently, most cities were governed by their particular king.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. in. Alex. p. 665.

the view of making himself known to posterity, and to immortalize his name, by destroying so noble a structure. The states-general of Asia imagined that they should prevent the success of his view, by publishing a decree to prohibit the mention of his name. Their prohibition, however, only excited a greater curiosity; for scarcely one of the historians of that age has omitted to mention so monstrous an extravagance, and at the same time have told us the name of the criminal.<sup>1</sup>

The passion which prevailed most in Alexander, even from his earliest years, was ambition, and an ardent desire of glory; but not of every species. Philip, like a sophist, valued himself upon his eloquence and the beauty of his style, and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the several victories he had won at the Olympic games, in the chariot-race. But it was not to this his son aspired. His friends asking him one day, whether he would not be present at the games above mentioned, in order to dispute the prize bestowed on that occasion, for he was very swift of foot; he answered, "That he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagonists."<sup>2</sup>

Every time news was brought him that his father had taken some city, or gained some great battle, Alexander, so far from sharing in the general joy, used to say, in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young persons that were brought up with him, "My friends, my father will possess himself of every thing, and leave nothing for us to do."

Some ambassadors from the king of Persia, having one day arrived at court, during Philip's absence, Alexander gave them so kind and so polite a reception, and entertained them in so noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which most surprised them, was the good sense and judgment he discovered in the several conversations they had with him. He did not propose to them any thing that was trifling, or to be expected from one of his age; such, for instance, as inquiring about the so much boasted gardens suspended in the air; the riches and magnificence of the palace and court of the king of Persia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plantain-tree; and that golden vine, the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all sorts of precious stones, under which the Persian monarch was said frequently to give audience.<sup>3</sup> Alexander, on the contrary, asked them questions of a very different nature; inquiring which was the road to Upper Asia; the distance of the several places; in what the strength and power of the king of Persia consisted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies; and in what manner he governed his subjects. These ambassadors admired him all the while; and perceiving, even at that time, how great he might one day become, they observed, in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and Artaxerxes,<sup>4</sup> by saying one to another, "This young

Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 14.

Athen. l. xii. p. 739.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Alex. p. 665—668. Id. de Fortun. Alex. p. 342.

<sup>4</sup> Artaxerxes Ochus.

prince is great, and ours is rich." <sup>1</sup> That man must be vastly insignificant, who has no other merit than his riches.

So ripe a judgment in this young prince was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to his natural capacity. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all such arts and sciences as are worthy the heir of a great kingdom; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a person of the most rigid morals, and a relation of the queen. Alexander himself tells us afterwards, that this Leonidas, in their journeys together, used frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and clothes were laid, in order to see if Olympias, his mother, had not put something superfluous in them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor, the most famous and the most learned philosopher of his age, whom he intrusted with the whole care of his education. One of the reasons which prompted Philip to choose him a master of so conspicuous a reputation and merit, was, as he himself tells us, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had been guilty.<sup>2</sup>

Philip was sensible how great a treasure he possessed in the person of Aristotle; for which reason he settled a very considerable stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having destroyed and laid waste Stagira, a city of Macedon, near the sea-shore, the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; reinstated the inhabitants who had fled from it, or were made slaves; and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood, as a place for their studies and assemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the stone seats which Aristotle had placed there were standing; as also spacious vistas, under which those who walked were shaded from the sunbeams.

Alexander likewise discovered no less esteem for his master, whom he believed himself bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring, that he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well."<sup>3</sup> The progress of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. He grew vastly fond of philosophy; and learned the several parts of it in a manner suitable to his birth.<sup>4</sup> Aristotle endeavoured to improve his judgment, by laying down sure and certain rules, by which he might distinguish just and solid reasoning, from what is but speciously so; and by accustoming him to separate in discourse all such parts as only dazzle, from those which are truly solid, and should constitute its whole value. He also exercised him in metaphysics, which may be of great benefit to a prince, provided he applies himself to them with moderation, as they explain to him the nature of the human mind; how greatly it differs from matter; in what manner he perceives spiritual things; how he is sensible of the impression of those that surround him; and many other questions of the like import. The reader will naturally sup-

<sup>1</sup> Ο καὶς ὅτος βασιλεὺς μέγας, ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος, πλεῖστος.

<sup>2</sup> Ὡς δὲ ἔκρινεν μένζων, οἷα γάρ τινι καλῶς ζῶν.

<sup>4</sup> Retinuit ex sapientia modum.—Tacit.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Apophth. p. 178.

pose, that he did not omit either the mathematics, which give to the mind so just a turn of thinking; or the wonders of nature, the study of which, besides a great many other advantages, shows how very incapable the mind of man is to discover the secret principles of the things of which he is daily an eye-witness. But Alexander applied himself chiefly to morality, which is properly the science of kings, because it is the knowledge of mankind, and of all their duties. This he made his serious and profound study; and considered it, even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wise policy. How much must such an education contribute to the good conduct of a prince, with regard to his own interests and the government of his people!

The greatest master of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boast, and who has left so excellent a treatise on that subject, took care to make that science part of his pupil's education; and we find that Alexander, even in the midst of his conquests, was often very urgent with Aristotle to send him a treatise on that subject. To this we owe the work entitled Alexander's Rhetoric; in the beginning of which, Aristotle proves to him the vast advantages a prince may reap from eloquence, as it gives him the greatest ascendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wisdom as authority. Some answers and letters of Alexander, which are still extant, show that he possessed, in its greatest perfection, that strong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with sense and ideas; and which is so entirely free from superfluous expressions, that every single word has its meaning; which, properly speaking, is the eloquence of kings.<sup>1</sup>

His esteem, or rather his passion, for Homer,<sup>2</sup> shows not only with what vigour and success he applied himself to polite literature, but the judicious use he made of it, and the solid advantages he proposed to himself from it. He was not prompted to peruse this poet merely out of curiosity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondness for poesy; but his view in studying this admirable writer was, in order to borrow such sentiments from him, as are worthy a great king and conqueror, courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and peace. And indeed the verse that pleased him most in Homer, was that where Agamemnon is represented as "a good king," and a "brave warrior."<sup>3</sup>

After this, it is no wonder that Alexander should have so high an esteem for this poet. Thus when, after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found among the spoils of Darius, a gold box, enriched with precious stones, in which were kept the excellent perfumes used by that prince; Alexander, who was quite covered with dust, and regardless of essences and perfumes, ordered that this box should be employed to no other use than to hold Homer's poems, which he believed the most perfect, the most precious productions of the human mind.<sup>4</sup> He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. in Rhetor. ad Alex. p. 608, 609.

<sup>2</sup> Imperatoria brevitatis.—Tacit.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀμφότερον, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθός, κρατερὸς τ' ἀρχηγός.—Iliad. iii. v. 172.

<sup>4</sup> Preciosissimum humani animi opus.—Plut. l. vii. c. 29.



"The best provision for a warrior."<sup>1</sup> He always had with him that edition of Homer which Aristotle had revised and corrected, and to which the title of the "Edition of the Box" was given; and he laid it, with his sword, every night, under his pillow.

Fond even to excess of every kind of glory, he was displeased with Aristotle, his master, for having published, in his absence, certain metaphysical pieces, which he desired that he only might possess; and even at the time when he was employed in the conquest of Asia, and the pursuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is still extant, wherein he complains upon that very account.<sup>2</sup> Alexander says in it, that "He had much rather surpass the rest of men in the knowledge of sublime and excellent things, than the greatness and extent of his power."<sup>3</sup> He in like manner, requested Aristotle not to show the treatise of rhetoric above mentioned to any person but himself.<sup>4</sup> I will admit, that there is an excess in this strong desire of glory, which prompts him to suppress the merit of others, in order that his only may appear; but, it must at the same time be acknowledged, that it discovers such a passion for study as is very laudable in a prince; and the very reverse of that indifference, not to say contempt and aversion, which most young persons of high birth express for all things that relate to learning and study.

Plutarch tells us in few words the infinite advantage that Alexander reaped from this taste, with which his master, who was better qualified than any other for the education of youth, had inspired him from his most tender infancy. "He loved," said that author, "to converse with learned men, to improve himself in knowledge, and to study;"<sup>5</sup> three sources of a monarch's happiness, and which enable him to secure himself from numberless difficulties; three certain and infallible methods of learning to reign without the assistance of others. The conversation of persons of fine sense instructs a prince by way of amusement, and teaches him a thousand curious and useful things, without costing him the least trouble. The lessons which able masters give him, on the most exalted sciences, and particularly upon politics, improve his mind wonderfully, and furnish him with rules to govern his subjects with wisdom. In fine, study, especially that of history, crowns all the rest, and is to him a preceptor for all seasons, and for all hours, who, without ever growing troublesome, acquaints him with truths which no one else would dare to tell him, and, under fictitious names, exhibits the prince to himself; teaches him to know himself as well as mankind, who are the same in all ages. Alexander owed all these advantages to the excellent education which Aristotle gave him.

He had also a taste for the whole circle of arts, but in such a manner as became a prince; that is, he knew the value and usefulness

<sup>1</sup> Τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον. This word, which I have not been able to render better, signifies that we find in the Iliad whatever relates to the art of war, and the qualities of a general; in a word, all things necessary to form a good commander.

<sup>2</sup> Aul. Gel. l. xx. c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐγὼ δὲ βυλοίμην ἂν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἄριστα ἐμπειρίαις, ἢ ταῖς δυνάμειν, διαφέρειν.

<sup>4</sup> Arist. p. 609.

<sup>5</sup> Ἦν φιλόλογος καὶ φιλομαθὴς, φιλαναγνώστης.

of them. Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, flourished in his reign, because they found in him both a skilful judge and a generous protector, who was able to distinguish and reward merit.<sup>1</sup>

But he despised trifling feats of dexterity that were of no use. Some Macedonians admired very much a man who employed himself very attentively in throwing small peas through the eye of a needle, which he would do at a considerable distance, and without once missing. Alexander, seeing him at this exercise, ordered him, as we are told, a present suitable to his employment, viz. a basket of peas.<sup>2</sup>

Alexander was of a sprightly disposition, was resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the same time would submit immediately to reason and good sense. It is very difficult to treat with persons of his turn of mind. Philip accordingly, notwithstanding his double authority of king and father, believed it necessary to employ persuasion rather than force with respect to his son, and endeavoured to make himself beloved rather than feared by him.

An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been sent from Thessaly to Philip a war-horse, a noble, strong, fiery, generous animal, called Bucephalus.<sup>3</sup> The owner was willing to sell him for thirteen talents. The king, attended by his courtiers, went into the plains in order to view the perfections of this horse; but upon trial, he appeared so very fierce, and pranced about in so furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being angry that so furious and unmanageable a creature had been sent him, gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alexander, who was present at that time, cried out, "What a noble horse they are going to lose, for want of address and boldness to back him!" Philip, at first, considered these words as the effect of folly and rashness, so common to young men: but as Alexander insisted still more upon what he had said, and was very much vexed to see so noble a creature about to be sent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince, overjoyed at this permission, went up to Bucephalus, took hold of the bridle, and turned his head to the sun: having observed, that the thing which frightened him was his own shadow, he seeing it dance about, or sink down, just as he moved. He therefore first stroked him gently with his hand, and soothed him with his voice; then seeing his mettle abate, and artfully taking his opportunity, he dropped his cloak, and springing swiftly upon his back, first slackened the rein, without once striking or vexing him; and when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer so furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the rein, and spurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full speed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having

<sup>1</sup> Plut. de Fortun. Alex. Serm. ii. p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> We may suppose that it was some instrument in the shape of a needle.

<sup>3</sup> Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Some think he was called so, because his head was like that of an ox.

run his first heat, returned with joy and pride at having broken a horse which was judged absolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauses and congratulations; and we are told that Philip shed tears of joy on this occasion, and embracing Alexander after he alighted, and kissing his head, he said to him, "My son, seek a kingdom more worthy of thee, for Macedon is below thy merit."

We are told a great many surprising particulars of this Bucephalus: for whatever had any relation to Alexander, was to be of the marvellous kind. When this horse was saddled and equipped for battle, he would suffer no one to back him but his master; and it would not have been safe for any other person to go near him. Whenever Alexander wanted to mount him, he would kneel upon his fore legs. According to some historians, in the battle against Porus, where Alexander had plunged too imprudently amidst a body of the enemy, his horse, though wounded in every part of his body, still exerted himself in so vigorous a manner, that he saved his master's life; and notwithstanding the deep wounds he had received, and though almost spent through the great effusion of blood, he brought off Alexander from among the combatants, and carried him with inexpressible vigour to a place of security; where, perceiving the king to be no longer in danger, and overjoyed in some measure at the service he had done him, he expired.<sup>1</sup> This was indeed a very noble end for a horse. Others say, that Bucephalus, quite worn out, died at thirty years of age. Alexander bewailed his death bitterly, believing that he had lost in him a most faithful and affectionate friend; and afterwards built a city on the very spot where he was buried, near the river Hydaspes, and called it Bucephalia in honour of him.<sup>2</sup>

I have related elsewhere, that Alexander, at sixteen years of age, was appointed regent of Macedonia, and invested with absolute authority during his father's absence; that he behaved with great prudence and bravery; and that afterwards, he distinguished himself in a most signal manner at the battle of Chæronea.

## SECTION II.—ALEXANDER ASCENDS THE THRONE. DECLARED GENERALISSIMO OF THE GREEKS AGAINST THE PERSIANS.

DARIUS and Alexander began to reign the same year.<sup>3</sup> The latter was but twenty years old when he succeeded to the crown. His first care was to solemnize the funeral obsequies of his father with the utmost pomp, and to revenge his death.

Upon his accession to the throne, he saw himself surrounded with extreme dangers. The barbarous nations against whom Philip had fought during his whole reign, and from whom he had made several conquests, which he had united to his crown, after having dethroned their natural kings, thought proper to take advantage of this junc-

<sup>1</sup> Et domini jam superstitis securus, quasi cum sensus humani solatio, animam expiravit. -Aul. Gel.

<sup>2</sup> Aul. Gel. l. v. c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. Plut. in Alex. p. 670—672. Diod. l. xvii. p. 486—489. Arian. l. i. de Expedit. Alex. p. 2—23.

ture, in which a new prince, who was but young, had ascended the throne for recovering their liberty, and uniting against the common usurper. Nor was he under less apprehensions from Greece. Philip, though he had permitted the several cities and commonwealths to continue their ancient form of government, had, however, entirely changed it in reality, and made himself absolute master of it. Although absent, he ruled in all the assemblies; and not a single resolution was taken, but in subordination to his will. Though he had subdued all Greece, either by the terror of his arms, or the secret machinations of policy, he had not had time sufficient to subject and accustom it to his power, but had left all things in it in great ferment and disorder, the minds of the vanquished not being yet calmed or moulded to subjection.

The Macedonians, reflecting on this precarious situation of things, advised Alexander to relinquish Greece, and not persist in his resolution of subduing it by force; to recover, by gentle means, the barbarians who had taken arms, and to smother, as it were, those glimmerings of revolt and innovation by prudent reserve, complacency, and insinuations, in order to conciliate affection. Alexander, however, would not listen to these timorous counsels, but resolved to secure and support his affairs by boldness and magnanimity; firmly persuaded, that should he relax in any point at first, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromise matters, he should be obliged to give up all Philip's conquests, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all possible haste to check the arms of the barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; subdued several barbarous nations, some by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms; and notwithstanding the arrogant answer<sup>1</sup> of their ambassadors, he taught them to dread a danger still more near them than the falling of the sky and planets.

While Alexander was thus employed at a distance against the barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated, more particularly by Demosthenes, formed a powerful alliance against that prince. A false report which prevailed, of his death, inspired the Thebans with a boldness that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garrison in their citadel. Demosthenes, on the other side, was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called a child, and a hare-brained boy,<sup>2</sup> he assured the Athenians, with a decisive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to stir out of his kingdom; but would think himself vastly happy, could he sit peaceably on his throne. At the same time he wrote many letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Asia Minor, to ex-

<sup>1</sup> Alexander, imagining that his name only had struck these people with terror, asked their ambassadors what they dreaded most? They replied, with a haughty tone of voice, that they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the sky and stars.

<sup>2</sup> It is *parrytos* in Greek, a word which signifies many things in that language.

cite him to rebel.<sup>1</sup> This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's second wife, and was very much disposed to listen to the proposals of Demosthenes. But as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reason, he therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the suspicions he might entertain, and the better to screen his designs, sent all the letters of Demosthenes to that prince. Alexander however, saw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecatæus, one of his commanders, whom he had previously sent into Asia for that purpose, to have him assassinated, which was accordingly done. The death of Attalus restored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the seeds of discord and rebellion.

When Alexander had secured his kingdom from the barbarians, he marched with the utmost expedition towards Greece, and passed the strait of Thermopylæ. He addressed those who accompanied him as follows: "Demosthenes called me, in his orations, a child, when I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi; he called me a young man, when I was in Thessaly; and I must now show him, before the walls of Athens, that I am a man grown." He appeared so suddenly in Bœotia, that the Thebans could scarcely believe their eyes; and having arrived before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent, and only demanded to have Phœnix and Prothutes, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and published, by sound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who should come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of insult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were solicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with them in its defence.<sup>2</sup>

Alexander, finding it impossible for him to get the better of their obstinacy by offers of peace, saw with grief that he should be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themselves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their strength, for the enemy exceeded them vastly in numbers; but after a long and vigorous resistance, such as survived of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel, descending from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear, now surrounded on all sides, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the city taken and plundered.

It would be impossible for words to express the dreadful calamities which the Thebans suffered on this occasion. Some Thracians having pulled down the house of a virtuous lady of quality, named Timoclea, carried off all her goods and treasures; and their captain having seized the lady, and satiated his brutal lust with her, afterwards inquired whether she had not concealed gold and silver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent desire of revenge, replying that she had hid some, took him with her into her garden, and showing him a well, told him, that the instant she saw the enemy enter the city, she herself had thrown into it the most valuable things in her possession.

<sup>1</sup> *Æschin. contra Ctesiph.* p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> *A. M.* 3670. *Ant. J. C.* 334.



The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and stooping down to see its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, pushing him with all her strength, threw him into the well, and afterwards killed him with great stones which she threw upon him. She was instantly seized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince perceived immediately by her mien that she was a woman of quality and great spirit; for she followed those brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without discovering the least fear. Alexander asking her who she was, Timoclea replied, I am sister to Theagenes, who fought against Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Chæronea, where he commanded. The prince admiring the generous answer of that lady, and still more the action that she had done, gave orders that she should have leave to retire wherever she pleased with her children.

Alexander then debated in council, how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocæans and the people of Platææ, Thespisæ, and Orchomænus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had shared in his victory, represented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who also had destroyed their several cities; and reproached them with the zeal which they had always discovered in favour of the Persians against the Greeks, who held them in the utmost detestation; the proof of which was, the oath they had all taken to destroy Thebes, after they should have vanquished the Persians.

Cleades, one of the prisoners, being permitted to speak, endeavoured to excuse, in some measure, the revolt of the Thebans, a fault, which, in his own opinion, should be imputed to a rash and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He remonstrated, that his countrymen, upon a false report of Alexander's death, had indeed too rashly rebelled, not against the king, but against his successors: that whatever crimes they might have committed, they had been punished for them with the utmost severity by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city: that there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear; and were so much the greater objects of compassion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which had given birth to so many gods and heroes, several of whom were that king's ancestors, had also been the seat of his father Philip's rising glory, and like a second native country to him.

These motives, which Cleades urged, were very strong and powerful; but the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was destroyed. He, however, set at liberty the priests; all such as had right of hospitality with the Macedonians; the descendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done so much honour to Greece; and such as had opposed the revolt: but all the rest, to the number of about thirty thousand, he sold, and upwards of six thousand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were so sensibly afflicted at the sad disaster which had befallen Thebes, that being about to so-



lumnize the festival of the great mysteries, they suspended them, upon account of their extreme grief, and received with the greatest humanity all those who had fled from the battle and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their asylum.

Alexander's so sudden arrival in Greece had very much abated the haughtiness of the Athenians, and extinguished the vehemence and fire of Demosthenes; but the ruin of Thebes, which was still more sudden, threw them into the utmost consternation. They therefore had recourse to entreaties, and sent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency. Demosthenes was among them, but was no sooner arrived at Mount Cytheron, than, dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embassy, and returned home.

Alexander sent immediately to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he supposed to have been the chief instruments in forming the league which Philip his father had defeated at Chæronea. It was on this occasion, Demosthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is supposed, "that the wolves one day told the sheep, that in case they desired to be at peace with them, they must deliver up to them the dogs who were their guard." The application was easy and natural, especially with respect to the orators, who were justly compared to dogs, whose duty is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to save the lives of the flock.

In this dilemma of the Athenians, who could not prevail upon themselves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to save their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendship, offered to undertake the embassy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had satiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if possible, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action he had just before committed; or rather to remove the several obstacles which might retard the execution of his grand design, and by that means not leave, during his absence, the least pretence for murmurs; waived his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their sending Caridemus to banishment, who being a native of Oræa, a city of Eubœa, had been presented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the services he had done the republic. He was son-in-law to Chersobleptus, king of Thrace; had learned the art of war under Iphicrates; and had himself frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the pursuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Persia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the several injuries he pretended to have received, but expressed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themselves vigorously to public affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the several transactions which might happen; because, in case of his death, their city was to give laws to the rest of Greece. Historians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was seized with deep remorse for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans, and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards other nations.

So dreadful an example of severity towards so powerful a city as Thebes, spread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He summoned at Corinth, the assembly of the several states, and the free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the same supreme command against the Persians, as had been granted his father a little before his death. No diet ever debated on a more important subject. It was the western world deliberating upon the ruin of the east, and the methods for executing a revenge suspended for more than an age. The assembly held at this time will give rise to events, the relation of which will appear astonishing, and almost incredible; and to revolutions, which will change the disposition of most things in the world.<sup>1</sup>

To form such a design, required a prince, bold, enterprising, and experienced in war; one of great views, who having acquired a mighty name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obstacles; but above all, a monarch who had a supreme authority over all the states of Greece, none of which singly was powerful enough to make so arduous an attempt; and which required, in order for their acting in concert, to be subject to one chief, who might give motion to the several parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the same end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Persians, their perpetual and irreconcilable enemies; whose destruction they had more than once sworn, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in case an opportunity should present itself for that purpose; a hatred, which the intestine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have suspended, but could never extinguish. The immortal retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the numerous army of the Persians; the terror which Agesilaus, with a handful of men, had struck even as far as Susa, showed plainly what might be expected from an army composed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and those of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip; and, to say all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the assembly were therefore very short, and that prince was unanimously appointed generahissimo against the Persians.

A great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philosophers, waited immediately upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himself that Diogenes of Sinope, who was then at Corinth, would also come like the rest, and pay his compliments. This philosopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men just upon their exaltation; but that mankind ought to wait till those persons had performed actions worthy of their high stations. Diogenes therefore did not stir out of his house; upon which, Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a visit. This philosopher was at that time lying down in the sun; but seeing so great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he sat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch places that diet or assembly here, but others fix it earlier; whence Dr. Prideaux supposed that it was summoned twice.

This prince, surprised to see so famous a philosopher reduced to such extreme poverty, after saluting him in the kindest manner, asked whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes replied, "Yes, that you would stand a little out of my sunshine." This answer raised the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, struck with the philosopher's greatness of soul, "Were I not Alexander," said he, "I would be Diogenes." A very profound sense lies hid in this expression, which shows perfectly the bent and disposition of the heart of man. Alexander was sensible that he was formed to possess all things; such was his destiny, in which he made his happiness to consist: but then, in case he should not be able to compass his ends, he was also sensible, that to be happy, he must endeavour to bring his mind to such a frame as to want nothing. In a word, either side presents us with a true image of Alexander and Diogenes. However great and powerful that prince might think himself, he could not deny himself, on this occasion, inferior to a man to whom he could give, and from whom he could take nothing.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander, before he set out for Asia, was determined to consult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos, and happened to arrive there on those days which are called unlucky, a season in which the people are forbid consulting the oracle; and accordingly the priestess refused to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and as he was leading her to the temple, she cried out, "My son, thou art irresistible." This was all he desired; and catching hold of these words, which he considered as spoken by the oracle, he set out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

#### NOTE WITH REGARD TO THE SEQUEL OF THE HISTORY.

I COULD have wished, and it was even my design, to prefix to the exploits of Alexander, a geographical map; this being of great assistance to the reader, and enabling him to follow the hero in all his conquests. But it was not in my power to do this here; the map of Alexander's conquests being too large to be conveniently inserted in this volume. But to supply in some measure this defect, I shall here give, in one view, a short account of those countries through which Alexander passed, till his return from India.

Alexander set out from Macedonia, which is part of Turkey in Europe, and crossed the Hellespont, or the Strait of the Dardanelles.

He crossed Asia Minor, (Natolia,) where he fought two battles, the first at the pass of the river Granicus, and the second near the city of Issus.

After this second battle, he entered Syria and Palestine; went into Egypt, where he built Alexandria, on one of the arms of the Nile; advanced as far as Libya, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence

<sup>1</sup> Homo supra mensuram humanæ superbis tumens, vidit aliquem, cui nec dare quidquam posset, nec crinera.—Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 6.

he returned back; arrived at Tyre, and from thence marched towards the Euphrates.

He crossed that river, then the Tigris, and gained the celebrated victory of Arbela; possessed himself of Babylon, the capital of Babylonia, and Ecbatana, the chief city of Media.

From thence he passed into Hyrcania, to the sea which goes by that name, otherwise called the Caspian sea; and entered Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamisus.

He afterwards went into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advanced as far as the river Iaxarthes, called by Q. Curtius the Tanais, the farther side of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whose country forms part of Great Tartary.

Alexander, after having gone through various countries, crossed the river Indus, entered India, which lies on this side the Ganges, and forms part of the Grand Mogul's empire, and advanced very near the river Ganges, which he also intended to pass, had not his army refused to follow him. He therefore contented himself with marching to view the ocean, and went down the river Indus to its mouth.

From Macedonia to the Ganges, which river Alexander nearly approached, is computed at least eleven hundred leagues.

Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches; first, from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Issus was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Libya; and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of three hundred leagues at least, and as much space at least for the windings of his route in different places; we shall find that Alexander, in less than eight years, marched his army upwards of seventeen hundred leagues, without including his return to Babylon.

### SECTION III.—ALEXANDER SETS OUT AGAINST THE PERSIANS. OBTAINS A FAMOUS VICTORY AT THE RIVER GRANICUS.

ALEXANDER, on his arrival in his kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the grandees of his court, on the expedition he meditated against Persia, and the measures he should take in order to succeed in it. The whole assembly was unanimous, except in one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterprise which would necessarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a consort, in order to secure himself a successor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed, that after he had been nominated generalissimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a shame for him to lose his time in solemnizing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it; for which reason he determined to set out immediately.<sup>1</sup>

He accordingly offered up very splendid sacrifices to the gods, and caused to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, scenical

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. Diod. l. xvii. p. 499—503. Arrian. l. i. p. 23—36. Plut. in Alex. p. 672, 673. Justin. l. xi. c. 5, 6.

games,<sup>1</sup> that had been instituted by one of his ancestors in honour of Jupiter and the Muses. This festival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of those goddesses. He had a tent raised large enough to hold one hundred tables, on which, consequently, nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feast, the several princes of his family, all the ambassadors, generals, and officers, were invited. He also treated his whole army. It was then he had the famous vision, in which he was exhorted to march speedily into Asia, mention of which will be made in the sequel.<sup>2</sup>

Before he set out upon this expedition, he settled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thousand foot, and nearly the same number of horse.

He also inquired into the domestic affairs of his friends, giving to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of a harbour. And as all the revenues of his demesnes were already employed and exhausted by his donations, Perdiccas said to him, "My lord, what is it you reserve for yourself?" Alexander replied, "Hope:" "The same hope," said Perdiccas, "ought therefore to satisfy us;" and so refused very generously to accept of what the king had appointed him.

The knowledge of the human heart, and the art of governing it, is of great importance to a prince. Alexander was sensible that this secret consists in making it the interest of every individual to promote his grandeur; and to govern his subjects in such a manner, that they may feel his power by no other marks than his bounty. It is then that the interest of every person unites with that of the prince. They are individual possessions, individual happiness, which we love in his person; and we are so many times attached to him, and by as close ties, as there are things we love, and receive from him. The remaining part of this history will show, that no person ever made a more happy use of this maxim than Alexander, who thought himself raised to the throne, merely that he might do good; and indeed his liberality, which was truly royal, was neither satisfied nor exhausted by the noblest acts of beneficence.

Alexander, after having completely settled affairs in Macedonia, and used all the precautions imaginable to prevent any troubles from arising in it during his absence, set out for Asia in the beginning of the spring. His army consisted of little more than thirty thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse; but they were all brave men; were well disciplined, and inured to fatigues; had made several campaigns under Philip, and were each of them, in case of necessity, capable of commanding.<sup>3</sup> Most of the officers were nearly sixty years of age; and when they were either assembled, or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable senate.<sup>4</sup> Parmenio commanded the infantry. Philotas, his son, had one thousand eight hundred horse under him; these were all Macedonians; and Callas, the son of Harpalus, the same number of Thessalian cavalry.

<sup>1</sup> Theatrical representations were so called.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi.

<sup>3</sup> Ut non tam milites, quam magistros militiæ electos putares.—Justin. l. xi. c. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Ut, si principia castrorum cerneret, senatum te alicujus prisci reip. videre diceret.—Id.

The rest of the horse, who were composed of natives of the several states of Greece, and amounted to six hundred, had their particular commanders. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were commanded by Cassander. Alexander began his route along the lake Cercinum towards Amphipolis; crossed the river Strymon, near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Sestos after twenty days march. He then commanded Parmenio to cross over from Sestos to Abydos, with all the horse and part of the foot; which he accordingly did by the assistance of one hundred and sixty galleys, and several flat-bottomed vessels. As for Alexander, he went from Eleontum to the port of the Achaïans, himself steering his own galley; and having reached the middle of the Hellespont, he sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereides; and made libations in the sea from a golden cup. It is also related, that after having thrown a javelin at the land, as thereby to take possession of it, he landed the first in Asia, and leaped from the ship, completely armed; and in the highest transports of joy, he erected altars on the shore to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Hercules, for having favoured him with so propitious a descent. He had done the same at his leaving Europe.

He depended so entirely on the happy success of his arms, and the rich spoils he should find in Asia, that he had made very little provision for so great an expedition; persuaded that war, when carried on successfully, would supply all things necessary for war. He had but seventy talents in money, to pay his army, and only a month's provision. I before observed, that he had divided his patrimony among his generals and officers; he had also inspired his soldiers with so much courage and security, that they fancied they marched, not to precarious war, but to certain victory.

When he arrived at the city of Lampsacus, which he was determined to destroy, in order to punish the rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous historian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himself had a great esteem for him, having been his pupil. The king, suspecting the business he was come upon, to be beforehand with him, swore in express terms, that he would never grant his request. "The favour that I have to desire of you," says Anaximenes, "is, that you would destroy Lampsacus." By this witty evasion, the historian saved his country.<sup>1</sup>

From thence Alexander arrived at Ilion, where he paid great honours to the manes of Achilles, and caused games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the double felicity of that renowned Grecian, in having found, during his lifetime, a faithful friend in Patroclus; and after his death, a herald in Homer, worthy the greatness of his exploits. And indeed, had it not been for the Iliad, the name of Achilles would have perished in the same grave with his body.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max. l. vii. c.

<sup>2</sup> Cum in Sigæo ad Achilles tumulum constitisset: O fortunate, inquit, adolescens, qui tuum



At last, Alexander arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia. The satraps, or deputy-lieutenants, waited his coming on the other side of it, firmly resolved to dispute the passage with him. Their army consisted of one hundred thousand foot, and upwards of ten thousand horse.<sup>1</sup> Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coast of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle; but to lay waste the plains, and even the cities, thereby to starve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the best of all the generals of Darius, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not easy to determine what we ought to admire most in him; whether his great wisdom in counsel, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his sovereign. The counsel he gave on this occasion was excellent, when we consider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous; had neither town, magazine, or place of retreat; that he was entering a country to which he was absolutely a stranger, inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Arsites, a Phrygian satrap, opposed the opinion of Memnon, and protested he would not suffer the Grecians to make such havoc in the territories he governed. This ill counsel prevailed over that of Memnon, whom the Persians, to their great injury, suspected of a design to protract the war, and by that means make himself necessary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy, armed infantry, drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings: the baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio advised him to encamp there in order of battle, so as to allow his forces time to rest themselves; and not to pass the river till very early next morning, because the enemy would then be less able to prevent him. He added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt crossing a river in sight of an enemy, especially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy; and that the Persian cavalry who waited their coming in battle array on the other side, might in that case easily defeat them before they were drawn up. That, besides the loss which would be sustained on this occasion, this enterprise, in case it should prove unsuccessful, would be of dangerous consequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the first actions.

These reasons, however, were not able to make the least impression on Alexander, who declared, that it would be a shame, should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be retarded by a rivulet, for so he called the Granicus in contempt: that they ought to take advantage of the terror which the suddenness of his arrival, and the boldness of his attempt, had spread among the Persians, and

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*virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris! Et vere. Nam, nisi Ilias illa extitisset, Idem tumultus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, etiam nomen obruisset.—Cic. pro Arch. n. 24.*

<sup>1</sup> According to Justin, their army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, whereas Arrian declares there were no more than twenty thousand. Both these accounts are improbable, and there is doubtless some fault in the text, and there I follow Diodorus Siculus.

answer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horse, which was very numerous, lined the whole shore, and formed a large front, in order to oppose Alexander, wherever he should endeavour to pass: and the foot, which consisted chiefly of Greeks in the service of Darius, was posted behind, upon an easy ascent.

The two armies continued a long time in sight of each other on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing; and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and to survey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this, Alexander, having ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with the rest of his forces. He ordered Parmenio to advance afterwards with the left wing. He himself led on the right wing, into the river, followed by the rest of the troops; the trumpets sounding, and the whole army raising cries of joy.

The Persians, seeing this detachment advance, began to let fly their arrows, and marched to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horse engaged with great fury; one part endeavouring to land, and the other striving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whose cavalry was vastly inferior in number, besides the advantage of the ground, were wounded with darts that were shot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Persian horse were drawn together in this place; and that Memnon, in concert with his sons, commanded there. The Macedonians therefore at first gave ground, after having lost the first ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who had followed them close, and reinforced them with his best troops, headed them himself, animated them with his presence, drove the Persians, and routed them; upon which the whole army followed after, crossed the river, and attacked the enemy on all sides.

Alexander first charged the thickest part of the enemy's horse, in which the generals fought. He himself was particularly conspicuous by his shield, and the plume of feathers that overshadowed his helmet, on the two sides of which there rose two wings, as it were, of a great length, and so very white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his person; and though only horse engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either side; every one striving to repulse his adversary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the generals by his superior bravery. Surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his side, he carried terror wherever he moved. Alexander, on observing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, clapped spurs to his horse, and advanced towards him. Immediately they

engaged, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other slightly. Spithrobates fell furiously, sword in hand, upon Alexander, who, being prepared for him, thrust his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment, Rosaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the side, gave him so furious a blow on the head with his battle-axe, that he beat off his plume, but it went no deeper than the hair. As he was about to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cut off his hand with one stroke of his scimitar, and by that means saved his sovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been exposed, greatly animated the courage of his soldiers, who now performed wonders. The Persians in the centre of the cavalry, upon whom the light armed troops, posted in the intervals of the horse, poured a perpetual discharge of darts, being unable to sustain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who struck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broken and put to flight. Alexander did not pursue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

These, says the historian, at first stood their ground, which was owing to the surprise they were seized with, rather than bravery. But when they saw themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx, which had crossed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged, those of the Persians did not make either a long or vigorous resistance, and were soon put to flight, except the Grecian infantry in the service of Darius. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promise from Alexander to let them march away unmolested; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than those of reason, he rushed into the midst of this body of foot, and presently lost his horse, (not Bucephalus,) by the thrust of a sword. The battle was so hot round him, that most of the Macedonians who lost their lives on this occasion fell here; for they fought against a body of men who were well disciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in despair. They were all cut to pieces, except two thousand who were taken prisoners.

A great number of the chief Persian commanders lay dead on the spot. Arsites fled into Phrygia, where it is said he laid violent hands upon himself, for having been the cause that the battle was fought. It would have been more glorious for him, had he died in the field. Twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, were killed in this engagement, on the side of the barbarians: and of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horse were killed at the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, all which were set up in a city of Macedon called Dia, in honour of them, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About sixty of the other horse were killed; and nearly thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid, with their arms and equipage, in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and service.

He also took the utmost care of the wounded, visited them, and saw their wounds dressed. He inquired very particularly into their

adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boast of his bravery. A prince gains many advantages by such familiarity and condescension. He also granted the rites of sepulture to the grandees of Persia, and did not even refuse it to such Greeks as died in the Persian service; but all those whom he took prisoners he laid in chains, and sent them to work as slaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the barbarian standards against their country, contrary to the express prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleasure to share the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and sent particularly to the Athenians three hundred shields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy; and caused the glorious inscription following to be inscribed on the rest of the spoils: "Alexander, son of Philip, with the Greeks, the Lacedæmonians excepted, gained these spoils from the barbarians who inhabit Asia." A conduct of this kind argues a very uncommon and amiable greatness of soul in a conqueror, who generally cannot, without great reluctance, admit others to share in his glory. The greatest part of the gold and silver plate, the purple carpets, and other furniture of Persian luxury, he sent to his mother.

#### SECTION IV. — ALEXANDER CONQUERS THE GREATEST PART OF ASIA MINOR. DESCRIPTION OF THE MARCH OF DARIUS.

THE success of the battle of the Granicus had all the happy consequences that could naturally be expected from it. Sardis, which was in a manner the bulwark of the barbarian empire on the side next the sea, surrendered to Alexander, who thereupon gave the citizens their liberty, and permitted them to live after their own laws. Four days after, he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. He assigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia. He offered a great number of sacrifices to that goddess; solemnized her mysteries with the utmost pomp, and conducted the ceremony with his whole army drawn up in order of battle. The Ephesians had begun to rebuild the temple of Diana, which had been burned the night of Alexander's birth, as was before observed, and the work was now very forward. Dinocrates, a famous architect, who superintended this edifice, was employed by this king to build Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander offered to pay the Ephesians all the expenses they had already been at, and to furnish the remainder, provided they would inscribe the temple only with his name; for he was fond, or rather insatiable, of every kind of glory. The inhabitants of Ephesus not being willing to consent to it, and yet afraid to refuse him that honour openly, had recourse to an artful flattery for an evasion. They told him that it was inconsistent for one god to erect monuments to another. Before he left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.<sup>1</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333. Diod. l. xvii. p. 503—511. Arrian. l. i. p. 36—59. et l. ii p. 60—66. Plut. in Alex. p. 673, 674. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1—3. Justin. l. xi. c. 7, 8. Strab. l. xiv. p. 640. Solin. c. xli.

afterwards marched to Miletus, which city, flattered with the hopes of a sudden and powerful support, shut their gates against him; and indeed, the Persian fleet, which was very considerable, made show as if it would succour that city; but, after having made several fruitless attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to sail away. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with a great number of his soldiers who had escaped from the battle, and was determined to make a good defence. Alexander, who would not lose a moment's time, attacked it, and planted scaling-ladders on all sides. The escalade was carried on with great vigour, and opposed with no less intrepidity, though Alexander sent fresh troops to relieve one another without the least intermission, and this lasted several days. At last, finding his soldiers were every where repulsed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long siege, he planted all his machines against it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever these were attacked, a new escalade was attempted. The besieged, after sustaining all these efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated for fear of being taken by storm. Alexander treated all the Milesians with the utmost humanity, but sold all the foreigners who were found in it. Historians do not make any mention of Memnon, but we may reasonably suppose that he marched out with the garrison.

Alexander, seeing that the enemy's fleet had sailed away, resolved to lay up his own, the expense of it being too great, not to mention that he wanted money for things of greater importance. Some historians are even of opinion, that as he was upon the point of coming to a battle with Darius, which was to determine the fate of the two empires, he was resolved to deprive his soldiers of all hopes of retreat, and to leave them no other resource than that of victory. He therefore retained such vessels only of his fleet, as were absolutely necessary for transporting the military engines, and a small number of other galleys.<sup>1</sup>

After possessing himself of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay siege to Halicarnassus. The city was exceedingly difficult of access from its happy situation, and had been strongly fortified. Besides, Memnon, the ablest as well as the most valiant of all the commanders of Darius, had got into it with a body of choice soldiers, with design to signalize his courage and devotion, to his sovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was seconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the science of war, was conspicuous on both sides on this occasion. After the besiegers had, with incredible labour, filled up part of the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, they had the grief to see their works demolished in an instant, and their engines set on fire, by the frequent vigorous sallies of the besieged. After beating down part of a wall with their battering rams, they were astonished to see a new one behind it; which

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<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333.



was so sudden, that it seemed to rise out of the ground. The attack of these walls, which were built in a semicircular form, destroyed a prodigious number of men; because the besieged, from the top of the towers that were raised on the several sides, took the enemy in flank. It was clearly proved at this siege, that the strongest fortifications of a city, are the valour and courage of its defenders. The siege was held out so long, and attended with such surprising difficulties, as would have discouraged any warrior but Alexander; yet his troops were animated by the view of dangers, and their patience was at last successful. Memnon, finding it impossible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the sea was open to him, after having put a strong garrison into the citadel, which was well stored with provisions, he took with him the surviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the island of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnassus. Alexander did not think proper to besiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was destroyed, which he demolished to the very foundations. He left it, after having encompassed it with strong walls, and stationed some good troops in the country.

After the death of Artemisa, queen of Caria, Idrisæus her brother reigned in her stead. The sceptre devolved upon Ada, sister and wife of Idrisæus, according to the custom of the country; but she was dethroned by Pexodorus, to whom succeeded, by command of Darius, Orontobates his son-in-law. Ada, however, was still possessed of a fortress called Alinda, the keys of which she had carried to Alexander, the instant she heard of his arrival in Caria, and had adopted him for her son. The king was so far from contemning this honour, that he left her the quiet possession of her own city; and, after having taken Halicarnassus, as he by that means was master of the whole country, he restored the government of it to Ada.

This lady, as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, sent him every day, meats dressed in the most exquisite manner; delicious pies of all sorts, and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this occasion, "That all this train was of no service to him, for that he was possessed of much better cooks, whom Leonidas his governor had given him: one of whom prepared him a good dinner, and that was, walking a great deal in the morning very early; and the other prepared him an excellent supper, and that was, dining very moderately."<sup>1</sup>

Several kings of Asia Minor submitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates king of Pontus was one of these, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was son to Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elsewhere. He is computed to be the sixteenth king from Artabazus, who is considered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in possession by Darius, son of Hys-

<sup>1</sup> Βέλτιον γὰρ ἀψοποιὸς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῇ παιδαγωγῇ Λεωνίδου δαδόμενος αὐτῷ πρὸς μὲν το ἀριστον νυκτοπορεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ὀλιγαρισίαν.—Plut. in Alex. p. 677



τασπας, his father. The famous Mithridates, who so long employed the Roman armies, was one of his successors.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander, before he went into winter quarters, permitted all such of his soldiers as had married that year, to return into Macedonia, there to spend the winter with their wives, upon condition that they would return in the spring. He appointed three officers to march them thither and back again. This agrees exactly with the law of Moses,<sup>2</sup> and, as we do not find that this law or custom was used by any other nation, it is very probable that Aristotle had learned it of some Jew, with whom he became acquainted in Asia; and that, approving it as a very wise and just custom, he therefore had recommended it to his pupil, who remembered it on this occasion.

The next year, Alexander began the campaign very early. He had debated, whether it would be most proper for him to march directly against Darius, or first subdue the rest of the maritime provinces. The latter opinion seemed the safest, since he thereby would not be molested by such nations as he should leave behind him. This progress was a little interrupted at first. Near Phaselis, a city situated between Lycia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the sea-shore, which is always dry at low water, so that travellers may pass it at that time; but when the sea rises, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was desirous of passing it before the waters fell. His forces were therefore obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waist. Some historians, purely to embellish this incident, relate that the sea, by divine command, had submitted spontaneously to Alexander, and had opened a way to him, contrary to the usual course of nature; among these writers is Quintus Curtius. It is surprising that Josephus the historian, to weaken the authority of the miracle of the Jews passing through the Red Sea, as on dry land, should have cited this circumstance by way of example, the falsity of which, Alexander himself had refuted. For Plutarch relates, that he had written only as follows in one of his letters, "That when he left the city of Phaselis, he marched on foot through the pass of the mountain called Climax." And it is well known that this prince, who was very fond of the marvellous, never let slip any opportunity of persuading the people, that the gods protected him in a very singular manner.<sup>3</sup>

During his stay in the neighbourhood of Phaselis, he discovered a conspiracy which was carrying on by Alexander, son of Europus, whom he had recently appointed general of the Thessalian cavalry, in the room of Calas, whom he had made governor of a province. Darius, upon the receipt of a letter which this traitor had sent him, promised him a reward of a thousand talents of gold, with the kingdom of Macedonia, in case he would murder Alexander; believing this was not paying too dear for a crime, which would rid him of so formidable an enemy. The messenger who carried the king's answer being seized, made a full confession, by which means the traitor was brought to condign punishment.

<sup>1</sup> Florus. l. iii. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxiv. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Strab. l. xiv. p. 666.

Alexander, after having settled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celenæ, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marsyas, which the fictions of poets have made so famous. He summoned the garrison of the citadel, into which the inhabitants were retired, to surrender; but these believing it impregnable, answered ~~naughtily~~, that they would die first. But finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they desired a truce of sixty days, at the expiration of which they promised to open their gates, in case they were not succoured. And accordingly, no aid arriving, they surrendered themselves on the day fixed.

From thence the king marched into Phrygia, the capital of which was called Gordion, the ancient and famous residence of king Midas, situated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much art, and the strings were twisted in so wonderful a manner, that it was impossible to discover where it began or ended. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it should possess the empire of Asia. Alexander was firmly persuaded that this promise related to himself; after many fruitless trials, he exclaimed, "It is no matter which way it is untied," and thereupon cut it with his sword, and by that means, says the historian, either eluded or fulfilled the oracle.<sup>1</sup>

In the mean time Darius was setting every engine at work in order to make a vigorous defence. Memnon the Rhodian advised him to carry the war into Macedonia, which counsel seemed the most proper to extricate him from present danger; for the Lacedæmonians, and several other Greek nations, who had no affection for the Macedonians, would have been ready to join him; by which means Alexander must have been forced to leave Asia, and return suddenly over sea, to defend his own country. Darius approved this counsel, and, having determined to follow it, charged Memnon to put it in execution. Accordingly he was declared admiral of the fleet, and captain-general of all the forces designed for that expedition.

That prince could not possibly have made a better choice. Memnon was the ablest general in his service, and had fought a great many years under the Persian standards with the utmost fidelity. Had his advice been taken, the battle of the Granicus would not have been fought. He did not abandon his master's interest after that misfortune, but had assembled the scattered remains of the army, and immediately went first to Miletus, from thence to Halicarnassus, and lastly into the island of Cos, where he was when he received his new commission. This place was the rendezvous of the fleet; and Memnon was now meditating wholly upon the manner how to put his design in execution. He made himself master of the island of Chios, and all Lesbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to pass over into Eubœa, and to make Greece and Macedonia the seat of the war, but died before Mitylene, which city he had been

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<sup>1</sup> Sortem oraculi vel elusit, vel implevit.—Quint. Curt.

forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could possibly have happened to Persia. We see on this occasion the inestimable worth of a man of merit, whose death is sometimes the ruin of a state. The loss of Memnon frustrated the execution of the plan he had formed; for Darius, not having one general in his army, who was able to supply Memnon's place, abandoned entirely the only enterprise which could have saved his empire. His whole refuge, therefore, now lay in the armies of the east. Darius, dissatisfied with all his generals, resolved to command in person, and appointed Babylon for the rendezvous of his army; whereupon being mustered, they were found to be about four, five, or six hundred thousand men, for historians differ very much on this head.

Alexander, having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he subdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Asia. Accordingly he advanced, by hasty marches, into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called the Camp of Cyrus.<sup>1</sup> From thence the distance to the pass of Cilicia, is only fifty stadia, which is a very narrow strait, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarsus. The officer who guarded it for Darius, had left but few soldiers in it, and those fled the instant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the pass, and, after viewing very attentively the situation of the place, he admired his own good fortune; and confessed, that he might have been very easily stopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of stones: for, not to mention that this pass was so narrow, that four men completely armed could scarcely walk abreast in it, the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only strait, but broken in several places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarsus, where it arrived the instant the Persians were setting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of so flourishing a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had sent thither with a detachment of horse, arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and marched into the city, which he saved; the barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city runs the Cydnus, a river not so remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are very limpid, but, at the same time excessively cold, because of the tufted trees with which its banks are overshadowed. It was now about the end of summer, which is excessively hot in Cilicia, and in the hottest part of the day, when the king, who was covered with sweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe in that river, invited by the beauty and clearness of the stream. The instant he plunged into it, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the by-standers fancied he was dying. Upon this, he was carried to

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<sup>1</sup> Quintus Curtius supposes it to be called from Cyrus the Great, and Arrian from the younger Cyrus, which opinion appears the most probable.

his tent, after fainting away. The news of this sad disaster threw the whole army into the utmost consternation. They all burst into tears, and breathed their complaints in the following words: "The greatest prince that ever lived, is torn from us in the midst of his prosperities and conquests; not in a battle, or at the storming of a city, but dies by his bathing in a river. Darius, who is coming up with us, will conquer before he has seen his enemy. We shall be forced to retire like so many fugitives through those very countries which we entered with triumph; and as the places through which we must pass are either desert or depopulated, hunger alone, should we meet no other enemy, will itself destroy us. But who shall guide us in our flight, or dare to set himself up in Alexander's stead? And should we be so happy as to arrive at the Hellespont, how shall we furnish ourselves with vessels to cross it?" After this, directing their whole thoughts to the prince, and forgetting themselves, they cried aloud, "Alas! how sad is it that he who was our king, and the companion of our toils, a king in the flower of his youth, and in the course of his greatest prosperities, should be taken off, and in a manner torn from our arms!"

At last the king recovered his senses by degrees, and began to know the persons who stood round him; though the only symptom he gave of his recovery was, his being sensible of his illness. But he was more indisposed in mind than in body, for news was brought that Darius might soon arrive. Alexander bewailed perpetually his hard fate, in being thus exposed naked and defenceless to his enemy, and robbed of so noble a victory, since he was now reduced to the melancholy condition of dying obscurely in his tent, and far from having attained the glory he had promised himself. Having ordered his confidants and physicians to come into his tent, "You see," said he, "my friends, the sad extremity to which fortune reduces me. Methinks I already hear the sound of the enemy's arms, and see Darius advancing. He undoubtedly held intelligence with my evil genius, when he wrote letters to his lieutenants in so lofty and contemptuous a strain;<sup>1</sup> however, he shall not obtain his desire, provided such a cure as I want is attempted. The present condition of my affairs will not admit either of slow remedies or fearful physicians. A speedy death is more eligible to me than a slow cure. In case the physicians think it is in their power to do me any good, they are to know, that I do not so much wish to live as to fight."

The sudden impatience of the king spread a universal alarm. The physicians, who were sensible they should be answerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies, especially as Darius had published, that he would reward with a thousand talents the man who should kill Alexander. However, Philip an Acarnanian, one of his physicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, and loved him with the utmost tenderness, not only as his sovereign, but his child, raising himself, merely out of affection to Alexan-

<sup>1</sup> Darius, who imagined himself sure of overcoming Alexander, had written to his lieutenants that they should chastise this young fool; and after clothing him in purple, out of derision, should send him bound hand and foot to the court.—Friensheim in Quint. Curt.

der, above all prudential considerations, offered to give him a dose, which, though not very violent, would nevertheless be speedy in its effects; and desired three days to prepare it. At this proposal every one trembled, except him only whom it most concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than because it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

While these things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promise of a thousand talents, and his sister in marriage. This letter gave him great uneasiness, for he was now at full leisure to weigh all the reasons he might have to hope or to fear.<sup>1</sup> But the confidence in a physician, whose sincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, soon prevailed, and removed all his doubts. Upon this he folded up the letter, and put it under his bolster, without acquainting any one with the contents of it.

The day being come, Philip entered the tent with his medicine, when Alexander, taking the letter from under the bolster, gave it to Philip to read. At the same time he took the cup, and, fixing his eyes on the physician, swallowed the draught without the least hesitation, or without discovering the least suspicion or uneasiness. Philip, as he perused the letter, had showed greater signs of indignation than of fear or surprise; and, throwing himself upon the king's bed, "Royal Sir," said he, with a resolute tone of voice, "your recovery will soon clear me of the guilt of parricide with which I am charged. The only favour I beg is, that you would be easy in your own mind, and suffer the draught to operate, and not regard the intelligence you have received from servants, who indeed have shown their zeal for your welfare; which zeal, however, is very indiscreet and unseasonable." These words did not only revive the king, but filled him with hope and joy; so, taking Philip by the hand, "Be you yourself easy," said he, "for I believe you are disquieted upon a double account; first for my recovery, and secondly for your own justification."

In the mean time, the physic operated so violently, that the accidents which attended it, strengthened Parmenio's accusation; for the king lost his speech, and was seized with such strong fainting fits, that he had hardly any pulse left, or the least symptoms of life. Philip employed all the powers of physic to recover him, and in every lucid interval, diverted him with agreeable subjects; discoursing one moment about his mother and sisters, and another about the splendid victory which was advancing, with hasty steps, to crown his former triumphs. At last the physician's art having gained the ascendant, and diffused through every vein a salutary and vivifying virtue; his mind first began to resume its former vigour, and afterwards his body, much sooner than had been expected. Three days after, he showed

<sup>1</sup> *Ingentem animo sollicitudinem literæ incusserant; et quicquid in utramque partem aut metus aut spes subiecerat, secreta aestimatione pensabat.*—Q. Curt.



himself to the army, who were never satisfied with gazing on him, and could scarcely believe their eyes; so much the greatness of the danger had surprised and dejected them. No caresses were enough for the physician; every one embracing him with the utmost tenderness, and returning him thanks, as to a god, who had saved the life of their sovereign.

Besides the respect which these people had naturally for their kings, words can never express how greatly they admired this monarch more than any other, and the strong affection they bore him. They were persuaded that he did not undertake any thing but by the immediate assistance of the gods; and as success always attended his designs, his rashness became glorious in him, and seemed to have something inexpressibly divine in it. His youth, which one would have concluded incapable of such mighty enterprises, but which however overcame all difficulties, gave new merit and a brighter lustre to his actions. Besides, certain advantages that generally are little regarded, and which yet engage, in a wonderful manner, the hearts of the soldiery, greatly augmented the merit of Alexander;<sup>1</sup> such as, his taking delight in bodily exercises; his discovering a skill and excellency in them; his going clothed like the common soldiers, and knowing how to familiarize himself with inferiors, without lessening his dignity; his sharing in toils and dangers with the most laborious and intrepid qualities; which, whether Alexander owed them to nature, or had acquired them by reflection, made him equally beloved and respected by his soldiers.

During the interval, Darius was on his march, full of vain security in the infinite number of his troops, and forming a judgment of the two armies merely from their disparity in that point. The plains of Assyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horse as he pleased, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of soldiers in each army gave him; but instead of this, he resolved to march to narrow passes, where his cavalry, and the multitude of his troops, so far from doing him any service, would only encumber one another; and accordingly he advanced towards the enemy, for whom he should have waited, and rushed headlong to his own destruction. Still the grandees of his court, whose custom it was to flatter and applaud his every action, congratulated him beforehand on the victory he would soon obtain, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who personally hated Alexander, for having caused him to be banished from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, asked whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his enemy? Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bosom of liberty, and forgetting that he was in a country of slavery, where to oppose the inclination of a prince is of the most dangerous consequence, replied as follows: "Possibly, Sir, you may not be pleased with my telling you the truth; but in case I do not do it now, it will be too late

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<sup>1</sup> Quæ leviora haberi solent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo sunt.—Q. Curt



hereafter. This mighty parade of war, this prodigious number of men, which has drained all the east, might indeed be formidable to your neighbours. Gold and purple shine in every part of your army, which is so excessively splendid, that those who have not seen it could never form an idea of its magnificence. But the soldiers who compose the Macedonian army, terrible to behold, and bristling in every part with arms, do not amuse themselves with such idle show. Their only care is, to discipline, in a regular manner, their battalions, and to cover themselves close with their bucklers and pikes. Their phalanx is a body of infantry, which engages without flinching; and keeps so close in their ranks, that the soldiers and their arms form a kind of impenetrable work. In a word, every single man among them, the soldiers as well as officers, are so well trained up, so attentive to the command of their leaders, that, whether they are to assemble under their standards, to turn to the right or left, to double their ranks, and face about to the enemy on all sides, at the least signal, they make every motion and evolution of the art of war. But that you may be persuaded these Macedonians are not invited hither from the hopes of gaining gold and silver, know, that this excellent discipline has subsisted hitherto, by the sole aid and precepts of poverty.<sup>1</sup> Are they hungry? they satisfy their appetite with any kind of food. Are they weary? they repose themselves on the bare ground, and in the day-time are always upon their feet. Do you fancy that the Thessalian cavalry, and that of Acarnania and Ætolia, who all are armed cap-a-pie, are to be repulsed by stones hurled from slings, and with sticks burned at the end? Such troops as are like themselves will be able to check their career; and succours must be procured from their country, to oppose their bravery and experience. Send therefore thither the useless gold and silver which I see here, and purchase formidable soldiers." Darius was naturally of a mild, tractable disposition; but good fortune will corrupt the most happy temper.<sup>2</sup> Few monarchs are resolute and courageous enough to withstand their own power, to repulse the flattery of the many people who are perpetually fomenting their passions, and to esteem a man who loves them so well as to contradict and displease them, in telling them the real truth. But Darius, not having strength of mind sufficient for this, gave orders for dragging to execution a man who had fled to him for protection, was at that time his guest, and who then gave the best counsel that could have been proposed to him. However, as this cruel treatment could not silence Caridemus, he cried aloud, with his usual freedom, "My avenger is at hand, the very man in opposition to whom I gave you counsel, and he will soon punish you for despising it. As for you, Darius, in whom sovereign power has wrought so sudden a change, you will teach posterity, that when once men abandon themselves to the delusion of fortune, she erases from their minds all the seeds of goodness implanted in them by

<sup>1</sup> Et, ne auri argentique studio teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina paupertate magistra stetit.—Q. Curt.

<sup>2</sup> Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, nisi etiam suram naturam plerumque fortuna corrumpere.—Q. Curt.

nature."<sup>1</sup> Darius soon repented his having put to death so valuable a person ; and experienced, but too late, the truth of all he had told him.

The king advanced with his troops towards the Euphrates. It was a custom long used by the Persians, never to set out upon a march till after sunrise, at which time the trumpet was sounded for that purpose from the king's tent. Over this tent was exhibited, to the view of the whole army, the image of the sun, set in crystal. The order they observed in their march was as follows :

First, they carried silver altars, on which there lay fire, called by them sacred and eternal ; and these were followed by the magi, singing hymns after the manner of their country. They were accompanied by three hundred and sixty-five youths, corresponding to the number of days in a year, clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot consecrated to Jupiter,<sup>2</sup> drawn by white horses, and followed by a courser of a prodigious size, to whom they gave the name of the sun's horse ; and the equerries were dressed in white, each having a gold rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with sculptures in gold and silver, followed after. Then marched a body of horse, composed of twelve nations, whose manners and customs were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced those whom the Persians called the Immortals, amounting to ten thousand, who surpassed the rest of the barbarians in the sumptuousness of their apparel. They all wore gold collars, were clothed in robes of gold tissue, with surtouts, having sleeves to them, completely covered with precious stones.

Thirty paces from them, followed those called the king's cousins or relations,<sup>3</sup> to the number of fifteen thousand, in habits very much resembling those of women, and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dress than the glitter of their arms.

Those called, the doryphori<sup>4</sup> came after ; they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he seemed to sit as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both sides with images of the gods in gold and silver ; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues a cubit in height, the one representing war, the other peace, having a gold eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king. He was clothed in a vest of purple, striped with silver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious stones, that represented two falcons rushing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waist he wore a gold girdle, called cidaris, after the manner of women, whence hung his scimitar, the scabbard of

<sup>1</sup> Tu quidem, licentia regni subito mutatus documentum eris posteris, homines, cum se permiscere fortunæ, etiam naturam dediscere.—Q. Curt.

<sup>2</sup> Jupiter was a god unknown to the Persians. Quintus Curtius, therefore, in all probability, calls the first and greatest of their gods by that name.

<sup>3</sup> This was a title of dignity. Possibly a great number of the king's relations were in this body.

<sup>4</sup> These were guards who carried a half-pike.

which flamed all over with gems. On his head he wore a tiara or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each side of him walked two hundred of his nearest relations, followed by ten thousand pikemen, whose pikes were adorned with silver, and tipped with gold; and lastly, thirty thousand infantry, who composed the rear-guard. These were followed by the king's horses, four hundred in number, all which were led.

About one hundred, or one hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Sysigambis, the mother of Darius, seated in a chariot, and his consort in another, with the several female attendants of both queens riding on horseback. After them came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great esteem with those nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and sixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by six hundred mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a great body of archers.

After these came the wives of the crown officers, and of the greatest lords of the court; then the sutlers, and servants of the army, seated also in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who closed the whole march.

Would not the reader believe, that he had been reading the description of a tournament, not the march of an army? Could he imagine that princes of the least reason would have been so stupid, as to incorporate with their forces so cumbersome a train of women, princesses, concubines, eunuchs, and domestics of both sexes? But the custom of the country was sufficient reason. Darius, at the head of six hundred thousand men, and surrounded with this mighty pomp, prepared for himself only, fancied he was great, and rose in the idea he had formed of himself. Yet should we reduce him to his just proportion and his personal worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only one in this way of thinking, and of whom we may form the same judgment. It is time, however, for us to bring the two monarchs to blows.

#### SECTION V.—ALEXANDER GAINS A FAMOUS VICTORY OVER DARIUS AT ISSUS. CONSEQUENCES OF THAT VICTORY.

FOR the clearer understanding of Alexander's march, and that of Darius, and the better fixing the situation of the spot where the second battle was fought, we must distinguish three straits or passes.<sup>1</sup> The first of these is immediately at the descent from mount Taurus, in the way to the city of Tarsus, through which, as we have already seen, Alexander marched from Cappadocia into Cilicia; the second is the pass of Cilicia or Syria, leading from Cilicia into Syria; and the third is the pass of Amanus, so called from that mountain. This pass, which leads into Cilicia from Assyria, is much higher than the pass of Syria, northward.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. xvii. p. 512—518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 66—82. Plut. in Alex. p. 675, 676. Q. Curt.

<sup>3</sup> l. c. 4—12. Justin. l. xi. c. 9, 10.

Alexander had detached Parmenio with part of the army to seize the pass of Syria, in order to secure it for his march. As for himself, after marching from Tarsus, he arrived the next day at Anchiala, a city which Sardanapalus is said to have built. His tomb is still to be seen in that city, with this inscription, "Sardanapalus built Anchiala and Tarsus in one day. Go, PASSENGER, EAT, DRINK, AND REJOICE, FOR THE REST IS NOTHING." From thence he came to Solæ, where he offered sacrifices to Æsculapius, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander himself headed the ceremony with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army, and he there solemnized games; after which he returned to Tarsus. Having commanded Philotas to march the cavalry through the plains of Aleius, towards the river Pyramus, he himself went with the infantry and his life-guard to Magarsus, whence he arrived at Mallos, and afterwards at Castabala. Advice had been brought him, that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochus in Assyria, two days journey from Cilicia. There Alexander held a council of war upon that news; when all his generals and officers entreating him to march towards Darius, he set out the next day to give him battle. Parmenio had taken the little city of Issus, and, after possessing himself of the pass of Syria, had left a body of forces to secure it. The king left the sick in Issus, marched his whole army through the pass, and encamped near the city of Myriandrus, where the badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius was in the plains of Assyria, of great extent. The Grecian commanders who were in his service, and formed the chief strength of his army, advised him to wait there the coming up of the enemy. For, besides that this spot was open on all sides, and very advantageous for his horse, it was spacious enough to contain his vastly numerous host, with all the baggage and other things belonging to the army. If, however, he should not approve of their counsel, they then advised him to separate this multitude, and select such only as were the flower of his troops; and consequently not venture his whole army upon a single battle, which perhaps might be decisive. The courtiers, with whom the courts of monarchs, as Arrian observes, for ever abound, called these Greeks an unfaithful nation, and venal wretches; and hinted to Darius, that the only motive of their counselling the king to divide his troops was, that after they should once be separated from the rest, they might have an easier opportunity of delivering up into the enemy's hands whatever might be in their power; but that the safest way would be, to surround them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces, as an illustrious example of the punishment due to traitors. This proposal was extremely shocking to Darius, who was naturally of a very mild and humane disposition. He therefore answered, "that he was far from ever designing to commit so horrible a crime; that should he be guilty of it, no nation would afterwards give the least credit to his promises; that it was never known that a person had been put to death for giving imprudent counsel; that no man would ever venture to give his opinion, if it were attended with such danger, a circum-

stance that would be of the most fatal consequence to princes.<sup>1</sup> He then thanked the Greeks for their zeal and good will, and condescended to lay before them the reasons which prompted him not to follow their advice.

The courtiers had persuaded Darius, that Alexander's long delay in coming up with them, was a proof and an effect of the terror with which the approach of the Persian army had filled him, for they had not heard a word of his indisposition; that fortune, merely for their sake, had led Alexander into straits and narrow passes, whence it would be impossible for him to get out, in case they should fall upon him immediately; that they ought to seize this favourable opportunity, for fear the enemy should fly, by which means Alexander would escape them. Upon this it was resolved in council, that the army should march in search of him; the gods, says Arrian, blinding the eyes of that prince, that he might rush down the precipice they had prepared for him, and thereby make way for the destruction of the Persian monarchy.

Darius having sent his treasure with his most precious moveables to Damascus, a city of Syria, under a small convoy, marched the main body of his army towards Cilicia, and entered it by the pass of Amanus, which lies far above the passes of Syria. His queen and mother, with the princesses his daughters, and the little prince his son, followed the army according to the custom of the Persians, but were in the camp during the battle. When he had advanced a little way westward, into Cilicia, he turned short towards Issus, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been assured that this prince fled before him, and was retired in great disorder into Syria; and therefore, Darius was now considering how he might best pursue him. He barbarously put to death all the sick who were then in the city of Issus, a few soldiers excepted, whom he dismissed, after making them view every part of his camp, in order that they might be spectators of the prodigious multitude of his forces. These soldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of his approach, which he could scarcely believe, from its great improbability, though there was nothing he desired more earnestly. But he himself was soon an eye-witness to the truth of it, upon which he began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, as the barbarians were so numerous, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with ditches and palisades, discovering an incredible joy to see his desire fulfilled, which was, to engage in those passes, where the gods seemed to have led Darius expressly to deliver him into his hands.

And, indeed, this spot of ground, which was but wide enough for a small army to act in, and move at liberty, reduced, in some measure, the two armies to an equality. By this means the Macedonians had space sufficient to employ their whole army; whereas the Persians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Alexander however, as frequently happens to the greatest captains,

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<sup>1</sup> *Neminem stolidum consilium capite inere debere; defuturos enim qui suaderent, se suasse periculum esset.*—Q. Curt.



felt some emotion when he saw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other side, his courage revived from the reflection, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. He did not divulge these thoughts to any one, well knowing, that upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to discover the least marks of sadness or perplexity; and that the troops should read nothing but resolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his soldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready by the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light, sacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place.<sup>1</sup> As soon as the signal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make greater speed, arrived by daybreak at the several posts assigned them; but now the couriers bringing word that Darius was not more than thirty furlongs from them, the king caused his army to halt, and then drew it up in order of battle. The peasants in the greatest terror came also and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at first believe, imagining, as we have observed, that Alexander fled before him, and endeavoured to escape. This news threw his troops into the utmost confusion, who in that surprise ran to their arms with great precipitation and disorder.

The spot where the battle was fought, lay near the city of Issus, which the mountains bounded on one side, and the sea on the other. The plain, that was situated between them both, must have been considerably broad, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before observed that the army of Darius was vastly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very nearly into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow like a gulf, the extremity of which, in a curve line, bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He posted at the extremity of the right wing, which stood near the mountains, the argyraspides,<sup>2</sup> commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Coenus, and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the centre of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he posted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy, and lastly that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was composed of six distinct corps or brigades. Each of these bodies was headed by able generals; but Alexander, being always generalissimo, had consequently the command of the whole army. The horse were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians, with the Thessalians, on the right, and those of Peloponnesus, with the other

<sup>1</sup> The ancients used to offer up their sacrifices upon eminences.

<sup>2</sup> This was a body of infantry distinguished by their silver shields, but much more so by their great bravery.



allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot which composed the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reserved to himself the command of the right. He had desired Parmenio to keep as near the sea as possible, to prevent the barbarians from surrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at some distance from the mountains, to keep himself out of the reach of the arrows discharged by those who were posted on them. He covered the horse of his right wing with the light horse of Protomachus and the Pæonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reserved the Agrians,<sup>1</sup> commanded by Attalus, who were greatly esteemed, and some forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppose those which Darius had posted on the mountains.

The army of Darius was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in order of battle, he commanded thirty thousand horse and twenty thousand bowmen to cross the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the opposite side. In the centre, he posted the thirty thousand Greeks in his service, who, doubtless, were the flower and chief strength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thousand Cardacians on their right, and as many on their left; the field of battle not being able to contain a greater number. These were all heavily armed. The rest of the infantry, distinguished by their several nations, were ranged behind the first line. It is to be regretted that Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of those two lines; but it must have been prodigious, if we consider the extreme narrowness of the pass, and the amazing multitude of the Persian forces. On the mountains which lay to their left, against Alexander's right wing, Darius posted twenty thousand men, who were so ranged, in the several windings of the mountain, that some were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having posted his army in order of battle, made his horse re-cross the river, and despatched the greatest part of them towards the sea against Parmenio, because they could fight on that spot with the greatest advantage: the rest of his cavalry he sent to the left, towards the mountain. Finding, however, that these would be of no service on that side, because of the too great narrowness of the spot, he caused a great part of them to wheel about to the right. He took his post in the centre of his army, pursuant to the custom of the Persian monarchs.

Alexander, observing that most of the enemy's horse was to oppose his left wing, which consisted only of those of Peloponnesus, and some other allies, detached immediately to it the Thessalian cavalry, which he caused to wheel round behind his battalions, to prevent their being seen by the barbarians. On the same side, the left, he posted, before his foot, the Cretan bowmen, and the Thracians of Sitacles, a king of Thrace, who were covered by the horse. The foreigners in his service were behind all the rest.

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<sup>1</sup> Agria was a city between the mountains Hæmus and Rhodope.

Perceiving that his right wing did not extend so far as the left of the Persians, which might surround and attack it in flank, he drew from the centre of his army two regiments of foot, which he detached thither, with orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being seen by the enemy. He also reinforced that wing of his forces which he had opposed to the barbarians on the mountains; for, seeing they did not come down, he made the Agrians and some other bowmen attack them, and drive them towards the summit of it; so that he left only three hundred horse to keep them in, and sent the rest, as I observed, to reinforce his right wing, which by this means extended farther than that of the Persians.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very slowly, that his soldiers might take a little breath; so that it was supposed they would not engage till very late; for Darius still continued with his army on the other side of the river, in order not to lose the advantageous situation of his post; and even caused such parts of the shore as were not craggy to be secured with palisades, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in sight, Alexander, riding along the ranks, called, by their several names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners; and exhorted the soldiers to signalize themselves, speaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and disposition. To the Macedonians he represented "the numerous victories they had formerly gained in Europe; the still recent glory of the battle of the Granicus; the great number of cities and provinces they had left behind them, all which they had subdued." He added, "that by one single victory they would possess themselves of the Persian empire; and that the spoils of the east would be the reward of their bravery and toils." The Greeks he animated "by the remembrance of the many calamities which the Persians, those irreconcilable enemies to Greece, had brought upon them;" and set before them "the famous battles of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, of Salamin, of Plataeæ, and the many others by which they had acquired immortal glory." He directed the Illyrians and Thracians, nations who used to subsist by plunder and rapine, "to view the enemy's army, every part of which shone with gold and purple, and was not loaded so much with arms as with booty. That they therefore should push forward, they who were men, and strip all those women of their ornaments; and exchange their mountains, covered perpetually with ice and snow, for the smiling plains and rich fields of Persia." The moment he had ended, the whole army set up a shout, and eagerly desired to be led on directly against the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at first very slowly, to prevent the ranks, or the front of his phalanx, from breaking, and halted by intervals; but when he was got within bow-shot, he commanded all his right wing to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that they might surprise the barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the enemy's arrows; in all which he was very successful. Both sides fought with the utmost bravery and resolution

and being now forced to close fight, they charged on both sides, sword in hand, when a dreadful slaughter ensued; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his sword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private soldier and a commander, wished nothing so ardently as the glory of killing, with his own hand, Darius, who, being seated on a high chariot, was conspicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object, both to encourage his own soldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. The battle now grew more furious and bloody than before, so that a great number of Persian noblemen were killed. Each side fought with incredible bravery. Oxathres, brother to Darius, observing that Alexander was about to charge that monarch with the utmost vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse under his command, and distinguished himself above all the rest. The horses that drew the chariot, being covered with wounds, began to prance about, and shook the yoke so violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king, who, seeing himself likely to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down and mounted another chariot. The rest observing this, fled as fast as possible, and throwing down their arms, made the best of their way. Alexander had received a slight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill consequences.

While part of the Macedonian infantry, posted to the right, were carrying on the advantages they had gained against the Persians, the remainder of them, who engaged the Greeks, met with great resistance. These, observing that the body of infantry in question were no longer covered by the right wing of Alexander's army, which was pursuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to push the Macedonians into the river, and to recover from the disorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians also signalized themselves with the utmost bravery, in order to preserve the advantage which Alexander had just before gained, and support the honour of their phalanx, which had always been considered as invincible. There was also a perpetual jealousy between these two nations, the Greeks and Macedonians, which greatly increased their courage, and made the resistance on each side very vigorous. On Alexander's side, Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, lost his life, with one hundred and twenty other considerable officers, who had all behaved with the utmost gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who opposed it, wheeled to the left against those Greeks who were fighting with the rest of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorously, and attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Persian cavalry, which was in the right wing, without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians, had crossed the river, and rushed upon the Thessalian horse, several of whose squadrons were broken by it. Upon this, the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetu-

osity of the first charge, and oblige the Persians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as if terrified by the prodigious numbers of the enemy. The Persians, seeing this, were filled with boldness and confidence, and, thereupon, the greatest part of them advancing, without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of pursuing the enemy. Upon this the Thessalians, seeing them in such confusion, faced about on a sudden, and renewed the fight with fresh ardour. The Persians made a brave defence, till they saw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx.

The routing of the Persian cavalry completed the defeat of the army. The Persian horse suffered very much in the retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders; not to mention, that as they retired in disorder, and crowded in great numbers through passes, they bruised and unhorsed one another, and were more annoyed by their own soldiers than by the enemy. Besides, the Thessalian cavalry pursued them with so much fury, that they were as much shattered as the infantry, and lost as many men.

With regard to Darius, as we before observed, the instant he saw his left wing broken, he was one of the first who fled in his chariot; but, getting afterwards into craggy, rugged places, he mounted on horseback, throwing down his bow, shield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to pursue him, till he saw that his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Persian horse put to flight, which was of great advantage to the prince that fled.

About eight thousand of the Greeks that were in the service of Darius, with their officers at their head, who were very brave, retired over the mountains towards Tripoli, in Syria, where finding the transports which had brought them from Lesbos upon dry ground, they fitted out as many of them as suited their purpose, and burned the rest to prevent their being pursued.

The barbarians, who had exerted themselves with great bravery in the first attack, afterwards gave way in the most shameful manner; and being intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they took different ways. Some struck into the high road which led directly to Persia; others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a small number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered.

Sysigambis, the mother of Darius, and that monarch's queen, who was also his sister, remained in it, with two of the king's daughters, a son of his, a child, and some Persian ladies. For the rest had been carried to Damascus, with part of his treasure, and all such things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thousand talents were found in his camp; but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damascus.

Alexander, weary of pursuing Darius, seeing night draw on, and that it would be impossible for him to overtake that monarch, returned to the enemy's camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. Such was the end of this memorable battle, fought in

the fourth year of Alexander's reign. The Persians,<sup>1</sup> either in the engagement or the rout, lost a great number of their forces, both horse and foot; but very few were killed on Alexander's side.<sup>2</sup>

That very evening he invited the grandees of his court, and his chief officers, to a feast, at which he himself was present, notwithstanding the wound he had received, it having only grazed the skin. But they were no sooner sat down at table, than they heard, from a neighbouring tent, a great noise, intermixed with groans, which alarmed all the company, insomuch that the soldiers, who were upon guard before the king's tent, ran to their arms, being afraid of an insurrection. But it was found that the persons who made this clamour, were the mother and the wife of Darius, and the rest of the captive ladies, who, supposing that prince dead, bewailed his loss, according to the custom of the barbarians, with dreadful cries and howlings. A eunuch, who had seen Darius' cloak in the hands of a soldier, imagining he had killed him, and afterwards stripped him of that garment, had carried them that false account.

We are informed that Alexander, on being told the reason of this false alarm, could not refrain from tears, when he considered the sad calamity of Darius, and the tender disposition of those princesses, whom his misfortunes only affected. He therefore sent Leonatus, one of his chief courtiers, to assure them, that the man whose death they bewailed was alive. Leonatus, taking some soldiers with him, came to the tent of the princesses, and sent word, that he was come to pay them a visit in the king's name. The persons who were at the entrance of the tent, seeing a band of armed men, imagined that their mistresses were undone; and accordingly ran into the tent, crying aloud, that their last hour was come, and that soldiers were despatched to murder them; so that these princesses being seized with the utmost distraction, did not make the least answer, but waited in deep silence for the orders of the conqueror. At last, Leonatus, having staid a long time, and seeing no one appear, left his soldiers at the door, and came into the tent. Their terror increased, when they saw a man enter among them without being introduced. They thereupon threw themselves at his feet, and entreated, that "before he put them to death, they might be allowed to bury Darius after the manner of their country; and that when they had paid this last duty to their king, they should die contented." Leonatus answered, "That Darius was living; and that so far from giving them any offence, they should be treated as queens, and live in their former splendour." Sysigambis, hearing this, began to recover her spirits, and permitted Leonatus to give her his hand, to raise her from the ground.

The next day Alexander, after visiting the wounded, caused the last honours to be paid to the dead, in presence of the whole army, drawn up in the most splendid order of battle. He treated the Persians of distinction in the same manner, and permitted the mother of

<sup>1</sup> According to Quintus Curtius and Arrian, the Persians lost 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse. And the former historian relates, that no more than 150 horse, and 300 foot, were lost on Alexander's side, which does not seem very probable.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.



Darius, to bury whatever persons she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies practised in her country. This prudent princess, however, used that permission in regard only to a few who were her near relations; and that with such a modesty and reserve as she thought suited her present condition. The king testified his joy and gratitude to the whole army, especially to the chief officers, whose actions he applauded in the strongest terms, as well those of which he himself had been an eye-witness, as such as had only been related to him; and he made presents to all, according to their merit and station.

After Alexander had performed these several duties, truly worthy a great monarch, he sent a message to the queens, to inform them that he was coming to pay them a visit; and accordingly, commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephæstion. He was his favourite, and as they had been brought up together, the king revealed his secrets to him, and nobody else dared to speak so freely to him; but Hephæstion made so cautious and discreet a use of that liberty, that he seemed to take it, not so much out of inclination, as from a desire to obey the king, who would have it so.<sup>1</sup> They were of the same age, but Hephæstion was taller, so that the queens took him at first for the king, and paid him their respects as such: but some captive eunuchs showing them Alexander, Sysigambis fell prostrate before him, and begged his pardon; declaring, that as she had never seen him, she hoped that consideration would plead her apology. The king, raising her from the ground, "Dear mother," said he, "you are not mistaken, for he also is an Alexander:" A fine expression, which does honour to both!<sup>2</sup> Had Alexander always thought and acted in this manner, he would have justly merited the title of Great; but fortune had not yet corrupted his soul.<sup>3</sup> He bore her at first with moderation and wisdom; but at last she overpowered him, and he became unable to resist her.

Sysigambis, strongly affected with these testimonies of goodness and humanity, could not forbear testifying her gratitude upon that account. "Great prince," said she to him, "what words shall I find to express my thanks, in such a manner as may answer your generosity! You call me your mother, and honour me still with the title of queen, whereas I confess myself your captive. I know what I have been, and what I now am. I know the whole extent of my past grandeur, and find I can support all the weight of my present ill fortune.<sup>4</sup> But it will be glorious for you, as you now have an absolute power over us, to make us feel it by your clemency only, and not by ill treatment."

The king, after comforting the princesses, took the son of Darius in his arms. This little child, without discovering the least terror, embraced Alexander, who being affected with his confidence, and

<sup>1</sup> Libertatis quoque in eo admonendo non alius jus habebat; quod tamen ita usurpabat, ut magis a rege permissum quam vindicatum ab eo videretur.—Quintus Curtius.

<sup>2</sup> O donum inclytæ vocis, danti pariter atque accipienti speciosum!—Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7

<sup>3</sup> Sed nondum fortuna se animo ejus infuderat. Itaque orientem eam moderate et prudenter tulit: ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit.—Q. Curt.

<sup>4</sup> Et præteritæ fortunæ fastigium capio, et præsentis jugum pati possum.—Q. Curt.



turning about to Hephæstion, said to him, "O, that Darius had some portion of this tender disposition!"

It is certain that Darius, in the beginning of his reign, behaved in such a manner, that he surpassed, in clemency and goodness, all his predecessors; and was superior to a passion which conquers and enslaves the strongest. Darius' consort was the most lovely princess in the world, as he himself was the most beautiful of princes, and of a very tall and majestic figure; and the princesses their daughters resembled them. They were, says Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a sacred temple, and a sanctuary assigned for the asylum of chastity, in which all the princesses lived so retired, that they were not seen by any person, nor did any one dare to approach their apartments.

We even find, that after the first visit above mentioned, which was a respectful and a ceremonious one, Alexander, to avoid exposing himself to the dangers of human frailty, took a solemn resolution never to visit the queen any more.<sup>1</sup> He himself informs us of this memorable circumstance, in a letter written by him to Parmenio, in which he commanded him to put to death certain Macedonians, who had forced the wives of some foreign soldiers. In this letter the following words were read: "For, as to myself, it will be found that I neither saw nor would see the wife of Darius; and did not suffer any person to speak of her beauty before me." We are to remember that Alexander was young, victorious, and free, that is, not engaged in marriage; as has been observed of the first Scipio on a similar occasion, "*Et juvenis, et cœlebs, et victor.*"<sup>2</sup>

To conclude, he treated these princesses with such humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives could have made them sensible of their calamity; and of all the advantages they possessed before, nothing was wanting with regard to Alexander, but that trust and confidence, which no one can repose in an enemy, however kindly he behaves.

#### SECTION VI.—ALEXANDER MARCHES VICTORIOUS INTO SYRIA. LAYS SIEGE TO TYRE, WHICH HE TAKES BY STORM.

ALEXANDER set out towards Syria, after having consecrated three altars on the river Pinarius, the first to Jupiter, the second to Hercules, and the third to Minerva, as so many monuments of his victory. He had sent Parmenio to Damascus, where the treasure of Darius was deposited. The governor of the city betraying his sovereign, from whom he had now no further expectations, wrote to Alexander to acquaint him that he was ready to deliver up into his hands all the treasure and other rich stores of Darius. But, being desirous of covering his treason with a specious pretext, he pretended that he was not secure in the city, and so caused, by daybreak, all the money and the richest things in it to be put on men's backs, and fled away with the whole, seemingly with intention to secure them, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter addressed to the king. At the first sight of

Plut. in Alex.

<sup>2</sup> Val. Max. l. iv. c.

the forces which this general headed, those who carried the burdens. being terrified, threw them down, and fled away, as did the soldiers who convoyed them, and the governor himself. On this occasion, immense riches were seen scattered over the fields; all the gold and silver designed to pay so great an army; the splendid equipages of so many great lords and ladies; the golden vases and bridles, magnificent tents, and carriages abandoned by their drivers; in a word, whatever the long prosperity and frugality of so many kings had amassed during many ages, was abandoned to the conqueror.<sup>1</sup>

But the most moving part of this sad scene was, to see the wives of the satraps and grandees of Persia, most of whom dragged their little children after them; so much the greater objects of compassion, as they were less sensible of their misfortune. Among these were three young princesses, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; the widow of this Ochus; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, the greatest lord of the court, and his son Ilioneus. There were also taken prisoners, the wife and son of Pharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coasts; three daughters of Mentor; the wife and son of Memnon, that illustrious general; insomuch, that there was scarcely one noble family in Persia that did not share in this calamity.

There were also found in Damascus the ambassadors of the Grecian cities, particularly those of Lacedæmon and Athens, whom Darius thought he had lodged in a safe asylum, when he put them under the protection of that traitor.

Besides money, and plate which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immense sums, thirty thousand men, and seven thousand beasts laden with baggage, were taken. We find, by Parmenio's letter to Alexander,<sup>2</sup> that he found in Damascus three hundred and twenty-nine of the king's concubines, all admirably well skilled in music; and also a multitude of officers, whose business was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments; such as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and essences, to dress viands, to make pies, and all kinds of pastry, to preside over the wine-cellars, and to give out the wine. There were four hundred and ninety-two of these officers; a train worthy of a prince who runs to his destruction!

Darius, who a few hours before was at the head of so mighty and splendid an army, and who came into the field mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror, rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a desert or vast solitude. This ill-fated prince rode swiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants; for all had not taken the same road, and most of those who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed horses. At last he arrived at Sochus,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 673. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. l. xiii p. 607.

<sup>3</sup> This city was two or three days journey from the place where the battle was fought.

where he assembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to four thousand men, including Persians as well as foreigners; and from thence he made all possible haste to Thapsacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damascus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewise of the captives. Most of the cities of Syria surrendered at the first approaches of the conqueror. On his arrival at Marathes, he received a letter from Darius, in which he styled himself king, without bestowing that title on Alexander. He commanded, rather than entreated him, "to ask any sum of money he should think proper, by way of ransom for his mother, his wife, and children. That with regard to their dispute for empire, he might, if he thought proper, decide it in one general battle, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops: but that, in case he were still capable of good counsel, he would advise him to rest contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another; that they should henceforward live as good friends and faithful allies; that he himself was ready to swear to the observance of these articles, and to receive Alexander's oath."

This letter, which breathed so unseasonable a pride and haughtiness, exceedingly offended Alexander. He therefore wrote the following answer: "Alexander, the king, to Darius. The ancient Darius, whose name you assume, in former times entirely ruined the Greeks who inhabited the coasts of the Hellespont, and the Ionians, our ancient colonies. He next crossed the sea at the head of a powerful army, and carried the war into the very heart of Macedon and Greece. After him, Xerxes made another descent with an immense number of barbarians, in order to fight us; and having been overcome in a naval engagement, he left in Greece, at his retiring, Mardonius, who plundered our cities, and laid waste our plains. But who has not heard, that Philip, my father, was assassinated by wretches suborned thereto by your partisans, in hopes of a great reward? For it is customary with the Persians to undertake impious wars, and when armed in the field, to set a price upon the heads of their enemies. And even as you yourself, though at the head of a vast army, promised a thousand talents to any person who should kill me. I therefore only defend myself, and consequently am not the aggressor. And indeed the gods, who always declare for the just cause, have favoured my arms; and, aided by their protection, I have subjected a great part of Asia, and defeated you, Darius, in a pitched battle. Though I ought not to grant any request you make, since you have not acted fairly in this war; yet, in case you will appear before me in a supplicating posture, I give you my word, that I will restore to you, without any ransom, your mother, your wife, and children. I will let you see, that I know how to conquer, and to oblige the conquered.<sup>1</sup> If you are afraid of surrendering yourself to me, I now assure you, upon my honour, that you may do it without

<sup>1</sup> Et vincere, et consulere victis scio.—Q. Curt.

the least danger; but remember, when you next write to me, that you write not only to a king, but to your king." Thersippus was ordered to carry this letter.

Alexander marching from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him. Every one submitted as he advanced, but no people did this with greater pleasure than the Sidonians. We have seen in what manner Ochus had destroyed their city, eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. After he was returned into Persia, such of the citizens as, upon account of their traffic, or for some other cause, had been absent, and by that means had escaped the massacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained so violent a hatred of the Persians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity to throw off their yoke; and indeed they were the first in that country who submitted to the king by their deputies, in opposition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect in his stead whatever person of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station.

This favourite was quartered at the house of two brothers, who were young, and of the most considerable family in the city: to these he offered the crown; but they refused it, telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne, unless he were of the royal blood. Hephæstion admiring this magnanimity, which could contemn what others strive to obtain by fire and sword, "Continue," says he to them, "in this way of thinking, you who before were sensible that it is much more glorious to refuse a diadem, than to accept it. However, name to me some person of the royal family, who may remember, when he is king, that it was you who set the crown upon his head." The brothers, observing that several, through excessive ambition, aspired to this high station, and to obtain it, paid a servile court to Alexander's favourites, declared that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, descended, though at a great distance, from the royal line, but who at the same time was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by daily labour, in a garden without the city. His honesty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to such extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the clashing of the arms which had shaken all Asia.

The two brothers went immediately in search of Abdolonymus with the royal garments, and found him weeding his garden. They then saluted him king, and one of them addressed him thus: "You must now change your tatters for the dress I have brought you. Put up that mean and contemptible habit in which you have grown old; assume the sentiments of a prince; but when you are seated on the throne, continue to preserve the virtue which made you worthy of it. And when you shall have ascended it, and by that means become the supreme dispenser of life and death over all your citizens, be sure never to forget the condition in which, or rather for which, you was

electd."¹ Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream, and, unable to guess the meaning of it, asked if they were not ashamed to ridicule him in that manner. But, as he made a greater resistance than suited their inclinations, they themselves washed him, and threw over his shoulders a purple robe richly embroidered with gold; then, after repeated oaths of their being in earnest, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately spread over the whole city. Most of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but some murmured, especially the rich, who despising the former abject state of Abdolonymus, could not forbear showing their resentments upon that account in the king's court. Alexander commanded the new-elected prince to be sent for; and after surveying him attentively a long time, spoke thus: "Thy air and mien do not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty." "Would to the gods," replied he, "that I may bear this crown with equal patience. These hands have procured me all I desired; and while I possessed nothing, I wanted nothing."² This answer gave Alexander a high idea of the virtue of Abdolonymus, so that he presented him not only with all the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the Queen of the Sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the wind and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the convenience and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered not so much as a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.³

Upon Alexander's advancing towards it, the Tyrians sent him an embassy, with presents for himself, and refreshments for his army. They were willing to have him for their friend, but not for their master: so that when he discovered a desire of entering the city, in order to offer a sacrifice to Hercules, its tutelar god, they refused him admission. But this conqueror, after gaining so many victories, had too proud a heart to bear such an affront, and thereupon was resolved to force them to it by a siege, which they, on the other side,

¹ *Cape regis animum, et in eam fortunam, qua dignus es, istam continentiam profer. Et, cum in regali solio residebis, vitæ necisque omnium civium dominus, cave obliviscaris hujus status in quo accipis regnum, imo hercule, propter quem.*—Quint. Curt.

² *Corporis, inquit, habitus, famæ generis non repugnat. Sed libet scire, inopiam qua patientia tuleris. Tum ille; utinam, inquit, eodem animo regnum pati possim! (The thought is beautiful and just. He considers the regal power as a burden more difficult to be borne than poverty;—regnum pati.) Hæ manus sufficere desiderio meo. Nihil habenti, nihil deficit.*—Quintus Curtius.

³ *Diod. l. xvii. p. 518—525. Arrian. l. ii. p. 87—100. Plut. in Alex. p. 678, 679. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3, 4. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.*



were determined to sustain with the utmost vigour. The spring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time seated in an island of the sea, about a quarter of a league from the continent. It was surrounded by a strong wall, one hundred and fifty feet high, which the waves of the sea washed; and the Carthaginians, a colony from Tyre, a mighty people, and sovereigns of the ocean, whose ambassadors were at that time in the city offering to Hercules, according to ancient custom, an annual sacrifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyrians. It was this made them so haughty. Firmly determined not to surrender, they fixed machines on the ramparts and on the towers, armed their young men, and built workhouses for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city; so that every part resounded with the noise of warlike preparations. They likewise cast iron grapples, to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as also cramp-irons, and such like instruments, invented for the defence of cities.

Alexander imagined that there were essential reasons why he should possess himself of Tyre. He was sensible that he could not invade Egypt easily, so long as the Persians should be masters of the sea; nor pursue Darius with safety, in case he should leave behind him so large an extent of country, the inhabitants of which were either enemies, or suspected to be so. He likewise was afraid lest some insurrection should break out in Greece; and that his enemies, after having retaken, in his absence, the maritime cities of Asia Minor, and increased their fleet, would make his country the seat of war, during his being employed in pursuing Darius in the plains of Babylon. These apprehensions were the more justly grounded, as the Lacedæmonians had declared openly against him, and the Athenians sided with him more out of fear than affection. But that, in case he should conquer Tyre, all Phœnicia being then subject to him, he would be able to dispossess the Persians of half their naval army, which consisted of the fleet of that province; and would soon make himself master of the island of Cyprus, and of Egypt, which could not resist him the instant he was become master at sea.

On the other side, one would have imagined that, according to all the rules of war, Alexander, after the battle of Issus, ought to have pursued Darius vigorously, and neither given him an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which his defeat had thrown him, nor allowed him time to raise a new army; the success of the enterprise, which appeared infallible, being the only thing that could make him formidable and superior to all his enemies. Add to this, that in case Alexander should not be able to take this city, which was not very unlikely, he would discredit his own arms, would lose the fruit of his victories, and prove to the enemy that he was not invincible. But God, who had appointed this monarch to chastise the pride of Tyre, as will be seen hereafter, did not once permit those thoughts to enter his mind; but determined him to lay siege to the place, in spite of all the difficulties which opposed so hazardous a design, and the many reasons which should have prompted him to pursue quite different measures.



It was impossible to come near this city in order to storm it, without making a bank which would reach from the continent to the island; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were seemingly insurmountable. The little arm of the sea, which separated the island from the continent, was exposed to the west wind, which often raised such dreadful storms there, that the waves would in an instant sweep away all works. Besides, as the city was surrounded on all sides by the sea, there was no fixing scaling-ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a distance in the ships; and the wall which projected into the sea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines which might have been put on board the galleys, could not do much execution, on account of the turbulence of the waves.

Nothing was capable of checking or vanquishing the resolution of Alexander, who was determined to carry the city at any rate. But, as the few vessels he possessed, lay at a great distance from him, and the siege of so strong a place might possibly last a long time, and so retard his other enterprises, he thought proper to try for an accommodation. He accordingly sent heralds, who proposed a peace between Alexander and their city; but these the Tyrians killed, contrary to the law of nations, and threw them from the top of the walls into the sea. Alexander, exasperated at so cruel an outrage, formed a resolution at once, and employed his whole attention in raising a dike. He found in the ruins of old Tyre, which stood on the continent, and was called Palæ-Tyros, materials to make piers, taking all the stones and rubbish from it. Mount Libanus, which was not far distant from it, so famous in Scripture for its cedars, furnished him with wood for piles, and other timber work.

The soldiers began the pier with great alacrity, being animated by the presence of their sovereign, who himself gave out all the orders; and who, knowing perfectly how to insinuate himself into, and gain the affections of his troops,<sup>1</sup> excited some by praises, and others by slight reprimands, intermixed with kind expressions, and softened by promises. At first they advanced with considerable rapidity, the piles being easily driven into the slime, which served as mortar for the stones; and as the place where those works were carrying on was at some distance from the city, they went on without interruption. But the farther they went from the shore, the greater difficulties they met with; because the sea was deeper, and the workmen were very much annoyed by the darts discharged from the top of the walls. The enemy, who were masters of the sea, coming forward in large boats, and razing every part of the dike, prevented the Macedonians from carrying it on with vigour. Then adding insults to their attacks, they cried aloud to Alexander's soldiers, "that it was a noble sight to see those conquerors, whose names were so renowned throughout the world, carrying burdens on their backs like so many beasts." And they would afterwards ask them in a contemptuous manner, "whether Alexander was greater than Neptune, and if they pretended to prevail over that god?"

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<sup>1</sup> *Haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos.—Q. Curt.*

These taunts only served to inflame the courage of the soldiers. At last the bank appeared above water, began to show a level of a considerable breadth, and to approach the city. Then the besieged, perceiving with terror the vastness of the work, which the sea till then had kept from their sight, came in their ships to the bank, which was not yet very firm. These vessels were full of slingers, bowmen, and others, who hurled javelins, and even fire, and being spread to the right and left about the bank, they shot on all sides upon the workmen, several of whom were wounded; it not being possible for them to ward off the blows, because of the great ease and swiftness with which the vessels moved backwards and forwards; so that they were obliged to leave the work to defend themselves. It was therefore resolved, that skins and sails should be spread to cover the workmen; and that two wooden towers should be raised at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy.

On the other side, the Tyrians made a descent on the shore, out of the view of the camp, where they landed some soldiers, who cut to pieces those who carried the stones; and on Mount Libanus there were also some Arabian peasants, who, meeting the Macedonians straggling up and down, killed near thirty of them, and took very nearly the same number of them. These small losses obliged Alexander to separate his troops into different bodies.

The besieged, in the mean time, employed every invention, every stratagem that could be found, to ruin the enemy's works. They took a transport vessel, and filling it with brush and such like dry materials, made a large enclosure near the prow, wherein they threw all these things, with sulphur and pitch, and other combustible matters. In the middle of this enclosure they set up two masts, to each of which they fixed two sail-yards, on which were hung kettles full of oil, and other unctuous substances. They afterwards loaded the hinder part of the vessel with stones and sand, in order to raise the prow; and taking advantage of a favourable wind, they towed it to sea by the assistance of their galleys. As soon as they were come near the towers, they set fire to the vessel in question, and drew it towards the point or extremity of the bank. In the mean time the sailors who were in it leaped into the sea, and swam away. Immediately the fire caught, with great violence, the towers, and the rest of the works, which were at the head of the bank; and then the sail-yards being driven backwards and forwards, threw oil upon the fire, which very much increased the flame. But to prevent the Macedonians from extinguishing it, the Tyrians, who were in their galleys, were perpetually hurling at the towers fiery darts and burning torches, so that there was no approaching them. Several Macedonians lost their lives in a miserable manner on the bank, being either shot through with arrows or burned to death; while others, throwing down their arms, leaped into the sea. But, as they were swimming away, the Tyrians, choosing to take them alive rather than kill them, maimed their hands with clubs and stones; and after disabling them, carried them off. At the same time the besieged, coming out

of the city in little boats, beat down the edges of the bank, tore up the stakes, and burned the rest of the engines.

Alexander, though he saw most of his designs defeated, and his works demolished, was not at all dejected upon that account. His soldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank; and made and planted new machines with such alacrity as quite astonished the enemy. Alexander himself was present on all occasions, and superintended every part of the works. His presence and great abilities advanced these still more than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was nearly finished, and brought almost to the wall of the city, when there arose on a sudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with so much fury against the bank, that the cement and other things that bound it gave way, and the water rushing through the stones, broke it in the middle. As soon as the great heap of stones which supported the earth was thrown down, the whole sunk at once into an abyss.

Any warrior but Alexander would that instant have quite laid aside his enterprise; and indeed, he himself debated whether he should not raise the siege. But a superior Power, who had foretold and sworn the ruin of Tyre, and whose orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the siege, and, dispelling all his fear and anxiety, inspired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breasts of his whole army with the same sentiments. For now the soldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raise a new mole, at which they worked incessantly.

Alexander was sensible, that it would not be possible for him to complete the bank, or to take the city, as long as the Tyrians should continue masters at sea. He therefore resolved to assemble before Sidon his few remaining galleys. At the same time, the kings of Aradus and Byblos, cities of Phœnicia, hearing that Alexander had conquered their cities, abandoned the Persian fleet, and joined him with theirs and that of the Sidonians, which made in all eighty sail. There arrived also, much about the same time, ten galleys from Rhodes, three from Solæ and Malos, ten from Lycia, and one from Macedonia of fifty oars. A short time after, the king of Cyprus, hearing that the Persian army had been defeated near the city of Issus, and that Alexander had possessed himself of Phœnicia, brought him a reinforcement of upwards of one hundred and twenty galleys.

The king, while his soldiers were preparing the ships and engines, took some troops of horse, with his own regiment of guards, and marched towards a mountain of Arabia, called Anti-Libanus. The tender regard he had for an old gentleman, formerly his tutor, who was absolutely resolved to follow his pupil, exposed Alexander to very great danger. This was Lysimachus, who gave the name of Achilles to his scholar, and called himself Phoenix.<sup>1</sup> When the king arrived at the foot of the mountain, he leaped from his horse, and began to walk. His troops got a considerable way before him. It was already late, and Alexander not being willing to leave his preceptor, who was

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<sup>1</sup> It is well known that Phoenix was governor to Achilles.

very corpulent, and scarcely able to walk, was by that means separated from his little army, accompanied only by a very few soldiers; and in this manner spent the whole night very near the enemy, who were so numerous, that they might easily have overpowered him. However, his usual good fortune and courage extricated him from this danger; so that, coming up afterwards with his forces, he advanced forward into the country, took all the strong places, either by force or capitulation, and returned, the eleventh day, to Sidon, where he found Alexander, son of Polemocrates, who had brought him a reinforcement of four thousand Greeks from Peloponnesus.

The fleet being ready, Alexander took some soldiers from among his guards, and these he embarked with him, in order to employ them in close fight with the enemy; and then set sail towards Tyre, in order of battle. He himself was at the point or extremity of the right wing, which extended itself towards the main ocean, being accompanied by the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia; the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at first determined to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of these forces, and saw the army advance, which made a great appearance, for Alexander had halted to wait the coming up of his left wing, they kept all their galleys in their harbours, to prevent the enemy from entering them. When the king saw this, he advanced near the city; and finding that it would be impossible for him to force the port which lay towards Sidon, because of the great narrowness of the entrance, and its being defended by a large number of galleys, whose prows were all turned towards the main ocean, he only sunk three of them which lay without, and afterwards came to anchor with his whole fleet, pretty near the bank, along the shore, where his ships rode in safety.

While all these things were doing, the new bank was carried on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the sea whole trees, with all their branches on them, and laid great stones over these, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with clay, which served instead of mortar. Afterwards heaping more trees and stones on these, the whole thus joined together formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former ones, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of such arrows as should be shot from those ships which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. The besieged, on the other side, exerted themselves with extraordinary bravery, and did all that lay in their power to stop the progress of the work. But nothing was of so much service to them as their divers, who, swimming under water, came unperceived quite up to the bank, and with hooks drew such branches to them as projected beyond the work; and pulling forward with great strength, forced away every thing that was over them. This was one impediment to the carrying on of the work; after many delays, however, the patience of the workmen surmounting every obstacle, it was at last finished in its utmost perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the bank in order to shake the walls with battering-rams, and hurl on the besieged, arrows, stones, and burning torches.

At the same time, Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet, commanded by Andromachus, to take its station before the harbour which lay towards Sidon; and that of Phœnicia, before the harbour on the other side of the bank facing Egypt, towards that part where his own tent was pitched; and enabled himself to attack the city on every side. The Tyrians, in their turn, prepared for a vigorous defence. On that side which lay towards the bank, they had erected towers on the wall, which was of an astonishing height, and of a proportionable breadth, the whole built with great stones cemented together with mortar. The access to any other part was very nearly as difficult, the enemy having fenced the foot of the wall with great stones, to keep the Greeks from approaching it. The business then was, first to draw these away, which could not be done but with the utmost difficulty, because, as the soldiers stood in ships, they could not keep very firm on their legs. Besides, the Tyrians advanced with covered galleys, and cut the cables which held the ships at anchor; so that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, several vessels of thirty rowers each, and to station them crosswise, to secure the anchors from the attacks of the Tyrian galleys. But still, divers came and cut them unperceived, so that they were at last forced to fix them with iron chains. After this, they drew these stones with cable ropes, and carrying them off with engines, they were thrown to the bottom of the sea, where it was not possible for them to do any farther mischief. The foot of the wall being thus cleared, the vessels had very easy access to it. In this manner the Tyrians were invested on all sides, and attacked at the same time both by sea and land.

The Macedonians had joined galleys by pairs, with four men chained to each oar, in such a manner, that the prows were fastened, and the sterns so far distant one from the other, as was necessary for the pieces of timber between them to be of a proper length. After this they threw from one stern to the other, sail-yards, which were fastened together by planks laid crosswise, in order for the soldiers to stand fast on the space. The galleys being thus equipped, they rowed towards the city, and shot under cover, against those who defended the walls, the prows serving them as so many parapets. The king caused them to advance about midnight, in order to surround the walls, and make a general assault. The Tyrians now gave themselves up for lost, when on a sudden the sky was overspread with such thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom. The sea rose by insensible degrees; and the billows, being swelled by the fury of the winds, rose to a dreadful storm. The vessels dashed one against the other with so much violence, that the cables, which before fastened them together, were either loosened, or broken asunder; the planks split, and, making a horrible crash, carried off the soldiers with them; for the tempest was so furious, that it was not possible to manage or steer galleys thus fastened together. The soldier was a hindrance to the sailor, and the sailor to the soldier; and, as happens on such occasions, those obeyed whose business it was to command; fear and



anxiety, throwing all things into confusion. But now the rowers exerted themselves with so much vigour, that they got the better of the sea, and seemed to tear their ships out of the waves. At last they brought them near the shore, but the greatest part in a shattered condition.

At the same time, there arrived at Tyre thirty ambassadors from Carthage, who did not bring the least succours, though they had promised such mighty things. Instead of this, they only made excuses, declaring that it was with the greatest grief the Carthaginians found themselves absolutely unable to assist the Tyrians in any manner; for that they themselves were engaged in a war, not as before, for empire, but to save their country.<sup>1</sup> And indeed the Syracusans were laying waste all Africa at that time with a powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though frustrated in this manner of the great hopes they had conceived, were no ways dejected. They only took the wise precautions to send most of their women and children to Carthage, in order that they themselves might be in a condition to defend themselves to the last extremity, and bear more courageously the greatest calamities which might befall them, when they had once lodged, in a secure asylum, what they most valued in the world.

There was in the city a brazen statue of Apollo, of an enormous size. This Colossus had formerly stood in the city of Gela in Sicily. The Carthaginians having taken it about the year four hundred and twelve before Christ, had given it, by way of present, to the city of Tyre, which they always considered as the mother of Carthage.<sup>2</sup> The Tyrians had set it up in their city, and worship was paid to it. During the siege, on a dream which one of the citizens had, the Tyrians imagined that Apollo was determined to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Immediately they fastened with a gold chain his statue to the altar of Hercules, to prevent the deity in question from leaving them. For these people were silly enough to believe, that after his statue was thus fastened down, it would not be possible for him to make his escape; and that he would be prevented from doing so by Hercules, the tutelar god of the city. What a strange idea the heathens had of their divinities!

Some of the Tyrians proposed the restoring of a sacrifice which had been discontinued for many ages; namely, to sacrifice a child, born of free parents, to Saturn. The Carthaginians, who had borrowed this sacrilegious custom from their founders, preserved it till the destruction of their city; and had not the old men, who were invested with the greatest authority in Tyre, opposed this cruelly superstitious custom, a child would have been butchered on this occasion.

The Tyrians, finding their city exposed every moment to be taken by storm, resolved to fall upon the Cyprian fleet, which lay at anchor off Sidon. They took the opportunity to do this at a time when the seamen of Alexander's fleet were dispersed, and when he himself had withdrawn to his tent, pitched on the sea-shore. They accordingly

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I. in the history of Carthage.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. xiii. p. 226



came out, about noon, with thirteen galleys, all manned with choice soldiers, who were used to sea-fights; and rowing with all their might, came thundering on the enemy's vessels. Part of them they found empty, and drove several of them on shore, where they dashed to pieces. The loss would have been still greater, had not Alexander, the instant he heard of this sally, advanced at the head of his whole fleet, with all imaginable haste, against the Tyrians. However, these did not wait their coming up, but withdrew into the harbour, after having lost some of their ships.

The engines being now in operation, the city was warmly attacked on all sides, and as vigorously defended. The besieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, invented, daily, new arts to defend themselves, and repulse the enemy. They warded off all the darts discharged from the balistas against them, by the assistance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the stones that were hurled at them, by setting up a kind of sails and curtains made of a soft substance, which easily gave way. To annoy the ships which advanced against their walls, they fixed grappling-irons and scythes to joists or beams; then straining their catapultas, an enormous kind of cross-bow, they laid these great pieces of timber upon them instead of arrows, and shot them off on a sudden at the enemy. These crushed some to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks or pensile scythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did considerable damage to their ships. They also had brazen shields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire; and filling these with burning sand, hurled them in an instant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians so much dreaded as this last invention; for the moment this burning sand got to the flesh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and stuck so close, that there was no pulling it off; so that the soldiers, throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner exposed, naked, and defenceless, to the enemy.

It was then Alexander, discouraged at so vigorous a defence, debated seriously, whether it would not be proper for him to raise the siege, and go to Egypt; for, after having overrun Asia with amazing rapidity, he found his progress unhappily retarded; and lost, before a single city, the opportunity of executing a great many projects of infinitely greater importance. On the other side, he considered that it would be a great blemish to his reputation, which had done him greater service than his arms, should he leave Tyre behind him, and thereby prove to the world, that he was not invincible. He therefore resolved to make a last effort with a great number of ships, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a second naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king pursued their rear very close, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulsed by arrows shot from the walls: he, however, either took or sunk a great number of their ships.

Alexander, after allowing his forces to repose themselves two days, advanced his fleet and his engines, in order to attempt a general assault. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increased with the danger; and each side, animated by the most powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, instantly the argyraspides mounted the breach with the utmost valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the bravest officers in the army, who was killed by the thrust of a partisan,<sup>1</sup> as he was encouraging his soldiers. The presence of the king, and especially the example he set, fired his troops with unusual bravery. He himself ascended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and was there exposed to the greatest danger his courage had ever made him hazard; for, being immediately known by his insignia and the richness of his armour, he served as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occasion he performed wonders; killing, with javelins, several of those who defended the wall; then advancing nearer to them, he forced some with his sword, and others with his shield, either into the city or the sea; the tower where he fought almost touching the wall. He soon went over it, by the assistance of floating bridges, and, followed by the nobility, possessed himself of two towers, and the space between them. The battering-rams had already made several breaches; the fleet had forced their way into the harbour; and some of the Macedonians had possessed themselves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, seeing the enemy masters of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called Agenor, and there stood their ground; but Alexander, marching up with his regiment of bodyguards, killed part of them, and obliged the rest to fly. At the same time, Tyre being taken on that side which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran through every part of the city, sparing no person who came in their way, being highly exasperated at the long resistance of the besieged, and the barbarities they had exercised towards some of their comrades who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut in the sight of the whole army.

The Tyrians, seeing themselves overpowered on all sides, fled, some to the temples, to implore the assistance of the gods; others, shutting themselves in their houses, escaped the sword of the conqueror by a voluntary death; in fine, others rushed upon the enemy, firmly resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate. The greater part of the citizens had got on the house-tops, whence they threw stones, and whatever came first to hand, upon such as advanced into the city. The king gave orders for killing all the inhabitants, those excepted who had sheltered themselves in the temples, and to set fire to every part of Tyre. Although this order was published by sound of trumpet, yet not one person who carried arms flew to the asylums. The temples were filled with such old men and children only as had remained in the city. The old men waited at the doors of their

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<sup>1</sup> A kind of halbert.

houses, in expectation every instant of being sacrificed to the rage of the soldiers. It is true, indeed, that the Sidonian soldiers, who were in Alexander's camp, saved great numbers of them. For, having entered the city indiscriminately with the conquerors, and calling to mind their ancient affinity with the Tyrians, Agenor having founded both Tyre and Sidon, they, for that reason, carried off great numbers privately on board their ships, and conveyed them to Sidon. By this kind of deceit, fifteen thousand were saved from the rage of the conqueror; and we may judge of the greatness of the slaughter from the number of the soldiers who were cut to pieces on the rampart of the city only, who amounted to six thousand. But the king's anger not being fully appeased, he exhibited a scene, which appeared dreadful even to the conquerors; for two thousand men remaining, after the soldiers had been glutted with slaughter, Alexander caused them to be fixed upon crosses along the sea-shore. He pardoned the ambassadors of Carthage, who were come to their metropolis to offer up a sacrifice to Hercules, according to annual custom. The number of prisoners, both foreigners and citizens, amounted to thirty thousand, who were all sold. As for the Macedonians, their loss was very inconsiderable.

Alexander himself sacrificed to Hercules, and conducted the ceremony with all the land forces under arms, in concert with the fleet. He also solemnized gymnastic exercises in honour of the same god, in the temple dedicated to him. With regard to the statue of Apollo, above mentioned, he took off the chains from it, restored it to its former liberty, and commanded that this god should thenceforwards be surnamed Philaxander, that is, the friend of Alexander. If we may believe Timæus, the Greeks began to pay him this solemn worship, for having occasioned the taking of Tyre, which happened the same day that the Carthaginians carried off this statue from Gela. The city of Tyre was taken about the end of September, after having sustained a siege for seven months.<sup>1</sup>

Thus were accomplished the menaces which God had pronounced by the mouth of his prophets against the city of Tyre. Nabuchodonosor<sup>2</sup> had begun to execute those threats by besieging and taking it; and they were completed by the sad catastrophe we have here described. As this double event forms one of the most considerable passages in history, and as the Scriptures have given us several very remarkable circumstances of it, I shall endeavour to unite here, in one view, all that they relate concerning the city of Tyre, its power, riches, haughtiness, and irreligion; the different punishments with which God chastised its pride and other vices; in fine, its last re-establishment, out in a manner entirely different from that of others; I feel myself suddenly revived, when, through the multitude of profane histories which heathen antiquity furnishes, and in every part whereof there reigns an entire oblivion, not to say more, of the Almighty, the sacred Scriptures exhibit themselves, and unfold to me the secret designs of God over kingdoms and empires; and teach me

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Or Nebuchadnezzar, as he is called in our version

what idea we are to form of those things which appear the most worthy of esteem, the most august in the eyes of men.

But, before I relate the prophecies concerning Tyre, I shall here present the reader with a short extract of the history of that famous city; by which he will be the better enabled to understand the prophecies.

Tyre was built by the Sidonians, two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of Jerusalem: for this reason it is called by Isaiah, the daughter of Sidon. It soon surpassed its mother city in extent, power, and riches.<sup>1</sup>

It was besieged by Salmanazar, and alone resisted the united fleets of the Assyrians and Phœnicians; a circumstance which greatly heightened its pride.<sup>2</sup>

Nabuchodonosor laid siege to Tyre at the time that Ithobalus was king of that city, but did not take it till thirteen years after. But before it was conquered, the inhabitants had retired, with most of their effects, into a neighbouring island, where they built a new city. The old one was razed to the foundations, and has since been no more than a village, known by the name of Palæ-Tyrus, or ancient Tyre; but the new one rose to greater power than ever.<sup>3</sup>

It was in this great and flourishing condition when Alexander besieged and took it. And here begins the seventy years of obscurity and oblivion in which it was to lie, according to Isaiah. It was indeed soon repaired, because the Sidonians, who entered the city with Alexander's army, saved fifteen thousand of their citizens, as was before observed, who, after their return, applied themselves to commerce, and repaired the ruins of their country with incredible application; besides which, the women and children, who had been sent to Carthage, and lodged in a place of safety, returned to it at the same time. But Tyre was confined to the island in which it stood. Its trade extended no farther than the neighbouring cities, and it had lost the empire of the sea. And when, eighteen years after, Antigonus besieged it with a strong fleet, we do not find that the Tyrians had any maritime forces to oppose him. This second siege, which reduced it a second time to captivity, plunged it into the state of oblivion from which it endeavoured to extricate itself; and this oblivion continued the exact time foretold by Isaiah.

This term of years being expired, Tyre recovered its former credit, and, at the same time, resumed its former vices; till at last, converted by the preaching of the gospel, it became a holy and religious city. The sacred writings acquaint us with part of these revolutions, and this is what we are now to show.

Tyre, before the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, was considered one of the most ancient and flourishing cities in the world. Its industry and very advantageous situation had raised it to the sovereignty of the seas, and made it the centre of all the trade of the world. From the extreme parts of Arabia, Persia, and India, to the

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 2992. Ant. J. C. 1012. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719. Ibid. l. 9, c. 14.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3432. Ant. J. C. 572. Ibid. l. x. c. 11.

most remote western coasts, from Scythia, and the northern countries, to Egypt, Ethiopia, and the southern countries, all nations contributed to the increase of its riches, splendour, and power. Not only the several things useful and necessary to society, which those various regions produced; but whatever they had of a rare, curious, magnificent, or precious kind, and best adapted to the support of luxury and pride; all these were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other side, as from a common source, dispersed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupt manners, by inspiring mankind with a love of ease, vanity, luxury, and voluptuousness.<sup>1</sup>

A long, uninterrupted series of prosperities had swelled the pride of Tyre. She delighted to consider herself as the queen of cities; a queen, whose head was adorned with a diadem; whose correspondents were illustrious princes; whose rich traders dispute for superiority with kings; who sees every maritime power either as her allies or dependants, and who made herself necessary or formidable to all nations.<sup>2</sup>

Tyre had now filled up the measure of her iniquity by her impiety against God, and her barbarity exercised against his people. She had rejoiced over the ruins of Jerusalem, in the insulting words following: "Behold, then, the gates of this so populous city are broken down. Her inhabitants shall come to me, and I will enrich myself with her spoils, now she is laid waste."<sup>3</sup> She was not satisfied with having reduced the Jews to a state of captivity, notwithstanding the alliance between them, with selling them to the Gentiles, and delivering them up to their most cruel enemies;<sup>4</sup> she likewise had seized upon the inheritance of the Lord, and carried away from his temple the most precious things, to enrich therewith the temples of her idols.<sup>5</sup>

This profanation and cruelty drew down the vengeance of God upon Tyre. God resolved to destroy her, because she relied so much upon her own strength, her wisdom, her riches, and her alliances. He therefore brought against her Nabuchodonosor, that king of kings, to overflow her with his mighty hosts, as with waters that overspread their banks, in order to demolish her ramparts, to ruin her proud palaces, to deliver up her merchandises and treasures to the soldier, and to raze Tyre to the very foundations, after having set fire to it, and either extirpated or dispersed all its inhabitants.<sup>6</sup>

By this fall, so unexpected, the Almighty will teach the astonished nations, that he more evidently displays his providence by the most incredible revolutions of states; and that his will only directs the enterprises of men, and guides them as he pleases, in order to humble the proud.<sup>7</sup>

But Tyre, after she had recovered her losses, and repaired her

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxvi. and xxvii. throughout. Ezek. xxviii. 4—25.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxvi. 17.; xxvii. 3, 4, 25—33. <sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxvii. 2. <sup>4</sup> Joel iii. 2—8. Amos i. 9, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Joel iii. 2, 4, 7. Amos i. 9, 10.

<sup>6</sup> Jerem. xlvii. 2, 6. Ezek. xxvi. 3—12, and 19.; xxvii. 27, 34.

<sup>7</sup> Ezek. xxvi. 15, 18, and xxvii. 33, 36. Isa. xxiii. 8, 9.



ruins, forgot her former state of humiliation, and the guilt that had reduced her to it. She was still puffed up with the glory of possessing the empire of the sea; of being the seat of universal commerce; of giving birth to the most famous colonies; of having within her walls merchants, whose credit, riches, and splendour, equalled them to the princes and great men of the earth;<sup>1</sup> of being governed by a monarch, who might justly be entitled, god of the sea; of tracing back her origin to the most remote antiquity; of having acquired, by a long series of ages, a kind of eternity; and of having a right to promise herself another such eternity in times to come.<sup>2</sup>

But since this city, corrupted by pride, by avarice and luxury, had not profited by the first lesson which God had given her, in the person of the king of Babylon; and that, after being oppressed by all the forces of the East, she still would not learn to confide no longer in the false and imaginary supports of her own greatness.<sup>3</sup> God foretells her another chastisement, which he will send upon her from the west, nearly four hundred years after the first.<sup>4</sup> Her destruction will come from Chittim, that is, Macedonia; from a kingdom, so weak and obscure, that it had been despised a few years before; a kingdom whence she could never have expected such a blow.<sup>5</sup>

"Tyre, possessed with an opinion of her own wisdom, and proud of her fleets, of her immense riches, which she heaped up as mire in the streets," and also protected by the whole power of the Persian empire, did not imagine she had any thing to fear from those new enemies, who being situated at a great distance from her, without either money, strength, or reputation, having neither harbours nor ships, and being quite unskilled in navigation, could not therefore, as she imagined, annoy her with their land-forces. Tyre looked upon herself as impregnable, because she was defended by lofty fortifications, and surrounded on all sides by the sea, as with a moat and a girdle: but Alexander, by filling up the arm of the sea which separated her from the continent, forced off her girdle, and demolished those ramparts which served her as a second enclosure.<sup>6</sup>

Tyre thus dispossessed of her dignity as queen, and as a free city, boasting no more her diadem nor her girdle, was to be reduced, during seventy years, to the mean condition of a slave. "The Lord hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth."<sup>7</sup> Her fall will drag after it the ruin of trade in general, and she will prove to all cities a subject of sorrow and groans, by making them lose the present means, and the future hopes of enriching themselves.<sup>8</sup>

To prove,<sup>9</sup> in a sensible manner, to Tyre, that the prophecy concerning her ruin was not incredible, and that all the strength and wisdom of man could not ward off or suspend the punishment which God has prepared for the pride and the abuse of riches, Isaiah set before her the example of Babylon, whose destruction ought to have been an example to her. This city, in which Nimrod laid the foun-

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xxiii. 3, 4, 7, 8, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxviii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xxiii. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xxiii. 11, 12.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Maccab. i. 1. Zech. ix. 2, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. xxiii. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. xxiii. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 1, 11, 14.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 13, 14.



dations of his empire, was the most ancient, the most populous, and was embellished with more edifices, both public and private, than any other city. She was the capital of the first empire that ever existed, and was founded in order to command over the whole earth, which seemed to be inhabited only by families, which she had brought forth, and sent out as so many colonies, whose common parent she was. Nevertheless, says the prophet, she is no more, neither Babylon, nor her empire. The citizens of Babylon had multiplied their ramparts and citadels, to render even the besieging it impracticable. The inhabitants had raised pompous palaces, to make their names immortal; yet all these fortifications were but as so many dens, in the eyes of Providence, for wild beasts to dwell in; and these edifices were doomed to fall to dust, or to sink to humble cottages.

After so signal an example, continues the prophet, shall Tyre, which is so much inferior to Babylon in many respects, dare to hope that the menaces pronounced by heaven against her, viz. to deprive her of the empire of the sea, and destroy her fleets, will not be fulfilled?<sup>1</sup>

To make her the more strongly sensible how much she has abused her prosperity, God will reduce her to a state of humiliation and oblivion during seventy years.<sup>2</sup> But after this season of obscurity, she will again endeavour to appear with the air of a harlot, whose charms and artifices she shall assume; she will employ her utmost endeavours to corrupt youth, and soothe their passions. To promote her commerce, she will use fraud, deceit, and the most insidious arts. She will visit every part of the world to collect the most rare and most delicious products of every country; to inspire the various nations of the universe with a love and admiration for superfluities and splendour; and fill them with an aversion for the simplicity and frugality of their ancient manners. And she will set every engine at work, to renew her ancient treaties; to recover the confidence of her former correspondents; and to compensate, by a speedy abundance, the sterility of seventy years.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, in proportion as the Almighty shall give Tyre an opportunity of recovering her trade and credit, she shall return to her former shameful traffic, which God had ruined, by stripping her of the great possessions she had applied to such pernicious uses.<sup>4</sup>

But at last, Tyre, converted by the gospel, shall no more be a scandal and a stumbling-block to nations. She shall no longer sacrifice her labour to the idolatry of wealth, but to the worship of the Lord, and the comfort of those that serve him. She shall no longer render her riches barren and useless by detaining them, but shall scatter them, like fruitful seed, from the hands of believers and ministers of the gospel.<sup>5</sup>

One of God's designs, in the prophecies just now cited, is to give

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<sup>1</sup> "Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrians founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness; they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof, and he brought it to ruin. Howl, ye ships of Tarshish, for your strength is laid waste."—Isa. xxiii. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xxiii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 18.

as a just idea of a commerce, whose only motive is avarice, and whose fruits are pleasures, vanity, and immorality. Mankind look upon cities enriched with a commerce like that of Tyre, and it is the same with private persons, as happier than any other; as worthy of envy, and as fit, from their industry, labour, and the success of their applications and conduct, to be proposed as patterns for the rest to copy after. But God, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the shameful image of a woman lost to all sense of virtue; as a woman, whose only view is to seduce and corrupt youth; who only soothes the passions, and flatters the senses; who abhors modesty, and every sentiment of honour; and who, banishing from her countenance every characteristic of chastity, glories in ignominy. We are not to infer from hence, that commerce is sinful in itself; but we should separate from the essential foundation of trade, which is just and lawful when rightly used, the passions of men, which intermix with, and by that means pervert the order and end of it. Tyre, converted to Christianity, teaches merchants in what manner they are to carry on their traffic, and the uses to which they ought to apply their profits.

SECTION VII. — ALEXANDER'S JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM. HE SUBDUES EGYPT: IS DECLARED SON OF JUPITER.

WHILE Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre, he had received a second letter from Darius, who at last gave him the title of king. He offered him ten thousand talents, "as a ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered, as far as the Euphrates. Darius hinted to him the inconstancy of fortune; and described, in the most pompous terms, the numberless troops who were still under his command. Could he, Alexander, think that it was so very easy to cross the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, and the Hydaspes, which were so many bulwarks to the Persian empire? That he should not be always shut up between rocks and passes: that they ought both to appear in a plain, and that then Alexander would be ashamed to come before him with only a handful of men." The king hereupon summoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of these offers, declaring he himself would agree to them, were he Alexander. "And so would I," replied Alexander, "were I Parmenio." He therefore returned the following answer: "That he did not want the money Darius offered him: that it did not become Darius to offer a thing which he no longer possessed, or to pretend to distribute what he had entirely lost: that in case he was the only person who did not know which of them was superior, a battle would soon determine it: that he should not think to intimidate with rivers, a man who had crossed so many seas: that to whatever place he might find it proper to retire, Alexander would not fail to find him out." Darius, upon receiving this answer, lost all hopes of an accommodation, and prepared again for war.<sup>1</sup>

From Tyre, Alexander marched to Jerusalem, firmly resolved to show it no more favour than he had done the former city; and for

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Alex. p. 681. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 6. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101.

this reason. The Tyrians were so much employed in traffic, that they quite neglected husbandry, and brought most of their corn and other provisions from the countries in their neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup> Galilea, Samaria, and Judea, furnished them with the greatest quantities.<sup>2</sup> At the same time that Alexander laid siege to their city, he himself was obliged to send for provisions from those countries: he therefore sent commissaries to summon the inhabitants to submit, and furnish his army with whatever they might want. The Jews, however, desired to be excused, alleging that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius; and persisted in answering, that they would never acknowledge any other sovereign as long as he was living: a rare example of fidelity, and worthy of the only people who in that age acknowledged the true God! The Samaritans, however, did not imitate them in this particular; for they submitted with cheerfulness to Alexander, and even sent him eight thousand men, to serve at the siege of Tyre and in other places. For the better understanding of what follows, it may be necessary for us to present the reader, in few words, with the state of the Samaritans at that time, and the cause of the strong antipathy between them and the Jews.

I observed elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> that the Samaritans did not descend from the Israelites, but were a colony of idolaters, taken from the countries on the other side of the Euphrates, whom Asarhaddon, king of the Assyrians, had sent to inhabit the cities of Samaria, after the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes. These people, who were called Cuthæi, blended the worship of the God of Israel with that of their idols; and on all occasions discovered an enmity to the Jews. This hatred was much stronger after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, before and after the restoration of the temple.

Notwithstanding the reformation which the holy man Nehemiah had wrought in Jerusalem, with regard to the marrying of strange or foreign women, the evil had spread so far, that the high-priest's house, which ought to have been preserved more than any other from these criminal mixtures, was itself polluted with them. One of the sons of Jehoiada the high-priest, whom Josephus calls Manasses, had married the daughter of Sanballat the Heronite, and many more had followed his example. But Nehemiah, zealous for the law of God, which was so shamefully violated, commanded, without exception, all who had married strange women, either to put them away immediately, or depart from the country.<sup>4</sup> Manasses chose to go into banishment rather than separate himself from his wife, and accordingly withdrew to Samaria, where he was followed by great numbers, as rebellious as himself. He there settled them under the protection of Sanballat, his father-in-law, who was governor of that country.<sup>5</sup>

The latter obtained of Darius Nothus, whom probably the war which broke out between Egypt and Persia had forced into Phœnicia, leave to build on Mount Geræzim, near Samaria, a temple like that of Jerusalem, and to appoint Manasses, his son-in-law, priest thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I. of the Assyrians

<sup>4</sup> 2 Esd. xiii. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph. Antiq.

From that time, Samaria became the asylum of all the malcontents of Judea. And it was this that raised the hatred of the Jews against the Samaritans to its greatest height, when they saw that the latter, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the law, which fixed the solemn worship of the God of Israel in the city of Jerusalem, had nevertheless raised altar against altar, and temple against temple, and given refuge to all who fled from Jerusalem, to screen themselves from the punishment which would have been inflicted upon them for violating the law.

Such was the state of Judea when Alexander laid siege to Tyre. The Samaritans, as we before observed, had sent him a considerable body of troops; whereas the Jews thought they could not submit to him during the life of Darius, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance.

Alexander, being little used to such an answer, especially after he had obtained so many victories, and thinking that all things ought to bow before him, resolved, the instant he had conquered Tyre, to march against the Jews, and punish their disobedience as rigorously as he had done that of the Tyrians.

In this imminent danger, Jaddus, the high-priest, who governed under the Persians, seeing himself exposed, with all the inhabitants, to the wrath of the conqueror, had recourse to the protection of the Almighty, gave orders for the offering up public prayers to implore his assistance, and made sacrifices. The night after, God appeared to him in a dream, and directed him "to cause flowers to be scattered throughout the city; to set open all the gates, and go, clothed in his pontifical robes, with all the priests dressed also in their vestments, and all the rest clothed in white, to meet Alexander, and not to fear any evil from the king, inasmuch as he would protect them." This command was punctually obeyed: and accordingly this august procession, the very day after, marched out of the city to an eminence called Sapha,<sup>1</sup> whence there was a view of all the plain, as well as of the temple and city of Jerusalem. Here the whole procession waited the arrival of Alexander.

The Syrians and Phœnicians, who were in his army, were persuaded that the wrath of this prince was so great, that he would certainly punish the high-priest after an exemplary manner, and destroy that city in the same manner as he had done Tyre; and, flushed with joy upon that account, they waited in expectation of glutting their eyes with the calamities of a people to whom they bore a mortal hatred. As soon as the Jews heard of the king's approach, they set out to meet him with all the pomp before described. Alexander was struck at the sight of the high-priest, on whose mitre and forehead a golden plate was fixed, on which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-priest, he advanced towards him with an air of the most profound respect; bowed his body, adored the august name upon his front, and saluted him who wore it with a religious veneration. Then the Jews, surrounding Alexander, raised

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<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew word, Sapha, signifies to discover from far, as from a tower or sentry-box.

their voices to wish him every kind of prosperity. All the spectators were seized with inexpressible surprise; they could scarcely believe their eyes; and did not know how to account for a sight so contrary to their expectation, and so vastly improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his astonishment, asked the king how it came to pass that he, who was adored by every one, adored the high-priest of the Jews. "I do not," replied Alexander, "adore the high-priest, but the God whose minister he is; for while I was at Dia in Macedonia, my mind wholly fixed on the great design of the Persian war, as I was reflecting on the means of conquering Asia, this very man, dressed in the same robes, appeared to me in a dream, exhorted me to banish every fear, bid me cross the Hellespont boldly, and assured me that God would march at the head of my army, and give me the victory over that of the Persians." Alexander added, that the instant he saw this priest, he knew him, by his habit, his stature, his hair, and his face, to be the same person whom he had seen at Dia; that he was firmly persuaded, it was by the command, and under the immediate conduct of Heaven, that he had undertaken this war; that he was sure he should overcome Darius hereafter, and destroy the empire of the Persians; and that this was the reason why he adored this God in the person of his priest. Alexander, after having thus answered Parmenio, embraced the high-priest, and all his brethren; then walking in the midst of them, he arrived at Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to God, in the temple, after the manner prescribed to him by the high-priest.

The high-priest, afterwards, showed him those passages in the prophecy of Daniel, which are spoken of that monarch. I shall here give an extract of them, to show how conspicuously the most distant events are present to the Creator.

God manifests, by the prophecy of Daniel, that grandeur, empire, and glory, are his; that he bestows them on whomsoever he pleases, and withdraws them, in like manner, to punish the abuse of them; that his wisdom and power solely determine the course of events in all ages;<sup>1</sup> that he changes, by the mere effect of his will, the whole face of human affairs; that he sets up new kingdoms, overthrows the ancient ones, and effaces them, even to the very footsteps of them, with the same ease as the wind carries off the smallest chaff from the threshing-floor.<sup>2</sup>

God's design in subjecting states to such astonishing revolutions, is to teach men, that they are in his presence as nothing; that he alone is the most high, the eternal King, the sovereign arbiter; who acts as he pleases, with supreme power both in heaven and in earth.<sup>3</sup> For the putting this design in execution, the prophet sees an august council, in which the angels, being appointed as spectators and overseers of governments and kings, inquire into the use which these make of the authority that heaven entrusted them with, in quality of his ministers; and when they abuse it, these spirits,<sup>4</sup> zealous for

<sup>1</sup> Dan. ii. 20, 21, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Dan. iv. 32, 34, 35, 36.

It was at the desire of those angels, that Nabuchodonosor was driven from the society of men to herd with wild beasts.



the glory of their Sovereign, beseech God to punish their injustice and ingratitude; and to humble their pride, by casting them from the throne, and reducing them to the most abject among mankind.<sup>1</sup>

God, to make these important truths still more sensible, shows Daniel four dreadful beasts, rising from the vast sea, in which the four winds combat together with fury; and, under these symbols, he represents to the prophet the origin, the characteristics, and fall of the four great empires, which are to govern the whole world successively. A dreadful, but too real image! For empires rise out of noise and confusion, they subsist in blood and slaughter; they exercise their power with violence and cruelty; they think it glorious to carry terror and desolation into all places; but yet, in spite of their utmost efforts, they are subject to continual vicissitudes, and unforeseen destruction.<sup>2</sup>

The prophet then relates more particularly the character of each of these empires. After having represented the empire of the Babylonians, under the image of a lioness, and that of the Medes and Persians, under the form of a bear, greedy of prey, he draws the picture of the Grecian monarchy, by presenting us with such of its characteristics as it is more immediately known by. Under the image of a spotted leopard, with four heads and four wings, he represents Alexander, intermixed with good and bad qualities; rash and impetuous in his resolution, rapid in his conquests, flying with the swiftness of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army, laden with the whole equipage of war; supported by the valour and capacity of his generals, four of whom, after having assisted him in conquering his empire, divided it among themselves.<sup>3</sup>

To this picture the prophet adds, elsewhere, other touches. He enumerates the order of the succession of the kings of Persia; he declares, in precise terms, that after the three first kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, a fourth monarch will arise, who is Xerxes; and that he will exceed all his predecessors in power and in riches; that this prince, puffed up with the idea of his own grandeur, which shall have risen to its highest pitch, will assemble all the people in his boundless dominions, and lead them to the conquest of Greece. But as the prophet takes notice only of the march of this multitude, and does not tell us what success they met with, he thereby gives us pretty clearly to understand, that Xerxes, a soft, injudicious, and fearful prince, will not have the least success in any of his projects.<sup>4</sup>

On the contrary, from among the Greeks in question, attacked unsuccessfully by the Persians, there will arise a king, of a genius and turn of mind quite different from that of Xerxes; and this is Alexander the Great. He shall be a bold, valiant monarch; he shall succeed in all his enterprises; he shall extend his dominions far and wide, and shall establish an irresistible power on the ruins of the vanquished nations: but, at a time when he shall imagine himself to most firmly seated on the throne, he shall lose his life with the regal dignity, and not leave any posterity to succeed him in it. This new

<sup>1</sup> Dan. iv. 14.<sup>2</sup> Dan. vii. 2, 3.<sup>3</sup> Dan. vii. 4, 5, 6.<sup>4</sup> Ibid. xi. 2.



monarchy, losing on a sudden the splendour and power for which it was so renowned under Alexander, shall divide itself towards the four winds of heaven. From its ruins there shall arise, not only four great kingdoms, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Macedon, but also several other foreigners, or barbarians, shall usurp its provinces, and form kingdoms out of these.<sup>1</sup>

In fine, in the eighth chapter, the prophet completes the description in still stronger colours, the character, the battles, the series of successes, the rise and fall, of these two rival empires. By the image he gives of a powerful ram, having two horns of an unequal length, he declares that the first of these empires shall be composed of Persians and Medes; that its strength shall consist in the union of the two nations; that the Persians shall nevertheless exceed the Medes in authority; that they shall have a series of conquests, without meeting with any opposition; that they shall first extend them towards the west, by subduing the Lydians, the provinces of Asia Minor, and Thrace; that they shall afterwards turn their arms towards the north, in order to subdue part of Scythia, and the nations bordering on the Caspian Sea; in fine, that they shall endeavour to enlarge their dominions towards the south, by subjecting Egypt and Arabia; but that they shall not invade the nations of the East.<sup>2</sup>

The monarchy of the Greeks is afterwards exhibited to Daniel, under the symbol of a he-goat, of prodigious size; he perceives that the Macedonian army will march from the west, in order to invade the empire of the Persians; that it will be headed by a warrior, famous for his power and glory; that it will take immense marches in quest of the enemy, even into the very heart of his dominions; that it shall advance towards this enemy with such rapidity, that it will seem only to skim the ground; that it will give this empire its mortal wound; entirely subvert it by repeated victories, and destroy the double power of the Persians and Medes; during which, not one monarch, whether its ally or neighbour, shall give it the least succour.

But as soon as this monarchy shall have risen to its greatest height, Alexander, who formed its greatest strength, shall be snatched from it; and thence there will rise, towards the four parts of the world, four Grecian monarchies, which, though vastly inferior to that of Alexander, will, however, be very considerable.

Can any thing be more wonderful, more divine, than a series of prophecies, all of them so clear, so exact, and so circumstantial; prophecies which go so far as to point out, that a prince should die without leaving a single successor from among his own family, and that four of his generals will divide his empire between them? But we must peruse these prophecies in the Scriptures themselves. The Vulgate agrees, a few places excepted, pretty nearly with the Hebrew, which I shall translate<sup>3</sup> agreeable to the original text.

“In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, even unto me, Daniel, after that which appeared

<sup>1</sup> Dan. xi. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> We have not followed Mr. Rollin's translation here, believing it more proper to make use of our own version of the Bible.

unto me at the first. And I saw in a vision, and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold, there stood before the river A RAM, which had two horns, and the two horns were high: But one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward: So that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great. And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and from it came out four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.”<sup>1</sup>

A great number of very important reflections might be made on the prophecies I have now repeated: but these I shall leave to the reader's understanding and religion, and will make but one remark; on which, however, I shall not expatiate so much as the subject might deserve.

The Almighty presides in general over all events which happen in the world; and rules, with absolute sway, the fate of all men in particular, of all cities, and of all empires; but then he conceals the operations of his wisdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural causes and ordinary events. All that profane history exhibits to us, whether sieges, or the conquests of cities; battles won or lost; empires established or overthrown; in all these, there appears nothing but what is human and natural: God seems to have no concern in these things, and we should be tempted to believe that he abandons mankind entirely to their views, their talents, and their passions; with the exception of the Jewish nation, whom he considered as his own peculiar people.

To prevent our falling into a temptation so repugnant to religion and even reason itself, God breaks at every interval his silence, and disperses the clouds which hide him, and condescends to discover to us the secret springs of his providence, by causing his prophets to foretell, a long series of years before the event, the fate he has prepared for the different nations of the earth. He reveals to Daniel the order, the succession, and the different characteristics of the four great empires, to which he is determined to subject all the nations of the universe, viz. that of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes, of the Greeks; and, lastly, that of the Romans.

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<sup>1</sup> Dan. viii. 1, 2.

It is in the same view that he insists, very strongly, on the two most famous conquerors that ever existed; I mean, Cyrus, and Alexander, the one founder, the other destroyer, of the powerful empire of Persia. He causes the former to be called by his name, two hundred years before his birth; prophecies, by the mouth of Isaiah, his victories; and relates the several circumstances of the taking of Babylon, the like of which had never been seen before. On this occasion he points out Alexander by the mouth of Daniel, and ascribes such qualities and characteristics as can agree with none but him, and which denote him as if he had been named.

These passages of Scripture, in which God explains himself clearly, should be considered as very precious; and serve as so many keys to open to us the path to the secret methods by which he governs the world. These faint glimmerings of light should enable a rational and religious man to see every thing else clearly; and make him conclude, from what is said of the four great empires of Cyrus and Alexander, of Babylon and Tyre, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the several events of profane history, God's perpetual care and regard for all men and all states, whose destiny depends entirely on his wisdom, his power, and his pleasure.

We may easily figure to ourselves the great joy and admiration with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing such clear, such circumstantial, and advantageous promises. Before he left Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and bid them ask any favour whatever. They answered, that their request was, to be allowed to live according to the laws which their ancestors had left them, and to be exempted, the seventh year, from their usual tribute; and, for this reason, because they were forbid by their laws to sow their fields, and consequently could have no harvest. Alexander granted their request, and upon the high-priest's beseeching him to suffer the Jews, who lived in Babylonia and Media, to live likewise agreeable to their own laws, he also indulged them in this particular with the utmost humanity; and said farther, that in case any of them would be willing to serve under his standards, he would give them leave to follow their own way of worship, and to observe their respective customs: upon which offer great numbers enlisted themselves.

He was scarcely come from Jerusalem, when the Samaritans waited upon him with great pomp and ceremony, humbly entreating him to do them the honour to visit their temple. As these had submitted voluntarily to Alexander, and sent him succours, they imagined that they deserved his favour much more than the Jews; and flattered themselves that they should obtain the same, and even much greater indulgence. It was in this view they made the pompous procession above mentioned, in order to invite Alexander to their city; and the eight thousand men they had sent to serve under him, joined in the request made by their countrymen. Alexander thanked them courteously; but said that he was obliged to march into Egypt, and therefore had no time to lose; however, that he would visit their city at his return, in case he had opportunity. They then besought him to exempt them from paying a tribute every seventh year; upon

which Alexander asked them, whether they were Jews? They made an ambiguous answer, which the king not having time to examine, he also suspended this matter till his return, and immediately continued his march towards Gaza.

Upon his arrival before that city, he found it provided with a strong garrison, commanded by Betis, one of the eunuchs of Darius. This governor, who was a brave man, and very faithful to his sovereign, defended it with great vigour against Alexander. As this was the only inlet or pass into Egypt, it was absolutely necessary for him to conquer it, and therefore he was obliged to besiege it. But although every art of war was employed, and notwithstanding his soldiers fought with the utmost intrepidity, he was, however, forced to lie two months before it. Exasperated at its holding out so long, and his receiving two wounds, he was resolved to treat the governor, the inhabitants, and soldiers, with a barbarity absolutely inexcusable; for he cut ten thousand men to pieces, and sold all the rest, with their wives and children, for slaves. When Betis, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, Alexander, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly merited, and who otherwise esteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on this occasion with an insolent joy, spoke thus to him: "Betis, thou shalt not die the death thou desiredst. Prepare therefore to suffer all those torments which revenge can invent." Betis, looking upon the king, not only with a firm, but a haughty air, did not make the least reply to his menaces; upon which the king, more enraged than before at his disdainful silence, "Observe," said he, "I beseech you, that dumb arrogance. Has he bended the knee? Has he spoken even so much as one submissive word? But I will conquer this obstinate silence, and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing else." At last Alexander's anger arose to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortune:<sup>1</sup> upon which he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered his soldiers to drag Betis round the city till he died. He boasted his having imitated, on this occasion, Achilles, from whom he was descended; who, as Homer relates, caused the dead body of Hector to be dragged in the same manner round the walls of Troy: as if a man ought ever to pride himself for having imitated so ill an example.<sup>2</sup> Both were very barbarous, but Alexander was much more so, in causing Betis to be dragged alive; and for no other reason, than because he had served his sovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had intrusted him; a fidelity that ought to have been admired, and even rewarded, by an enemy, rather than punished in so cruel a manner.<sup>3</sup>

He sent the greatest part of the plunder he found in Gaza to Olympias, to Cleopatra his sister, and to his friends. He also pre-

<sup>1</sup> *Iram deinde vertit in radieum, jam tum peregrinos ritus nova subeunte fortuna.*—Q. Curt.

<sup>2</sup> *Decepit exemplar vitii imitabile.*—Horat.

<sup>3</sup> *Diod. l. xvii. p. 526. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101—103. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 6. Plut. in Alex. p. 679.*

sented Leonidas, his preceptor, with five hundred quintals, or one hundred-weight of frankincense, and one hundred quintals of myrrh; calling to mind a caution Leonidas had given him when but a child, and which seemed, even at that time, to presage the conquests this monarch had lately achieved. For Leonidas, observing Alexander take up whole handfuls of incense at a sacrifice, and throw it into the fire, said to him, "Alexander, when you shall have conquered the country which produces these spices, you then may be as profuse of incense as you please; but, till that day comes, be sparing of what you have." The monarch, therefore, wrote to Leonidas as follows: "I send you a large quantity of incense and myrrh, in order that you may no longer be so reserved and sparing in your sacrifices to the gods."

As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In seven days march he arrived before Pelusium, where a great number of Egyptians had assembled, with all imaginable diligence, to acknowledge him for their sovereign.<sup>1</sup>

The hatred these people bore to the Persians was so great, that they valued very little who should be their king, provided they could but meet with a hero to rescue them from the insolence and indignity with which themselves, and those who professed their religion, were treated. For, however false a religion may be, and it is scarcely possible to imagine one more absurd than that of the Egyptians, so long as it continues to be the established religion, the people will not suffer it to be insulted; nothing affecting their minds so strongly, nor firing them to a greater degree. Ochus had caused their god Apis to be murdered in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the Persians to whom he had left the government, continued to make the same mock of that deity. Thus several circumstances had rendered the Persians so odious, that, on the arrival of Amyntas a short time before with a handful of men, he found them prepared to join, and assist him in expelling the Persians.

This Amyntas had deserted from Alexander, and entered into the service of Darius. He had commanded the Grecian forces at the battle of Issus; and having fled into Syria, by the country lying towards Tripoli, with four thousand men, he had there seized upon as many vessels as he wanted, burned the rest, and immediately set sail towards the island of Cyprus, and afterwards towards Pelusium, which he took by surprise, upon feigning that he had been honoured with a commission from Darius, appointing him governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces, killed in the battle of Issus. As soon as he found himself possessed of this important city, he threw off the mask, and made public pretensions to the crown of Egypt; declaring, that the motive of his coming was to expel the Persians. Upon this, a multitude of Egyptians, who wished for nothing so earnestly as to free themselves from these insupportable tyrants, went over to him. He then marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom;

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331. Diod. l. xvii. p. 526—529. Arrian. l. iii. p. 104—110. Plut. in Alex. p. 679, 681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 7 and 8. Justin. l. xi. c. 11.



when, coming to a battle, he defeated the Persians, and shut them up in the city. But after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his soldiers together, they straggled up and down in search of plunder; which the enemy seeing, they sallied out upon such as remained, and cut them to pieces, with Amyntas their leader.

This event, so far from lessening the aversion the Egyptians had for the Persians, increased it still more; so that the moment Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, the people, who were all disposed to receive that monarch, ran in crowds to submit to him. His arrival, at the head of a powerful army, presented them with a secure protection, which Amyntas could not afford them; and from this consideration, they all declared openly in his favour. Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so triumphant an army, and that Darius, his sovereign, was not in a condition to succour him, therefore threw open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting the least opposition.

At Memphis he formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter Ammon. This temple was situated in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya, and twelve days journey from Memphis. Ham, the son of Noah, first peopled Egypt and Libya, after the flood; and, when idolatry began to gain ground in the world some time after, he was the chief deity of those two countries in which his descendants had continued. A temple was built to his honour in the midst of these deserts, upon a spot of pretty good ground, about two leagues broad, which formed a kind of island in a sea of sand.<sup>1</sup> It is he whom the Greeks call Ζεύς, Jupiter, and the Egyptians, Ammon:<sup>2</sup> in process of time these two names were joined, and he was called Jupiter-Ammon.

The motive of this journey, which was equally rash and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous vanity. Alexander, having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of their heroes were represented as the sons of some deity; and as he himself was desirous of passing for a hero, he was determined to have a god for his father. Accordingly he fixed upon Jupiter-Ammon for this purpose, and began by bribing the priests, and teaching them the part they were to act.

It would have been to no purpose, had any one endeavoured to divert him from a design, which was great in no other circumstances than the pride and extravagance that gave birth to it. Puffed up with his victories, he had already begun to assume, as Plutarch observes, that character of tenaciousness and inflexibility which will do nothing but command; which cannot suffer advice, and much less bear opposition; which knows neither obstacles nor dangers; which makes the beautiful to consist in impossibility; in a word, which fancies itself able to force, not only enemies, but fortresses, seasons, and

<sup>1</sup> Plin. lib. v. c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> For this reason the city of Egypt, which the Scriptures (Jerem. xlv. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15. Nahum, iii. 8.) call No-Ammon, the city of Ham or Ammon, is called by the Greeks *Ἀμμόνια*, or the city of Jupiter.



the whole order of nature; the usual effect of a long series of prosperities, which subdues the strongest, and makes them at length forget that they are men. We ourselves have seen a famous conqueror,<sup>1</sup> who boasted his treading in the steps of Alexander, carry farther than he ever had this kind of savage heroism; and lay it down as a maxim to himself, never to recede from his resolution.

Alexander therefore set out; and going down the river from Memphis, till he came to the sea, he coasted it, and, after having passed Canopus, he observed, opposite to the island of Pharos, a spot he thought very well situated for the building of a city. He himself drew the plan of it, and marked out the several places where the temples and public squares were to be erected. For the building it, he employed Dinocrates the architect, who had acquired great reputation by his rebuilding, at Ephesus, the temple of Diana, which Herostratus had burnt. This city he called after his own name, and it afterwards rose to be the capital of the kingdom. As its harbour, which was very commodious, had the Mediterranean on one side, and the Nile and the Red Sea in its neighbourhood, it drew all the traffic of the east and west; and thereby became, in a very short time, one of the most flourishing cities in the world.<sup>2</sup>

Alexander had to go a journey of one thousand six hundred stadia, or eighty French leagues, to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon; the most of the way was through sandy deserts. The soldiers were patient enough for the first two days march, before they arrived in the vast dreadful solitudes; but as soon as they found themselves in immense plains, covered with sands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded as with the sea, they gazed round as far as their sight could extend, to discover, if possible, some place that was inhabited, but in vain, for they could not perceive so much as a single tree; nor the least appearance of any land that had been cultivated. To increase their calamity, the water they had brought in goat-skins, upon camels, now failed; and there was not so much as a single drop in all that sandy desert. They therefore were reduced to the sad condition of dying almost with thirst; not to mention the danger they were in of being buried under mountains of sand, that were sometimes raised by the winds; and which had formerly destroyed fifty thousand of the troops of Cambyzes. Every thing was by this time scorched to so violent a degree, and the air became so hot, that the men could scarcely breathe; when on a sudden, either by chance, say the historians, or the immediate indulgence of heaven, the sky was so completely overspread with thick clouds, that they hid the sun, which was a great relief to the army; though they were still in great want of water. But the storm having discharged itself in a violent rain, every soldier got as much as he wanted; and some had so violent a thirst, that they stood with their mouths open, and caught the rain as it fell. The judicious reader knows what judgment he is to form of these marvellous incidents with which historians have thought proper to embellish this relation.

<sup>1</sup> Charles XII. king of Sweden.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331

They were several days in crossing these deserts, and upon their arriving near the place where the oracle stood, they perceived a great number of ravens flying before the most advanced standard. These ravens sometimes flew to the ground, when the army marched slowly; and at other times advanced forward, to serve them as guides, till they at last came to the temple of the god. A vastly surprising circumstance is, that although this oracle be situated in the midst of an almost boundless solitude, it nevertheless is surrounded with a grove, so very shady, that the sunbeams can scarcely pierce it; not to mention that the grove or wood is watered with several springs of fresh water, which preserve it in perpetual verdure. It is related, that near this grove there is another, in the midst of which is a fountain, called the Water, or Fountain of the Sun. At daybreak it is lukewarm, at noon cold; but in the evening it grows warmer insensibly, and at midnight, boiling hot; after this, as day approaches, it decreases in heat, and continues this vicissitude for ever.

The god, who is worshipped in this temple, is not represented under the form which painters and sculptors generally give to gods; for he is made of emeralds, and other precious stones, and from the head to the navel,<sup>1</sup> resembles a ram. The king having entered into the temple, the senior priest declared him to be the son of Jupiter; and assured him, that the god himself bestowed this name upon him. Alexander accepted it with joy, and acknowledged Jupiter as his father. He afterwards asked the priest, whether his father Jupiter had not allotted him the empire of the whole world? To which the priest, who was as much a flatterer as the king was vain-glorious, answered, that he should be monarch of the universe. At last he inquired, whether all his father's murderers had been punished? but the priest replied, that he blasphemed; that his father was immortal, but with regard to the murderers of Philip, they had all been extirpated; adding that he should be invincible, and afterwards take his seat among the deities. Having ended his sacrifice, he offered magnificent presents to the god, and did not forget the priests, who had been so faithful to his interest.

Swelled with the splendid title of the son of Jupiter, and fancying himself raised above the human species, he returned from his journey as from a triumph. From that time, in all his letters, his orders, and decrees, he always wrote in the style following: ALEXANDER, KING, SON OF JUPITER-AMMON. In answer to which, Olympias, his mother, one day made a very witty remonstrance in a few words, by desiring him not to quarrel any longer with Juno.<sup>2</sup>

While Alexander prided himself in these chimeras, and tasted the great pleasure his vanity made him conceive from this pompous title, every one derided him in secret; and some, who had not yet put on the yoke of abject flattery, ventured to reproach him upon that account; but they paid very dear for that liberty, as the sequel will show. Not satisfied with endeavouring to pass for the son of a god,

<sup>1</sup> This passage in Quintus Curtius is very difficult, and is variously explained by interpreters.

<sup>2</sup> Varro apud Aul. Gel. l. xiii. c. 4.

and of being persuaded, in case this were possible, that he really was such, he himself would pass for a god; till at last Providence, having acted that part of which he was pleased to make him the instrument, brought him to his end, and thereby levelled him with the rest of mortals.

Alexander, upon his return from the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, being arrived at the Palus Mareotis, which was not far from the island of Pharos, made a visit to the new city, part of which was now built. He took the best methods possible to people it, inviting thither all sorts of persons, to whom he offered the most advantageous conditions. He drew to it, among others, a considerable number of Jews, by allowing them very great privileges; for he not only left them the free exercise of their religion and laws, but put them on the same footing in every respect with the Macedonians, whom he settled there.<sup>1</sup> From thence he went to Memphis, where he spent the winter.

Varro observes, that at the time this king built Alexandria, the use of papyrus, for writing, was found in Egypt; but this I shall mention elsewhere.

During Alexander's stay in Memphis, he settled the affairs of Egypt, suffering none but Macedonians to command the troops. He divided the country into districts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himself only; not thinking it safe to intrust the general command of all the troops to one single person, in so large and populous a country. With regard to the civil government, he invested one Doloaspes with the whole power of it; for, being desirous that Egypt should still be governed by its ancient laws and customs, he was of opinion that a native of Egypt, to whom they must be familiar, was fitter for that office than any foreigner whatever.

To hasten the building of this new city, he appointed Cleomenes inspector over it, with orders for him to levy the tribute which Arabia was to pay. But this Cleomenes was a very wicked wretch, who abused his authority, and oppressed the people with the utmost barbarity.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION VIII.—ALEXANDER RESOLVES TO GO IN PURSUIT OF DARIUS. THE FAMOUS BATTLE OF ARBELA.

ALEXANDER having settled the affairs of Egypt, set out from thence about spring-time, to march into the East against Darius. In his way through Palestine, he heard news which gave him great uneasiness. At his going into Egypt, he had appointed Andromachus, whom he highly esteemed, governor of Syria and Palestine. Andromachus coming to Samaria to settle some affairs in that country, the Samaritans mutinied, and setting fire to the house in which he was, burned him alive. It is very probable, that this was occasioned by the rage with which that people were fired, at their having been denied the same privileges that had been granted the Jews, their ene-

<sup>1</sup> Joseph. contra Appian.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian. l. iii. p. 108—110. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 8.

nies. Alexander was highly exasperated against them for this cruel action, and accordingly he put to death all those who had any hand in it, banished the rest from the city of Samaria, supplying their room with a colony of Macedonians, and divided the rest of their lands among the Jews.<sup>1</sup>

He made some stay in Tyre, to settle the various affairs of the countries he left behind him, and advanced towards new conquests.

He had scarcely set out, when a eunuch brought word, that the consort of Darius was dead in child-bed. Hearing this, he returned, and went into the tent of Sysigambis, whom he found bathed in tears, and lying on the ground, in the midst of the young princesses, who also were weeping; and near them the son of Darius, a child, who was the more worthy of compassion, as he was less sensible to evils which concerned him more than any other.<sup>2</sup> Alexander consoled them in so kind and tender a manner, as plainly showed that he himself was deeply and sincerely afflicted. He caused her funeral obsequies to be performed with the utmost splendour and magnificence. One of the eunuchs who superintended the chamber, and who had been taken with the princesses, fled from the camp, and ran to Darius, whom he informed of his consort's death. The Persian monarch was seized with the most violent affliction upon hearing this news; particularly as he supposed she would not be allowed the funeral ceremonies due to her exalted rank. But the eunuch deceived him on this occasion, by telling him the honours which Alexander had paid his queen after her death, and the civilities he had always shown her in her lifetime. Darius, upon hearing these words, was fired with suspicions of so horrid a kind, that they did not leave him a moment's quiet.<sup>3</sup>

Taking the eunuch aside, he spoke to him as follows: "If thou dost still acknowledge Darius for thy lord and sovereign, tell me, by the respect and veneration thou owest to that great splendour of Mithres,<sup>4</sup> which enlightens us, and to this hand which the king stretches out to thee; tell me, I say, whether, in bemoaning the death of Statira, I do not bewail the least of her evils; and whether, as she fell into the hands of a young monarch, she did not first lose her honour, and afterwards her life." The eunuch, throwing himself at the feet of Darius, besought him not to think so injuriously of Alexander's virtue; nor dishonour his wife and sister after her death; and not deprive himself of the greatest consolation he could possibly have in his misfortunes, viz. to be firmly persuaded, that the prince who had triumphed over him, was superior to the frailties of other men; that he ought rather to admire Alexander, as he had given the Persian ladies much stronger proofs of his virtue and continence, than he had given the Persians themselves of his valour. After this he

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xvii. p. 530—536. Arrian. l. iii. p. 111—127. Plut. in Alex. p. 681—685. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 9—16. Justin. l. ix. c. 12—14.

<sup>2</sup> Ob id ipsum miserabilis, quod nondum sentiebat calamitatem, maxima ex parte ad ipsum redundantum. Q. Curt.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

<sup>4</sup> The Persians worshipped the sun, under the name of Mithres, and the moon, under that of Mithra.

confirmed all he had before said, by the most dreadful oaths and imprecations; and then gave him a particular account of what public fame had related concerning the wisdom, temperance, and magnanimity of Alexander.

Darius returning into the hall where his courtiers were assembled, and lifting up his hands to heaven, broke into the following prayer: "Ye gods, who preside over the birth of men, and who dispose of kings and empires, grant that, after having raised the fortune of Persia from its dejected state, I may transmit it to my descendants with the same lustre in which I received it; in order that, after having triumphed over my enemies, I may acknowledge the favours which Alexander has shown in my calamity to persons who, of all others, are most dear to me: or, in case the time ordained by the fates is at last come, or that it must necessarily happen, from the anger of the gods, or the ordinary vicissitudes of human affairs, that the empire of Persia must end; grant, great gods, that none but Alexander may ascend the throne of Cyrus."

In the mean time, Alexander having set out upon his march, arrived with his whole army at Thapsacus, where he passed a bridge that lay across the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tigris, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice, but finding at last that there were no hopes of their concluding one, unless he resigned the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himself again for battle. For this purpose, he assembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that of Issus, and marched it towards Nineveh: his forces covered all the plains of Mesopotamia. Advice being brought, that the enemy was not far off, he caused Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thousand chosen horse; and likewise gave six thousand to Mazæus, governor of the province; all of whom were to prevent Alexander from crossing the river, and to lay waste the country through which that monarch was to pass; but he arrived too late.

Of all the rivers of the east, this is the most rapid; and not only a great number of rivulets mingle in its waves, but those also drag along great stones; so that it is named Tigris, by reason of its prodigious rapidity, an arrow being so called in the Persian tongue. Alexander sounded those parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water, at the entrance, came up to the horses' bellies, and in the middle to their breasts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half-moon, and posted his cavalry on the two wings, they advanced to the current of the water with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and was the first who appeared on the opposite shore, where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the soldiers; it not being possible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greatest difficulty they kept themselves above water, because of the slipperiness of the stones, and the impetuosity of the stream. Such soldiers as not only carried their arms, but their clothes also, were much more fatigued; for these being unable to go forward, were



carried into whirlpools, unless they threw away their burdens. At the same time, the great number of clothes, floating up and down, beat away the burdens of several; and as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpose that the king commanded them, with a loud voice, to save nothing but their arms; and assured them, that he himself would compensate their other losses; for not one of them would listen to his admonitions or orders, so great was the noise and tumult. At last, they all passed over that part of the ford where the water was most shallow, and the stream less impetuous, recovering, however, but a small part of their baggage.

It is certain, that this army might easily have been cut to pieces, had they been opposed by a general who dared to conquer; that is, who made ever so little opposition to their passage. But Mazæus, who might easily have defeated them, had he come up when they were crossing the river in disorder and confusion, did not arrive till they were forming in order of battle. A like good fortune had always attended this prince hitherto, both when he passed the Granicus in sight of so prodigious a multitude of horse and foot, who waited his coming on shore; and also in the rocks of Cilicia, when he found the passes and straits quite open and defenceless, where a small number of troops might have checked his progress. This circumstance may lessen our surprise at that excess of boldness, which was his peculiar characteristic, and which perpetually prompted him to attempt blindly the greatest dangers; since, as he was always fortunate, he never once had room to suspect himself guilty of rashness.<sup>1</sup>

The king having encamped two days near the river, commanded his soldiers to be ready for marching the next day; but about nine or ten in the evening, the moon first lost its clearness, and appeared afterwards quite darkened, and, as it were, tintured with blood. Now, as this happened just before a great battle was to be fought, the doubtful success of which filled the army with great disquietude, they were first struck with a religious awe, and being afterwards seized with fear, they cried out, "that heaven displayed the marks of its anger; and that they were dragged, against the will of it, to the extremities of the earth; that rivers opposed their passage; that the stars refused to lend their usual light; and that they could now see nothing but deserts and solitudes; that, merely to satisfy the ambition of one man, so many thousands shed their blood; and that for a man who contemned his own country, disowned his father, and pretended to pass for a god."

These murmurs were rising to an open insurrection, when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, summoned the officers of the army into his tent, and commanded such of the Egyptian soothsayers as were best skilled in the knowledge of the stars, to declare what they thought of this phenomenon. These knew very well the natural causes of eclipses of the moon; but, without entering into physical inquiries, they contented themselves with saying, that the sun was on

<sup>1</sup> Audacis quoque, qua maxime viguit, ratio minui potest; quia nunquam in discrimen venit, an temere fecisset.—Q. Curt.



the side of the Greeks, and the moon on that of the Persians; and that, whenever it suffered an eclipse, it always threatened the latter with some grievous calamity, at the same time mentioning several examples, all which they gave as true and indisputable. Superstition has a surprising ascendant over the minds of the vulgar. However headstrong and inconstant they may be, yet if they are once struck with a vain image of religion, they will sooner obey soothsayers than their leaders. The answer made by the Egyptians, being dispersed among the soldiers, revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purposely to take advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tigris, and on his left the mountains called Gordyæi. At daybreak the scouts, whom he had sent to reconnoitre the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him; upon which he immediately drew up his forces in order of battle, and set himself at their head. It was, however, afterwards found, that it was only a detachment of one thousand horse reconnoitring, and which soon retired to the main army. But, at the same time, news was brought to the king, that Darius was now only one hundred and fifty stadia from the place where they then were.

Not long before this, some letters had been intercepted, by which Darius solicited the Grecian soldiers either to kill or betray Alexander. Nothing can reflect so great an odium on the memory of this prince, as an attempt of that kind; an attempt so abject and black, and more than once repeated. Alexander was in no doubt with himself, whether it would be proper for him to read these letters in a full assembly, relying as much on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians. But Parmenio dissuaded him from it; declaring, that it would be dangerous even to awake such thoughts in the minds of soldiers; that one only was sufficient to strike the blow; and that avarice was capable of attempting the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent counsel, and ordered his army to march forward.

Although Darius had twice sued in vain for peace, and imagined he had nothing to trust to but his arms; yet, being overcome by the advantageous circumstances which had been told him concerning Alexander's tenderness and humility towards his family, he despatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him new conditions of peace, more advantageous than the former; and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family. Darius had, in the former proposals, given him up all the provinces as far as the river Halys; but now he added the several territories situated between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, that is, all he already possessed. Alexander made the following answer: "Tell your sovereign, that thanks, between persons who make war with each other, are superfluous; and that, in case I have behaved with clemency towards his family, it was for my own sake, and not for his; in consequence of my own inclination, and not to please him. To insult the unhappy, is a thing to me unknown. I do not attack either prisoners or women, and turn my rage against such only as are armed for the fight. Did Darius sue

for peace in a sincere view, I then would debate on what is to be done; but since he still continues, by letters and by money, to spirit up my soldiers to betray me, and my friends to murder me, I therefore am determined to pursue him with the utmost vigour; and that not as an enemy, but a prisoner and an assassin. It indeed becomes him, to offer to yield up to me what I am already possessed of! Would he be satisfied with ranking himself as second to me, without pretending to be my equal, I might possibly then hear him. Tell him, that the world will not permit two suns, nor two sovereigns. Let him therefore choose, either to surrender to-day, or fight me to-morrow, and not flatter himself with the hopes of obtaining better success than he has hitherto had." The proposals of Darius were certainly not reasonable; but is Alexander's answer any more so? In the former, we behold a prince who is not yet sensible of his own weakness, or, at least, who cannot prevail with himself to own it; and in the latter, we see a monarch quite intoxicated with his good fortune, and carrying his pride to such an excess of folly, as is not to be paralleled: "the world will not permit two suns, nor two sovereigns." If this be greatness, and not pride, I do not know what can ever deserve the latter name. The ambassadors having obtained leave to depart, returned back, and told Darius, that he must now prepare for battle. The latter pitched his camp near a village called Gaugamela, and the river Bumela, in a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela. He had before levelled the spot which he pitched upon for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have full room to move in; recollecting, that his fighting in the straits of Cilicia had lost him the battle fought there. At the same time, he had prepared crows-feet<sup>1</sup> to annoy the enemy's horse.

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and surrounded his camp with trenches and palisades; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the useless soldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he set out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's whole army, he halted; and, having assembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the same order in which it had marched; during which Alexander, at the head of his infantry, lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

On his return, he assembled his general officers a second time, and

<sup>1</sup> Crows-feet are instruments composed of iron spikes. Several of these are laid in the fields through which the cavalry is to march, in order that they may run into the horses' feet.

told them, that there was no occasion for his making a speech, because their courage and great actions were alone sufficient to excite them to glory: that he desired them only to represent to the soldiers, that they were not to fight, on this occasion, for Phœnicia or Egypt, but for all Asia, which would be possessed by him who should conquer; and that, after having gone through so many provinces, and left behind them so great a number of rivers and mountains, they could secure their retreat no otherwise than by gaining a complete victory. After this speech, he ordered them to take some repose.

It is said that Parmenio advised him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alleging that they might easily be defeated, if fallen upon by surprise, and in the dark; but the king answered, so loud that all present might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad daylight. This was a haughty, but, at the same time, a prudent answer; for it was running great hazard, to fall upon so numerous an army in the night-time, and in an unknown country. Darius, fearing he should be attacked unawares, because he had not intrenched himself, obliged his soldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the highest prejudice to him in the engagement.

Alexander, who, in the crisis of affairs, used always to consult soothsayers, observing very exactly whatever they enjoined, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, finding himself upon the point of fighting a battle, the success of which was to give empire to the conqueror, sent for Aristander, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. He then shut himself up with the soothsayer, to make some secret sacrifices; and afterwards offered up victims to Fear,<sup>1</sup> which he doubtless did to prevent his army from being seized with dread at the sight of the formidable army of Darius. The soothsayer, dressed in his vestments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, first repeated the prayers which the king was to address to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole being ended, Alexander went to bed, to repose himself the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without some emotion, the consequence of the battle which was upon the point of being fought, he could not sleep immediately. But his body being oppressed, in a manner, by the anxiety of his mind, he afterwards slept soundly the whole night, contrary to his usual custom, so that when his generals were assembled, at day-break, before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly surprised to find he was not awake; upon which they themselves commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment. Parmenio having at last awakened him, and seeming surprised to find him in so calm and sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at stake: "How could it be possible," said Alexander, "for us not to be calm, since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into our hands?" Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horse, and rode up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if possible, to surpass their ancient fame, and

<sup>1</sup> We must read in Plutarch, *ἄβρα*, instead of *ἄβρα*.

the glory they had hitherto acquired. Soldiers, on the day of battle, imagine they see the fate of the engagement painted in the face of their general. As for Alexander, he had never appeared so calm, so gay, nor so resolute. The serenity and security which they observed in him, were in a manner, so many assurances of the victory.

There was a great difference between the two armies with respect to numbers, but much more so with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted of at least six hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse,<sup>1</sup> and the other of no more than forty thousand foot, and seven or eight thousand horse: but the latter was all fire and strength; whereas, on the side of the Persians, it was a prodigious assemblage of men, not of soldiers; an empty phantom rather than a real army.<sup>2</sup>

Both sides were disposed in very nearly the same array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the centre; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that composed them; and commanded, in general, by the principal crown-officers. The front of the battle, under Darius, was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and with fifteen elephants; that king taking his post in the centre of the first line. Besides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he also had fortified himself with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his person; believing this body only capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a much greater space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround and to charge them at one and the same time, both in front and in flank.

But Alexander had guarded against this, by giving orders to the commanders of the second line, that in case they should be charged behind, to face about to that side; or else to draw up their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover the wings, in case the enemy should charge them in flank. He had posted, in the front of his first line, the greatest part of his bowmen, slingers, and those armed with javelins, in order that these might make head against the chariots armed with scythes; and frighten the horses, by discharging at them a shower of arrows, javelins, and stones. Those who led on the wings, were ordered to extend them as wide as possible; but in such a manner as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the captives, among whom were the mother and children of Darius, they were left in the camp under a small guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right.

When the two armies came in view, Alexander, who had been shown the several places where the crows-feet were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them; and the Persians advanced forward in proportion. Darius being afraid lest the Macedonians should draw him from the spot of ground he had levelled,

<sup>1</sup> According to several historians, it amounted to upwards of a million of men.

<sup>2</sup> *Nomina verius quam auxilia.*—Q. Curt.

and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which spread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops farther. Alexander then despatched against them the body of horse in his service commanded by Menidas; but, as these were not able to make head against the enemy, because of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæonians, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry.<sup>1</sup> Besides the advantage of numbers, they had that also of their coats of mail, which secured themselves and their horses much more. Alexander's cavalry was prodigiously annoyed. They, however, marched to the charge with great bravery, and at last put the enemy to flight.

Upon this, the Persians opposed the chariots armed with scythes to the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little success. The noise which the soldiers, who were lightly armed, made by striking their swords against their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all sides, frightened the horses, and made a great number of them turn back upon their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horses' bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander, seeing Darius set his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advanced among the combatants as he had been instructed by the king, and, crying that he saw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head, a sure omen of victory, he showed, with his finger, the pretended bird to the soldiers; who, relying upon the sincerity of the soothsayer, fancied they also saw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater cheerfulness and ardour than ever. Then the king perceiving that Aretas, after having charged the cavalry, and thrown them into disorder, upon their advancing to surround his right wing, had begun to break the foremost ranks of the main body of the barbarian army, marched after Aretas, with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing, which had already begun to give way; and without pursuing the forces which he had thrown into disorder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had posted himself. The presence of the two kings inspired both sides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horseback; both surrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers, whose only endeavour was to save the lives of their respective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius' equerry with a javelin, the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed;

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<sup>1</sup> Some relate, that the barbarians gave way at first, but soon returned to the charge.



upon which the former breaking aloud into the most dismal sounds, the whole army were seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and so abandoned the chariot; but those who were at his right, took him into the centre of their body. Historians relate, that this prince, having drawn his scimitar, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than fly in an ignominious manner; but perceiving from his chariot that his soldiers still fought, he was ashamed to forsake them; and, as he was divided between hope and despair, the Persians retired insensibly, and thinned their ranks; when it could no longer be called a battle, but a slaughter. At length Darius, turning about his chariot, fled with the rest; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in pursuing him.

While all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful, the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Persian, Indian, and Parthian horse, which were the best in all the Persian army, having broken through the infantry on the left, advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives saw them arrive in the camp, they armed themselves with every thing that came first to hand, and, reinforcing their cavalry, rushed upon the Macedonians, who were now charged both before and behind. They, at the same time, told Sysigambis that Darius had won the battle, for this they believed; that the whole baggage was plundered, and that she was now going to recover her liberty. But this princess, who was a woman of great wisdom, though this news affected her in the strongest manner, could not easily give credit to it; and being unwilling to exasperate, by too hasty a joy, a conqueror who had treated her with so much humanity, she did not discover the least emotion; did not once change countenance, nor utter a single word; but in her usual posture, calmly waited till the event should announce her fate.

Parmenio, upon the first report of this attack, had despatched a messenger to Alexander, to acquaint him with the danger to which the camp was exposed, and to receive his orders. "Above all things," said the prince, "let him not weaken his main body; let him not mind the baggage, but apply himself wholly to the engagement; for victory will not only restore us our own possessions, but also give those of the enemy into our hands." The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the centre of the second line, seeing the enemy about to make themselves masters of the camp and baggage, made a half-wheel to the right, in obedience to the orders which had been given, and fell upon the Persians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the rest obliged to retire; but as these were horse, the Macedonian foot could not follow them.

Soon after, Parmenio himself was exposed to much greater peril. Mazæus, having rushed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank, and began to surround them. Immediately Parmenio sent Alexander advice of the danger he was in; declaring, that in case he were not immediately succoured, it would be impossible for him to keep his soldiers together. The prince was actually pur



suing Darius, and, fancying he was almost come up with him, rode with the utmost speed. He flattered himself, that he should absolutely put an end to the war, in case he could but seize his person. But upon this news, he turned about, in order to succour his left wing; shuddering with rage, to see his prey and victory torn in this manner from him, and complaining against fortune, for having favoured Darius more in his flight, than himself in the pursuit of that monarch.

Alexander, in his march, met the enemy's horse who had plundered the baggage; all which were returning in good order, and retiring back, not as soldiers who had been defeated, but almost as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle became more obstinate than before; for the barbarians marching in close columns, not in order of battle, but that of a march, it was very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuse themselves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling about, according to their usual custom; but man engaging against man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorse his enemy. Alexander lost sixty of his guards in this attack. Hephæstion, Coenus, and Menidas, were wounded in it; he, however, triumphed on this occasion, and all the barbarians were cut to pieces, except such as forced their way through his squadrons.

During this, news had been brought Mazæus that Darius was defeated: upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill success of that monarch, though the advantage was entirely on his side, he ceased to charge the enemy, who were now in disorder, as vigorously as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to pass, that the battle, which before was carried on so warmly, should slacken on a sudden: however, like an able commander, who seizes every advantage, and who employs his utmost endeavours to inspire his soldiers with fresh vigour, he observed to them, that the terror which spread throughout the whole army, was the forerunner of their defeat; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the last hand to the victory. Upon his exhortations, they recovered their former hopes and bravery; when, transformed into other men, they gave their horses the rein, and charged the enemy with so much fury as threw them into the greatest disorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up that instant; and, overjoyed to find the scale turned in his favour, and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed, in concert with Parmenio, the pursuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela, where he fancied he should come up with that monarch and all his baggage; but Darius had only just passed by it, and left his treasure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and shield.

Such was the event of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Persians lost three hundred thousand men, besides those who were taken prisoners; which, at least, is a proof that the loss was very great on their side. That of Alexander was very inconsiderable, he not losing, according to the last mentioned author, twelve hundred men, most of whom were cavalry. This engagement was fought in the month of October, about two

<sup>1</sup> This month, called by the Greeks, Boedromion, answers partly to our month of October.

years after the battle of Issus was fought.<sup>1</sup> As Gaugamela, in Assyria, the spot where the two armies engaged, was a small place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being nearest to the field of battle.

SECTION IX.—ALEXANDER TAKES ARBELA, BABYLON, SUSAN, PERSEPOLIS, AND FINDS IMMENSE RICHES IN THOSE CITIES.

ALEXANDER'S first care, after obtaining the victory, was to offer magnificent sacrifices to the gods, by way of thanksgiving. He afterwards rewarded such as had signalized themselves remarkably in battle; bestowed riches upon them with a very liberal hand, and gave to each of them houses, employments, and governments. But, being desirous of expressing more particularly his gratitude to the Greeks, for having appointed him generalissimo against the Persians, he gave orders for abolishing the several tyrannical institutions that had started up in Greece; that the cities should be restored to their liberties, and all their rights and privileges. He wrote particularly to the Platæans, declaring that it was his desire their city should be rebuilt, to reward the zeal and bravery by which their ancestors had distinguished themselves, in defending the common liberties of Greece.<sup>2</sup> He also sent part of the spoils to the people of Crotona in Italy, to honour, though so many years after, the good will and courage of Phayllus the champion, a native of their country, who while war was carrying on between the Medes, and when all the rest of the Greeks that were settled in Italy had abandoned the true Grecians, imagining they were entirely undone, had fitted out a galley at his own expense, and sailed to Salamin, to participate in the danger to which his countrymen were at that time exposed. So great a friend and encourager, says Plutarch, was Alexander, of every kind of virtue; considering himself, says the same author, obliged in a manner to perpetuate the remembrance of all great actions; to give immortality to merit, and propose them to posterity as so many models for their imitation.<sup>3</sup>

Darius, after his defeat, having but very few attendants, had rode towards the river Lycus. After crossing it, several advised him to break down the bridges, because the enemy pursued him. But he made this generous answer, "That life was not so dear to him, as to make him desire to preserve it by the destruction of so many thousands of his subjects and faithful allies, who by that means would be delivered up to the mercy of the enemy; that they had as much right to pass over this bridge as their sovereign, and consequently that it ought to be as open to them."<sup>4</sup> After riding a great many leagues full speed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by a great number of the nobility, and a few of his guards. The reason of his

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. xvii. p. 538—540. Arrian, l. iii. p. 127—133. Plut. in Alex. p. 685—688. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1—7. Justin. l. ix. c. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus relates this history in very few words, l. viii. c. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Non ita se salutis sue velle consultum, ut tot millia sociorum hosti obiciat; debere et aliis fugæ viam patere, quæ patuerit, sibi.—Justin.

going that way was, his supposing that Alexander would proceed towards Babylon and Susa, there to enjoy the fruits of his victory ; besides, a numerous army could not pursue him by this road ; whereas, in the other, horses and chariots might advance with great ease ; not to mention that the soil was very fruitful.

A few days after, Arbela surrendered to Alexander, who found in it a great quantity of furniture belonging to the crown, rich clothes, and other precious moveables, with four thousand talents, and all the riches of the army, which Darius had left there at his setting out against Alexander, as was before observed. But he was soon obliged to leave that place, because of the diseases that spread in his camp, occasioned by the infection of the dead bodies which covered all the field of battle. This prince advanced, therefore, over the plains towards Babylon, and, after four days march, arrived at Memnis, where, in a cave, is seen the celebrated fountain which throws out so great a quantity of bitumen, that, we are told, it was used as cement in building the walls of Babylon.

But what Alexander admired most, was a great gulf, whence streamed perpetually rivulets of fire, as from an inexhaustible spring ; and a flood of naphtha, which overflowing, from the prodigious quantities of it, formed a great lake pretty near the gulf. This naphtha is exactly like bitumen, having one additional quality, viz., its catching fire so very suddenly, that, before it touches a flame, it kindles merely from the light that surrounds the flame, and sets the air between both on fire. The barbarians being desirous of showing the king the strength and subtilty of this combustible substance, scattered several drops of it, after his arrival in Babylon, through the street which led to the house he had chosen for his residence. After this, going to the other end of the street, they brought torches near the places where those drops were placed, for it was night ; and the drops which were nighest the torches taking fire on a sudden, the flame ran in an instant to the other end ; by which means the whole street seemed in one general conflagration.

When Alexander came near Babylon, Mazæus, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, surrendered himself, with his children, who were grown up, and gave the city into his hands. The king was highly pleased with his arrival ; for he would have met with great difficulties, in besieging a city of such importance and so well provided with every thing. Besides his being a person of great quality, and very brave, he had also acquired great honour in the last battle ; and others might have been prompted, from the example he set them, to imitate him. Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithstanding the greater part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient desire they had to see their new sovereign, whose renown had far outstripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortress, and guardian of the treasure, unwilling to discover less zeal than Mazæus, strewed the streets with flowers, and raised on both sides of the way silver altars, which smoked not only with frankincense, but the most fragrant perfumes of every

kind. Last of all, came the presents which were to be made the king, viz., herds of cattle, and a great number of horses; as also lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After these walked the magi, singing hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babylonian soothsayers and musicians. It was customary for the latter to sing the praises of their king, accompanied with their instruments; and for the Chaldeans to observe the motions of the planets, and the vicissitudes of the seasons. The rear was brought up by the Babylonian cavalry, which, both men and horses, were so sumptuously decorated, that imagination can scarcely reach their magnificence. The king caused the people to walk after his infantry, and himself, surrounded with his guards, and seated on a chariot, entered the city; and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all the money and moveables of Darius. Of the moneys he found in Babylon, he gave, by way of extraordinary recompense, to each Macedonian horseman, six minæ; to each mercenary horseman, two minæ; to every Macedonian foot soldier, two minæ; and to every one of the rest, two months of their ordinary pay. He gave orders, pursuant to the advice of the magi, with whom he had several conferences, for the rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demolished; and, among others, that of Belus, who was in greater veneration at Babylon than any other deity. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

Alexander, in the midst of the hurry and tumult of war, still preserved a love for the sciences. He used often to converse with the Chaldeans, who had always applied themselves to the study of astronomy from its origin, and gained great fame by their knowledge in it. They presented him with astronomical observations taken by their predecessors during the space of one thousand nine hundred and three years, which consequently went as far back as the age of Nimrod. These were sent by Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Aristotle.<sup>1</sup>

The king resided longer in Babylon, than he had done in any other city, which was of great prejudice to the discipline of his forces. The people, even from a religious motive, abandoned themselves to pleasures, to voluptuousness, and the most infamous excesses: nor did ladies, though of the highest quality, observe any decorum, or show the least reserve in their immoral actions, but gloried therein, so far from endeavouring to conceal them, or blushing at their enormity. It must be confessed, that this army of soldiers, which had triumphed over Asia, after having thus enervated themselves, and rioted, as it were, in the sloth and luxury of the city of Babylon, for thirty-four days together, would have been scarcely able to complete their exploits, had they been opposed by an enemy. But as they were reinforced from time to time, these irregularities were not so visible; for Amyntas brought six thousand foot, and five hundred Macedonian horse, which were sent by Antipater; and six hundred Thracian

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<sup>1</sup> Porphyry, apud Simplic. in Lib. ii. de Cœlo.

horses, with three thousand five hundred foot of the same nation ; besides four thousand mercenaries from Peloponnesus, with nearly four hundred horses.

The above-mentioned Amyntas had also brought the king fifty Macedonian youths, sons to noblemen of the highest quality in the country, to serve as his guards. The youths in question waited upon him at table, brought him his horses when in the field, attended upon him in parties of hunting, and mounted guard at the door of his apartment by turns ; which were the first steps to the highest employments both in the army and state.

After Alexander left Babylon, he entered the province of Sitacena, the soil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every thing valuable, which made him continue the longer in it. But, lest indolence should enervate the courage of his soldiers, he proposed prizes for such of them as should exert the greatest bravery ; and appointed, as judges of the actions of those who should dispute this honour, persons, who themselves had been eye-witnesses of the proofs of bravery which each soldier had given in the former battles ; for on these only the prizes were to be bestowed. To each of the eight men who were pronounced most valiant, he gave a regiment, consisting of a thousand men ; whence those officers were called chiliarchi. This was the first time that regiments were composed of so great a number of soldiers, consisting before but of five hundred, and they had not yet been the reward of valour. The soldiers ran in crowds to view this illustrious sight, not only as eye-witnesses of the actions of all, but as judges over the judges themselves ; because they might perceive, very easily, whether rewards were bestowed on merit, or merely by favour ; a circumstance in which soldiers can never be imposed upon. The prizes seem to have been distributed with the utmost equity and justice.

He likewise made several very advantageous changes in military discipline, as established by his predecessors ; for he formed one single body of his whole cavalry, without showing any regard to the difference of nations, and appointed such officers to command them, as they themselves thought fit to nominate ; whereas before, the horsemen of every nation used to fight under their own particular standard, and were commanded by a colonel of that country. The trumpet's sound used to be the signal for the march ; but as it very frequently could not be well heard, because of the great noise that is made in decamping, he gave orders that a standard should be set up over his tent, which might be seen by his whole army. He also appointed fire to be the signal in the night-time, and smoke in the day.

Alexander marched afterwards towards Susa, where he arrived twenty days after leaving Babylon. As he came near it, Abutites, governor of the province, sent his son to meet him, with a promise to surrender the city into his hands ; whether he was prompted to this from his own inclination, or did it in obedience to the orders of Darius, to amuse Alexander with the hopes of plunder, the king gave this young nobleman a very gracious reception, who attended him as far as the river Choaspes, the waters of which are so famous, upon



account of their exquisite taste. The kings of Persia never drank of any other; and wherever they went, a quantity of it, after having been put over the fire, was always carried after them in silver vases.<sup>1</sup> It was here Abutites came to wait upon him, bringing presents worthy of a king; among which were dromedaries of incredible swiftness, and twelve elephants, which Darius had sent for from India. Having arrived in the city, he took immense sums out of the treasury, with fifty thousand talents of silver in ore and ingots, besides moveables, and a thousand other things of infinite value. This wealth was the produce of the exactions imposed for several centuries upon the common people, from whose sweat and poverty immense revenues were raised. The Persian monarchs fancied they had amassed them for their children and posterity; but, in one hour, they fell into the hands of a foreign king, who was able to make a right use of them; for Alexander seemed to be merely the guardian or trustee of the immense riches which he found hoarded up in Persia, and applied them to no other use, than the rewarding of merit and courage.

Among other things, there was found five thousand quintals<sup>2</sup> of Hermione<sup>3</sup> purple, the finest in the world, which had been treasuring up there during the space of one hundred and ninety years; notwithstanding which, its beauty and lustre was not in the least diminished.

Here likewise was found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought from Greece; and, among others, the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Alexander sent afterwards to Athens, where they were standing in Arrian's time.<sup>4</sup>

The king, being resolved to march into Persia, appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Susa, with a garrison of three thousand men; Mazarus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with a thousand Macedonian soldiers, who could not follow him by reason of their great age. He gave the government of Susiana to Abutites.

He left the mother and children of Darius in Susa, and having received from Macedonia a great quantity of purple stuffs and rich habits, made after the fashion of the country, he presented them to Sysigambis, together with the artificers who had wrought them; for he paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as tenderly as if she had been his mother. He likewise commanded the messengers to tell her, that in case she fancied those stuffs, she might make her grandchildren learn the art of weaving them by way of amusement; and to give them as presents to whomsoever they should think proper. At these words, the tears which fell from her eyes showed but too evidently how greatly she was displeased with these gifts; the working in wool being considered by the Persian women as the highest ignominy. Those who carried these presents, having told the king that

<sup>1</sup> Herod. lib. i. c. 188.

<sup>2</sup> The reader will have an idea of the prodigious value of this, when he is told that this purple was sold at the rate of one hundred livres (nearly nineteen dollars) a pound. The quintal is one hundred weight of Paris.

<sup>3</sup> Hermione was a city of Argolis, where the best purple was dyed.

<sup>4</sup> What Arrian ascribes here to Alexander, in regard to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, is attributed by other historians to other princes.



Sysigambis was very much dissatisfied, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and administer some consolation to her. Accordingly, he paid her a visit, when he spoke thus: "Mother, the stuff in which you see me clothed, was not only a gift of my sisters, but wrought by their fingers. Hence I beg you to believe, that the custom of my country misled me; and do not consider that as an insult, which was owing entirely to ignorance. I believe I have not, as yet, done any thing which I knew interfered with your manners and customs. I was told, that among the Persians, it is a sort of crime for a son to seat himself in his mother's presence, without first obtaining her leave. You are sensible how cautious I have always been in this particular; and that I never sat down, till you had first laid your commands upon me to do so. And every time that you was going to fall prostrate before me, I only ask you, whether I would suffer it? As the highest testimony of the veneration I have for you, I always called you by the tender name of mother, though this belongs properly to Olympias only, to whom I owe my birth."

What I have just now related, may suggest two reflections, both which, in my opinion, are very natural, and at the same time, of the utmost importance.

First, we see to how great a height the Persians, so vain and haughty in other respects, carried the veneration they showed their parents. The reader, doubtless, remembers, that Cyrus the Great, in the midst of his conquests, and the most exalted pitch to which fortune had raised him, would not accept of the advantageous offer made him by Cyaxares, his uncle, viz. of giving him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her dowry, till he had first advised with his father and mother, and obtained their consent. History informs us here, that among the Persians, a son never dared to seat himself before his mother, till he had first obtained her leave; and that to do otherwise was considered as a crime.<sup>1</sup> Alas! how widely do our manners differ from so excellent an institution!

Secondly, I discover in the same relation, several valuable footsteps of that happy simplicity which prevailed in ancient times, when it was the custom for ladies, though of the greatest distinction, to employ themselves in useful, and sometimes laborious works. Every one knows what is told us in the Scripture to this purpose concerning Rebecca, Rachel, and several others. We read in Homer, of princesses drawing water from springs, and washing, with their own hands, the linen of their respective families. Here the sisters of Alexander, that is, the daughters of a powerful prince, are employed in making clothes for their brother.<sup>2</sup> The celebrated Lucretia used to spin in the midst of her female attendants. Augustus, who was sovereign of the world, wore, for several years together, no other clothes but what his wife and sister made him. It was a custom in the northern

<sup>1</sup> Scio apud vos, filium in conspectu matris nefas esse considerare, nisi cum illa permisit.—Quint. Curt.

<sup>2</sup> Mater hanc vestem, quam indutus sum, sororum non solum donum, sed etiam opus videt.—Quint. Curt.

parts of the world, not many years since, for the princess who then sat upon the throne, to prepare several of the dishes at every meal. In a word, needlework, the care of domestic affairs, a serious and retired life, is the proper function of women; and for this they were designed by Providence. The depravity of the age has indeed affixed to these customs, which are very nearly as old as the creation, an idea of meanness and contempt: but then, what has it substituted in the room of the harsh and vigorous exercises which a just education enabled the sex to undertake, to that laborious and useful life which was spent at home? A soft indolence, a stupid idleness, frivolous conversations, vain amusements, a strong passion for public shows, and a frantic love of gaming. Let us compare these two characters, and then pronounce which of them may justly boast its being founded on good sense, solid judgment, and a taste for truth and nature. It must, nevertheless, be confessed, in honour of the fair sex and of our nation, that several ladies among us, and those of the highest quality, make it not only a duty, but a pleasure, to employ themselves in needlework, not of a trifling, but of the most useful kind, and to make part of their furniture with their own hands. I might also add, that great numbers of these adorn their minds with agreeable, and, at the same time, serious and useful studies.

Alexander having taken his leave of Sysigambis, who now was extremely well satisfied, arrived on the banks of a river, called by the inhabitants Pasi-Tigris.<sup>1</sup> Having crossed it with nine thousand foot, and three thousand horse, consisting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of three thousand Thracians, he entered the country of the Uxii. This region lies near Susa, and extends to the frontiers of Persia; a narrow pass only lying between it and Susiana. Madathes commanded this province. This man was not a time-server, nor a follower of fortune; but, faithful to his sovereign, he resolved to hold out to the last extremity;<sup>2</sup> and for this purpose, had withdrawn into his own city, which stood in the midst of craggy rocks, and was surrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the besieged sent thirty deputies to Alexander, to sue for quarter, which they obtained at last by the intercession of Sysigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princess, but likewise set all the captives, and those who had surrendered themselves, at liberty; permitted them to enjoy their several rights and privileges; would not suffer the city to be plundered, but let them plough their lands without paying any tax or tribute. Could Sysigambis have possibly obtained more from her own son on this occasion, had he been the victor?

The Uxii being subdued, Alexander gave part of his army to Parmenio, and commanded him to march it through the plain; while himself, at the head of his light-armed troops, crossed the mountains, which extend as far as Persia. The fifth day he arrived at the pass

<sup>1</sup> This river differs from the Tigris.

<sup>2</sup> *Haec sane temporum homo: quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat.*—Q. Curt.

of Susa. Ariobarzanes, with four thousand foot and seven hundred horse, had taken possession of those rocks, which are craggy on all sides, and posted the barbarians at the summit, out of the reach of arrows. He had also built a wall in those passes, and encamped his forces under it. As soon as Alexander advanced, in order to attack him, the barbarians rolled, from the top of the mountains, stones of a prodigious size, which, falling from rock to rock, rushed forward with the greater violence, and at once crushed to pieces whole bands of soldiers. The king, being very much terrified at this sight, commanded a retreat to be sounded; and it was with the utmost grief he saw himself not only stopped at this pass, but deprived of all hopes of ever being able to force it.

While he was revolving these gloomy thoughts, a Greek prisoner surrendered himself to Alexander, with a promise to conduct him to the top of the mountain by another way. The king accepted of the offer, when, leaving the superintendence of the camp and of the army to Craterus, he commanded him to cause a great number of fires to be lighted, in order that the barbarians might thereby be more strongly induced to believe that Alexander was there in person. After this, taking some chosen troops with him, he set out, going through all the by-ways, as his guide directed. But, besides that these paths were very craggy, and the rocks so slippery that they could scarcely stand upon them, the soldiers were also very much distressed by the snows which the winds had brought together, and which were so high, that the men fell into them, as into so many ditches; and when their comrades endeavoured to draw them out, they themselves would likewise sink into them; not to mention, that their fears were greatly increased by the horrors of the night, by their being in an unknown country, and conducted by a guide whose fidelity was doubtful. After having gone through a great number of difficulties and dangers, they at last got to the top of the mountain. Then going down, they discovered the enemy's corps-de-garde, and appeared behind them, sword in hand, at a time, when they least expected it. Such as made the least defence, who were but few, were cut to pieces; by which means, the cries of the dying on one side, and on the other, the fright of those who were flying to their main body, spread so great a terror, that they fled, without striking a blow. At this noise, Craterus advanced, as Alexander had commanded at his going away, and seized the pass, which till then had resisted his attacks; and, at the same time, Philotas advanced by another way, with Amyntas, Cœnus, and Polysperchon, and broke quite through the barbarians, who were now attacked on every side. The greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and those who fled fell into precipices. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, escaped by flying over the mountains.

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune which constantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himself happily out of the danger to which he was so lately exposed, marched immediately towards Persia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Persepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards

them, were determined to plunder the treasures of Darius, with which he was intrusted, and, therefore, that it was necessary for him to make all the haste imaginable to seize them himself; that he had only the Araxes<sup>1</sup> to cross, after which the road was smooth and easy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harassed by the length and swiftness of his march, and passed the Araxes on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built some days before.

But, as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the greatest misery. These were about four thousand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made prisoners of war, had suffered all the torments which the Persian tyranny could inflict. The hands of some had been cut off, the feet of others; and others again had lost their noses and ears. After which, having impressed, by fire, barbarous characters on their faces, they had the inhumanity to keep them as so many laughing-stocks, with which they sported perpetually. They appeared like so many shadows, rather than like men; speech being almost the only thing by which they were known to be such. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this sight; and, as they unanimously besought him to commiserate their condition, he bid them, with the utmost tenderness, not to despond, and assured them, that they should again see their wives and country. This proposal, which one might suppose should naturally have filled them with joy, perplexed them very much, various opinions arising on that occasion. "How will it be possible," said some of them, "for us to appear publicly before all Greece, in the dreadful condition to which we are reduced; a condition still more shameful than dissatisfactory? The best way to bear misery is to conceal it: and no country is so sweet to the wretched as solitude, and an oblivion of their past calamities. Besides, how will it be possible for us to undertake so long a journey? Driven to a great distance from Europe, banished to the most remote parts of the East, worn out with age, and most of our limbs maimed, can we pretend to undergo fatigues which have even wearied a triumphant army? The only thing that now remains for us, is to hide our misery, and to end our days among those who are already so accustomed to our misfortunes." Others, in whom the love of their country extinguished all other sentiments, represented, "that the gods offered them what they should not even have dared to wish, viz., their country, their wives, their children, and all those things for whose sake men are fond of life, and despise death: that they had long enough borne the sad yoke of slavery: and that nothing happier could present itself, than their being indulged in the bliss of going at last to breathe their native air, to resume their ancient manners, laws, and sacrifices, and to die in presence of their wives and children."

However, the former opinion prevailed; and accordingly they besought the king to permit them to continue in a country where they had spent so many years. He granted their request, and presented

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<sup>1</sup> This is not the same river with that in Armenia.

each of them three thousand drachmas; five men's suits of clothes, and the same number for women: two yokes of oxen to plough their lands, and corn to sow them. He commanded the governor of the province not to suffer them to be molested in any manner, and ordered that they should be free from taxes and tributes of every kind. Such behaviour as this was truly royal. It was, indeed, impossible for Alexander to restore them the limbs of which the Persians had so cruelly deprived them; but then he restored them to liberty, tranquillity, and abundance. Thrice happy those princes, who are affected with the pleasure which arises from doing good actions, and who melt with pity for the unfortunate!

Alexander, having called together, the next day, the generals of his army, represented to them, "that no city in the world had ever been more fatal to the Greeks than Persepolis, the ancient residence of the Persian monarchs, and the capital of their empire: for it was from thence all those mighty armies poured, which had overflowed Greece; and whence Darius, and afterwards Xerxes, had carried the firebrand of the most accursed war, which had laid waste all Europe; and therefore it was incumbent on them to revenge the manes of their ancestors." It was already abandoned by the Persians, who all fled separately as fear drove them. Alexander entered it with his phalanx, when the victorious soldiers soon met with riches sufficient to satiate their avarice, and immediately cut to pieces all those who still remained in the city. The king, however, soon put an end to the massacre, and published an order, by which his soldiers were forbid to violate the chastity of the women. Alexander had before possessed himself, either by force or capitulation, of a great number of incredibly rich cities; but all this was a trifle compared to the treasures he found here. The barbarians had laid up at Persepolis, as in a storehouse, all the wealth of Persia. Gold and silver were never seen here but in heaps; not to mention the clothes and furniture of inestimable value; for this was the seat of luxury. There were found in the treasury one hundred and twenty thousand talents, which were designed to defray the expense of the war. To this prodigious sum he added six thousand talents, taken from Pasargada. This was a city which Cyrus had built, wherein the kings of Persia used to be crowned.

During Alexander's stay in Persepolis, a little before he set out upon his march against Darius, he entertained his friends at a banquet, at which the guests drank to excess. Among the women, who were admitted to it masked, was Thais the courtesan, a native of Attica, and at that time mistress to Ptolemy, who afterwards was king of Egypt. About the end of the feast, during which she had studiously endeavoured to praise the king in the most artful and delicate manner, a stratagem too often practised by women of that character, she said with a gay tone of voice, "That it would be matter of inexpressible joy to her, were she permitted, masked as she then was, and in order to end this festival nobly, to burn the magnificent palace of Xerxes, who had burned Athens, and set it on fire with her own hand, in order that it might be said in all parts of the world, that the women, who had followed Alexander in his expedition to



Asia, had taken much better vengeance of the Persians, for the many calamities they had brought upon the Grecians, than all the generals who had fought for them both by sea and land." All the guests applauded the discourse; when immediately the king arose from table, his head being crowned with flowers, and taking a torch in his hand, he rushed forward to execute this mighty exploit. The whole company followed him, breaking into loud acclamations; and afterwards singing and dancing, they surrounded the palace. All the rest of the Macedonians, at this noise, ran in crowds, with lighted tapers, and set fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was sorry, not long after, for what he had done, and thereupon gave orders for extinguishing the fire; but it was too late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great success increased this benificent disposition; and he accompanied the presents he made with such testimonies of humanity and kindness, and so obliging a carriage, as very much enhanced their merit. He exerted this temper in a particular manner towards the fifty Macedonian young lords who served under him as guards. Olympias, his mother, thinking him too profuse, wrote to him as follows: "I do not blame you," said she, "for being benificent towards your friends, for that is acting like a king, but then a medium ought to be observed in your magnificence. You equal them all with kings, and by heaping riches on them, you give them an opportunity of making a great number of friends, of all whom you deprive yourself." As she often wrote the same advice to him, he always kept her letters very secret, and did not show them to any person; but happening to open one of them, and beginning to read it, Hephæstion drew near to him, and read it over his shoulder, which the king observing, did not offer to hinder him; but taking only his ring from his finger, he put the seal of it to the lips of his favourite, as an admonition to him not to divulge what he had read.

He used to send magnificent presents to his mother; but then he would never let her have any concern in the affairs of the government. She used frequently to make very severe complaints upon that account, but he always submitted to her ill humour with great mildness and patience. Antipater having one day written a long letter against her, the king, after reading it, replied, "Antipater does not know, that one single tear shed by a mother, will obliterate ten thousand such letters as this." A behaviour like this, and such an answer, show, at one and the same time, that Alexander was both a kind son and an able politician; and that he was perfectly sensible how dangerous it would have been, had he invested Olympias with the supreme authority.

SECTION X.—DARIUS LEAVES ECBATANA. HIS DEATH. ALEXANDER SENDS HIS CORPSE TO SYSIGAMBIS.

ALEXANDER, after he had taken Persepolis and Pasargada, was resolved to pursue Darius, who was arrived by this time at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained still with this fugitive prince thirty thousand foot, among whom were four thousand Greeks, who were faithful to him to the last. Besides these, he had four thousand



slingers, and upwards of three thousand cavalry, most of them Bactrians, commanded by Bessus, governor of Bactria. Darius marched his forces a little out of the common road, having ordered his baggage to go before them: then assembling his principal officers, he spoke to them as follows: "Dear companions, among so many thousand men who composed my army, you only have not abandoned me during the whole course of my ill fortune; and in a little time nothing but your fidelity and constancy will be able to make me fancy myself a king. Deserters and traitors now govern in my cities; not that they are thought worthy of the honour bestowed on them, but rewards are given them only in the view of tempting you, and to stagger your perseverance. You still chose to follow my fortune rather than that of the conqueror, for which you certainly have merited a recompense from the gods; and I do not doubt but they will prove beneficent towards you, in case that power is denied me. With such soldiers and officers I would brave, without the least dread, the enemy, however formidable he may be. What! would any one have me surrender myself up to the mercy of the conqueror, and expect from him, as a reward of my baseness and meanness of spirit, the government of some province which he may condescend to leave me? No—it never shall be in the power of any man, either to take away, or to fix upon my head, the diadem I wear; the same hour shall put a period to my reign and life. If you have all the same courage and resolution, which I can no ways doubt, I assure myself that you shall retain your liberty, and not be exposed to the pride and insults of the Macedonians. You have in your hands the means either to revenge or terminate all your evils." Having ended this speech, the whole body of soldiers replied with shouts, that they were ready to follow him wherever he should go, and would shed the last drop of their blood in his defence.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the resolution of the soldiery; but Nabarzanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, had conspired with Bessus, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackest of all crimes, and that was, to seize upon the person of the king, and lay him in chains; which they might easily do, as each of them had a great number of soldiers under his command. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to secure themselves by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and, in case they escaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown, and begin a new war. These traitors soon won over the troops, by representing to them that they were going to their destruction; that they would soon be crushed under the ruins of an empire, which was just ready to fall; at the same time, that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. Though these practices were carried on very secretly, they came, however, to the ear of Darius, who could not believe them. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, entreated him, but in vain, to pitch his tent among them, and to trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. Darius could not prevail with himself to put so great an affront upon the Persians, and there-

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. xvii. p. 540—546. Arrian, li. iii. p. 133—137. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 682. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 14. Justin. l. xi. c. 15.

fore made this answer: "That it would be less affliction to him to be deceived by, than to condemn them: that he would suffer the worst of evils amidst those of his own nation, rather than seek for security among strangers, however faithful and affectionate he might believe them: and that he could not but die too late, in case the Persian soldiers thought him unworthy of life." It was not long before Darius experienced the truth of this counsel; for the traitors seized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour, as he was a king, and then laying him in a covered chariot, they set out towards Bactriana.

Alexander, being arrived at Ecbatana, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. He then commanded Parmenic to lay up all the treasures of Persia in the castle of Ecbatana, under a strong guard which he left there. According to Strabo,<sup>1</sup> these treasures amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand talents; and, according to Justin,<sup>2</sup> to ten talents more. He ordered him to march afterwards towards Hyrcania, by the country of the Cadusians, with the Thracians, the foreigners, and the rest of the cavalry, the royal companies excepted. He sent orders to Clitus, who remained in Susa, where he fell sick, that as soon as he was arrived at Ecbatana, he should take the forces which were left in that city, and come to him in Parthia.

Alexander, with the rest of his army, pursued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day of Rhaga,<sup>3</sup> which is a long day's journey from the Caspian Straits; but Darius had already passed through them. Alexander, now despairing to overtake him, whatever despatch he might make, staid there five days to rest his forces. He then marched against the Parthians, and that day pitched his camp near the Caspian Straits, and passed them the next. News was soon brought him, that Darius had been seized by the traitors; and Bessus had caused him to be drawn in a chariot, and had sent the unhappy monarch before, in order to be the surer of his person; that the whole army obeyed that wretch, Artabazus and the Greeks excepted, who not having souls base enough to consent to so abominable a deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had therefore left the high road, and marched towards the mountains.

This was another motive for him to hasten his march. The barbarians, at his arrival, were seized with dread, though the match would not have been equal, had Bessus been as resolute for fighting, as for putting in execution the detestable act above mentioned; for his troops exceeded the enemy both in number and strength, and were all cool and ready for the combat; whereas Alexander's troops were quite fatigued with the length of their march. But the name and reputation of Alexander, a motive all-powerful in war, filled them with such terror, that they all fled. Bessus and his accomplices being come up with Darius, they requested him to mount his horse, and fly from the enemy: but he replied, that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had suffered: and beseeching Alexander to do him justice, he

<sup>1</sup> Strab. l. xv. p. 741.

<sup>2</sup> Justin. l. xii. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> This is the city mentioned in Tobit, iii. 7.

refused to follow a band of traitors. At these words they fell into such a fury, that they all threw darts at him, and left him covered with wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid crime they separated, in order to leave different footsteps of their flight, and thereby elude the pursuit of the enemy, in case he should follow them; or at least oblige him to divide his forces. Nabarzanes took the way of Hyrcania, and Bessus that of Bactriana, both followed by a very few horsemen; and, as the barbarians were by this means destitute of leaders, they dispersed themselves, as fear or hope directed their steps.

After searching about in different places, Darius was at last found in a solitude, his body run through with spears, lying in a chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had strength enough before he died, to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polystratus by name, brought him. He had a Persian prisoner, whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and said: "that in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, he however should have the comfort to speak to one who could understand him, and that his last words would not be lost. He therefore charged him to tell Alexander, that he died in his debt, though he had never obliged him: that he gave him a multitude of thanks for the great humanity he had exercised towards his mother, his wife, and his children, whose lives he had not only spared, but restored them to their former splendour: that he besought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make him monarch of the universe: that he thought he need not entreat him to revenge the execrable murder committed on his person, as this was the common cause of kings."

After this, taking Polystratus by the hand, "give him, said he, thy hand, as I give thee mine; and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give of my gratitude and affection." Saying these words, he breathed his last. Alexander coming up a moment after, and seeing the body of Darius, he wept bitterly; and, by the strongest testimonies of affection that could be given him, proved how deeply he was affected with the unhappiness of a prince who deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on the body; then causing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with a royal magnificence, he sent it to Sysigambis, in order that it might be interred with the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian monarchs, and be entombed with his ancestors.

Thus died Darius, the third year of the 112th Olympiad, at about fifty years of age, six of which he had reigned. He was a gentle and pacific prince; his reign having been unsullied with injustice or cruelty, which was owing either to his natural lenity, or to his not having had an opportunity of acting otherwise, from the perpetual war he had carried on against Alexander all the time he sat upon the throne. In him the Persian empire ended, after having existed two hundred and nine years, computing from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus the Great, the founder of it, under thirteen kings, viz., Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis the Magian, Darius, son of Hystaspes, Xerxes I., Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II., Sogdianus, Darius Nothus,

Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses, and Darius Codomanus.<sup>1</sup>

SECTION XI. — VICES WHICH FIRST CAUSED THE DECLENSION, AND AT LAST THE RUIN OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

THE death of Darius Codomanus may very justly be considered as the era, but not the sole cause, of the destruction of the Persian monarchy. When we take a general view of the history of the kings above mentioned, and consider with some attention their different characters and methods of governing, whether in peace or war, we easily perceive that this declension was prepared at a great distance, and carried on to its end by visible steps which denoted a total ruin.

We may declare at first sight, that the declension of the Persian empire, and its fall, are owing to the origin and primitive institution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, who differed very much in manners and inclinations. The Persians were a sober, laborious, modest people; but the Medes were wholly devoted to pride, luxury, softness, and voluptuousness. The example of frugality and simplicity which Cyrus had set them, and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain so many victories, and support themselves in the midst of so many enemies, prevented those vices from spreading for some time; but after those nations had subjected all things, the fondness which the Medes had naturally for pleasures and magnificence, soon lessened the temperance of the Persians, and became, in a little time, the prevailing taste of the two nations.

Several other causes conspired to this. Babylon, when conquered, intoxicated her victors with her poisoned cup, and enchanted them with the charms of pleasure. She furnished them with such ministers and instruments as were adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cherish delights with art and delicacy; and the wealth of the richest provinces in the world being at the entire disposal of new sovereigns, they thereby were enabled to satiate their desires.

Even Cyrus himself, as I observed elsewhere, contributed to this, without perceiving the consequence of it; and prepared men's minds by the splendid banquet he gave, after having ended his conquests; and when he showed himself in the midst of his troops, who had shared in his victories, with such a pomp and ostentation as were most capable of dazzling the eye. He began by inspiring them with an admiration for pomp and show, which they had hitherto despised. He suggested to them, that magnificence and riches were worthy of crowning the most glorious exploits, and the end and fruit of them; and, by thus inspiring his subjects with a strong desire for things they saw so highly esteemed by a most accomplished prince, his example authorized them to abandon themselves to that fate without reserve.

He also spread this evil, by obliging judges, officers, and governors of provinces, to appear in splendour before the people, the better to represent the majesty of the prince. On one side, these magistrates

and commanders easily mistook these ornaments and trappings of their employments for the most essential parts of them, endeavouring to distinguish themselves by nothing but this glittering outside; and, on the other side, men of the greatest wealth in the provinces proposed them as so many patterns for their imitation, and were soon followed by persons of moderate fortune, whom those in the lowest stations of life endeavoured to equal.

So many causes of degeneracy uniting together, and being authorized publicly, soon destroyed the ancient virtue of the Persians. They did not sink, like the Romans, by imperceptible decays, which had been long foreseen, and often opposed. Scarcely was Cyrus dead, when there rose up, as it were, another nation, and kings of a quite different genius and character. Men no longer discoursed of that manly, that severe education, which was bestowed on the Persian youth; of those public schools of sobriety, patience, and emulation for virtue, nor of those laborious and warlike exercises; of all these, there did not remain the smallest traces: their young men, being brought up in splendour and effeminacy, which they now saw were had in honour, immediately began to despise the happy simplicity of their forefathers, and formed, in the space of one generation, an entire new set of people, whose manners, inclinations, and maxims, were directly opposite to those of ancient times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in treaties; and acquired this peculiar character, that they, of all people, were the most abandoned to splendour, luxury, feasting, and even to drunkenness; so that we may affirm, that the empire of the Persians was, almost at its birth, what other empires grew up to through length of time only, and began where others end. It bore the principle of its destruction in its own bosom, and this internal vice increased in every reign.

After the unsuccessful expeditions of Darius and Xerxes against Scythia and Greece, the princes, their successors, became insensible to the ambition of making conquests, and gave themselves up a prey to idleness and effeminacy, they grew careless of military discipline, and substituted in the place of regular soldiers, inured to the toils of war, a confused multitude of men, who were taken by force out of their respective countries. The reader may have observed, on more than one occasion, that the whole strength, and almost the only resource of the Persian army, lay in the Greeks in their service; that they properly depended on them only, and always took great care to oppose them to the best troops of the enemy: they were the only soldiers in the army of Darius who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the last; and we have seen that Memnon the Rhodian was the sole great general who fought against Alexander.

Instead of choosing for the command of their forces, officers of skill and experience, they used to appoint persons of the greatest quality of every nation, who frequently had no other merit than their exalted birth, their riches and power; and who were distinguished by nothing but the sumptuousness of their feasts and entertainments, by the magnificence of their equipages, and by the crowd with which they were ever surrounded, of guards, domestics, eunuchs, and women; such an



assemblage, formed merely for vain show and ostentation, rather than for warlike expeditions, encumbered an army, already but too numerous, with useless soldiers, made it slow in marches and movements by its too heavy baggage, and rendered it incapable of subsisting long in a country and of completing great enterprises in sight of an enemy.

The Persian monarchs, shutting themselves up in their palaces, in order to abandon themselves to pleasures, and appearing seldom abroad, placed their whole confidence, and by that means all their authority, in eunuchs, women, slaves, and flattering courtiers, whose sole thoughts and endeavours were to banish true merit, which was offensive to them; to give the rewards appointed for services to their own creatures; and to intrust the greatest employments of the state to persons devoted to their interested and ambitious views, rather than to those whose abilities rendered them capable of serving their country.

Another character of these princes, which is but too frequent in that high sphere, contributed very much to the ruin of the empire. They were accustomed from their infancy to have their ears soothed with false praises, and the most extravagant compliments, and to have a blind submission paid to their will. They were educated in so exalted an idea of their own grandeur, as persuaded them that the rest of men were formed merely to serve them, and administer to their pleasures. They were not taught their duties, nor the maxims of a wise and good government; the principles by which men judge of solid merit, and are capable of choosing persons able to govern under them. They did not know that they were raised to sovereign power merely to protect their subjects, and make them happy. They were not made sensible of the exquisite pleasure felt by that monarch, who is the delight of his subjects, and the public source of the felicity of so vast an empire, as Cyrus the Great had been, who was so dear to his people, that every individual family considered him as their father, and bewailed his death as a public calamity. So far from this, a monarch's grandeur was declared to consist in making himself feared, and of his being able to gratify all his passions with impunity.

So ill-judged an education must necessarily form either weak or vicious princes. They were not able to sustain the weight of so mighty an empire, nor to grasp the several parts of so extensive and painful an administration. Idleness, and a love of pleasure, made them careless, and averse to business of every kind; and they sacrificed matters of the highest importance to their vain amusements. Some of them were born with such happy dispositions, that they would have become good princes, had they not been enervated by the charms of a voluptuous life, and abandoned themselves to the allurements of a too despotic power, and an excessive prosperity. By flattery, they were rendered incapable of listening, in their councils, to any expression delivered with freedom, or of suffering the least opposition to their wills.

It is no wonder that they were not beloved by their subjects, since their whole study was to aggrandize themselves, and to sacrifice all considerations to that alone. Darius, in his misfortunes, was aban



done by the generals of his armies, by the governors of his provinces, by his officers, domestics, and subjects; and did not find any where a sincere affection, nor a real attachment to his person and interest. The dazzling splendour of the Persian monarchy concealed a real weakness; and this unwieldy power, heightened by so much pomp and pride, was abhorred by the people; so that this colossus, at the very first blow, fell to the ground.

SECTION XII.—LACEDÆMONIA REVOLTS FROM THE MACEDONIANS. ANTIPATER DEFEATS AGIS. ALEXANDER MARCHES AGAINST BESSUS.

WHILE things passed in Asia as we have seen, some tumults broke out in Greece and Macedonia. Memnon, whom Alexander had sent into Thrace, having revolted there, and thereby drawn the forces of Antipater on that side; the Lacedæmonians thought this a proper opportunity to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and engaged almost all Peloponessus in their design. Upon this news, Antipater, after having settled to the best of his power the affairs of Thrace, returned with the utmost expedition into Greece, whence he immediately despatched couriers, in order to give Alexander an account of these several transactions. As soon as Antipater was come up with the enemy, he resolved to venture a battle. The Lacedæmonian army consisted of no more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, under the command of Agis their king; whereas that of Antipater was twice that number. Agis, in order to make the superiority of numbers of no effect, had made choice of a narrow spot of ground. The battle began with great vigour, each party endeavouring to signalize themselves in an extraordinary manner, for the honour of their respective countries; the one fired with the remembrance of their pristine glory, and the other animated by their present greatness, fought with equal courage; the Lacedæmonians for liberty, and the Macedonians for empire. So long as the armies continued on the spot where the battle began, Agis had the advantage; but Antipater, by pretending to fly, drew the enemy into the plains; after which, extending his whole army, he gained a superiority, and made a proper use of his advantage. Agis was distinguished by his suit of armour, his noble mien, and still more so by his valour. The battle was hottest round his person, and he himself performed the most astonishing acts of bravery. At last, after having been wounded in several parts of his body, his soldiers, laying him upon his shield, carried him off. However, this did not damp their courage, for having seized an advantageous post, where they kept close in their ranks, they resisted with great vigour the attacks of the enemy. After having withstood them a long time, the Lacedæmonians began to give ground, being scarcely able to hold their arms, which were all covered with sweat; they afterwards retired hastily, and in the end, fled before the Macedonians. The king, seeing himself closely pursued, still made some efforts, notwithstanding the weak condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppose the enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the last, oppressed by numbers, he died sword in hand.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329. Diod. l. xvii. p. 537. Q. Curt. l. vi. p. 1

In this engagement, upwards of three thousand Lacedæmonians lost their lives, and not more than a thousand Macedonians; very few, however, of the latter returned home unwounded. This victory not only ruined the power of Sparta and its allies, but also the hopes of those who only waited the issue of this war to declare themselves. Antipater immediately sent the news of this success to Alexander; but, like an experienced courtier, he drew up the account of it in the most modest and circumspect terms; in such as were best adapted to diminish the lustre of a victory which might expose him to envy. He was sensible, that Alexander's delicacy, with regard to honour, was very great, that he looked upon the glory which another person obtained as a diminution of his own. And, indeed he could not forbear, when this news was brought him, to let fall some words which discovered his jealousy.<sup>1</sup> Antipater did not dare to dispose of any thing by his own private authority, and only gave the Lacedæmonians leave to send an embassy to the king, in order that they themselves might tell him the ill success they had met with. Alexander pardoned them, some of those who had occasioned the revolt excepted, whom he punished.

The death of Darius did not hinder Alexander from pursuing Bessus, who had withdrawn into Bactriana, where he had assumed the title of king, by the name of Artaxerxes. But, finding at last that it would be impossible to come up with him, he returned into Parthia; and resting his troops some days in Hecatompylos, commanded provisions of all sorts to be brought thither.<sup>2</sup>

During his stay there, a report prevailed throughout the whole army, that the king, content with the conquests he had achieved, was preparing to return into Macedonia. That very instant the soldiers, as if a signal had been made for their setting out, ran like madmen to their tents, began to pack up their baggage, loaded the wagons with the utmost despatch, and filled the whole camp with noise and tumult. Alexander was soon informed of this, when, terrified at the disorder, he summoned the officers to his tent, where, with tears in his eyes, he complained, that in the midst of so glorious a career, he was stopped on a sudden, and forced to return into his own country, rather like one who had been overcome, than as a conqueror. The officers comforted him, by representing, that this sudden motion was a mere sally, and a transient gust of passion, which would not be attended with any ill consequences, and assured him, that the soldiers, to a man, would obey him, provided he would address himself to them in tender expressions. He promised to do it. The circumstance which had given occasion to this false report, was his having disbanded some Grecian soldiers, after rewarding them in a very bountiful manner; so that the Macedonians imagined they also were to fight no more.

Alexander having summoned the army, made the following speech "I am not surprised, O soldiers! if, after the mighty things we have hitherto performed, you should be satiated with glory, and have no

<sup>1</sup> Alexander hostes vinci voluerat; Antipatrum viciisse ne tacitus quidem indignabatur, sed demptum gloriæ existimans quicquid cessisset alienæ.—Q. Curt.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 2—4.

other views than ease and repose. I will not now enumerate the various nations we have conquered. We have subdued more provinces than others have cities. Could I persuade myself, that our conquests were well secured, over nations who were so soon overcome, I would think as you do, for I will not dissemble my thoughts, and would make all the haste imaginable to revisit my household-gods, my mother, my sisters, and my subjects, and enjoy in the midst of my country the glory I have acquired in concert with you. But this glory will all vanish very soon, if we do not put the last hand to the work. Do you imagine, that so many nations, accustomed to other sovereigns, and who have no manner of similitude to us, either in their religion, manners, or language, were entirely subdued the moment they were conquered; and that they will not take up arms, in case we return back with so much precipitation? What will become of the rest who still remain unconquered? Shall we leave our victory imperfect, merely for want of courage? But that which touches me much more, shall we suffer the detestable crime of Bessus to go unpunished? Can you bear to see the sceptre of Darius in the sanguinary hands of that monster, who, after having loaded him with chains, as a captive, at last assassinated his sovereign, in order to deprive us of the glory of saving him? As for myself, I shall not be easy till I see that infamous wretch hanging on a gibbet, there to pay, to all kings and nations of the earth, the just punishment due to his execrable crime. I do not know whether I am mistaken; but methinks I read his sentence of death in your countenances; and that the anger which sparkles in your eyes, declares you will soon imbrue your hands in the traitor's blood."

The soldiers would not suffer Alexander to proceed; but clapping their hands, they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them. All the speeches of this prince generally produced this effect. In however desponding a condition they might be, one single word from him revived their courage in an instant, and inspired them with that martial alacrity and ardour which appeared always in his face. The king, taking advantage of this favourable disposition of the whole army, crossed Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which submitted to his arms. He afterwards subdued the Mardi, the Arii, the Drangæ, the Arachosii, and several other nations, into which his army marched with greater speed than people generally travel. He frequently would pursue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almost without suffering his troops to take any rest. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations, who thought him at a great distance, and subdued them before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. Under this image, Daniel the prophet foretold Alexander many ages before his birth, by representing him as a panther, a leopard, and a goat, who rushed forward with so much swiftness, that his feet seemed not to touch the ground.

Nabarzanes, one of the accomplices of Bessus, who had written before to Alexander, came and surrendered himself, upon promise of a pardon, when he heard that he was arrived at Zadracarta, the capital

of Hyrcania; and, among other presents, brought him Bagoas, the eunuch, who afterwards gained as great an ascendant over Alexander, as he had before had over Darius.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time arrived Thalestris, queen of the Amazons. A violent desire of seeing Alexander had prompted that princess to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curiosity. On arriving near his camp, she sent word that a queen was come to visit him; and that she had a strong inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and was accordingly arrived within a short distance from that place. Alexander having returned her a favourable answer, she commanded her train to stop, and herself came forward with three hundred women; and the moment she perceived the king, she leaped from her horse, having two lances in her right hand. The dress the Amazons used to wear did not quite cover the body; for their bosom being uncovered on the left side, every other part of the body was hid; and their gown being tucked up with a knot, descended no farther than their knee. They preserved their right breast to suckle their female offspring, but used to burn their left, that they might be the better enabled to bend the bow and throw the dart, whence they were called Amazons.<sup>2</sup>

Thalestris looked upon the king without discovering the least sign of admiration, and surveying him attentively, did not think his stature answerable to his fame; for the barbarians are very much struck with a majestic air, and think those only capable of mighty achievements on whom nature has bestowed bodily advantages.<sup>3</sup> She did not scruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have posterity by him; adding, that she was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this request, was obliged to make some stay in this place; after which Thalestris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians. This story, and whatever is related of the Amazons, is looked upon by some very judicious authors as entirely fabulous.

Alexander devoted himself afterwards wholly to his passions, changing into pride and debauch, the moderation and continence for which he had hitherto been so greatly admired; virtues so very necessary in an exalted station of life, and in the midst of a series of prosperities. He now no longer was the same man. Though he was invincible with regard to the dangers and toils of war, he was far otherwise with respect to the charms of ease. The instant he enjoyed a little repose, he abandoned himself to sensuality; and he, whom the arms of the Persians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be seen but games, parties of pleasure, women, and excessive feasting, in which he used to revel whole days and nights. Not satisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on instrumental music, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive

<sup>1</sup> Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> This is a Greek word, signifying without breasts.

<sup>3</sup> Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famae parem oculis perlustrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majestate veneratio est; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie donare natura dignata est.—Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 5.

women, whom he carried along with him, to sing songs after the manner of their country. He happened, among these women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the rest, and who, by a modest, and at the same time a noble confusion, discovered a greater reluctance than the others to appear in public. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her bashfulness, while she threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king soon imagined by her air and mien that she was not of vulgar birth; and inquiring himself into it, the lady answered, that she was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had swayed the Persian sceptre, and daughter of his son; that she had married Hystaspes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander, being touched with compassion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princess of the blood royal, and the sad condition to which she was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her possessions; and caused her husband to be sought for, in order that she might be restored to him.<sup>1</sup>

This prince was naturally of a tender and humane disposition, which made him sensible of the affliction of persons in the lowest condition. A poor Macedonian was one day leading before him a mule, laden with gold for the king's use; the beast being so tired that he was not able either to go on or sustain the load, the mule-driver took it up and carried it, but with great difficulty, a considerable way. Alexander, seeing him just sinking under his burden, and going to throw it on the ground, in order to rest himself, cried out, "Friend, do not be weary yet; try and carry it quite through to your tent, for it is all your own."<sup>2</sup>

Alexander, in a very difficult march through barren places, at the head of a small body of horse, when he pursued Darius, met some Macedonians who were carrying water in goat-skins upon mules. These Macedonians perceiving their prince was almost parched with thirst, occasioned by the raging heat, the sun being then in the meridian, immediately filled a helmet with water, and were running to present him with it. Alexander asking to whom they were carrying all that water, they replied, "We were carrying it to our children; but do not let your majesty be uneasy, if your life is but saved; we shall get children enough in case we should lose these." At these words, Alexander took the helmet, and looking quite round him, he saw all his horsemen hanging down their heads, and with eyes fixed earnestly on the liquor he held, swallow it as it were with their glances; upon which he returned it, with thanks, to those who offered it him, and did not drink so much as a single drop, but cried, "There is not enough for my whole company; and should I drink alone, it would make the rest more thirsty, and they would quite die away." The officers, who were on horseback round him, struck in the most sensible manner with his wonderful temperance and magnanimity, entreated him with shouts, to carry them wherever he thought fit, and not spare them in any manner; that now they were not in the least tired, nor

<sup>1</sup> Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. in Alex. p. 687.



felt the least thirst; and that as long as they should be commanded by such a king, they could not think themselves mortal men.<sup>1</sup>

Such sentiments as these, which arise from a generous and tender disposition, reflect a greater honour on a prince than the greatest victories and conquests. Had Alexander always cherished them, he would justly have merited the title of Great; but a too glorious and uninterrupted series of prosperity, which is too heavy for mortals to sustain, insensibly effaced them from his mind, and made him forget that he was man; for now, contemning the customs of his own country as no longer worthy the sovereign of the universe, he laid aside the dress, the manners, and way of life of the Macedonian monarchs; looking upon them as too plain and simple, and derogatory to his grandeur. He even went so far as to imitate the pomp of the Persian kings, in that very circumstance in which they seemed to equal themselves to the gods; I mean, by requiring those who had conquered nations to fall prostrate at his feet, and pay him a kind of homage which became only slaves. He had turned his palace into a seraglio, filling it with three hundred and sixty concubines, the same number that Darius kept, and with bands of eunuchs, of all mankind the most infamous. Not satisfied with wearing a Persian robe himself, he also obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grandees of his court, to put on the same dress, which gave them the greatest mortification; not one of them, however, daring to speak against this innovation, or contradict the prince in any manner.

The veteran soldiers, who had fought under Philip, not having the least idea of sensuality, inveighed publicly against this prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learned in Susa and Ecbatana. The soldiers would frequently express themselves in the following terms: "That they had lost more by victory than they had gained; that as the Macedonians had thus assumed the manners and customs of foreigners, they might properly be said to be conquered: that therefore the only benefit they should reap from their long absence, would be, to return to their own country in the habit of barbarians; that Alexander was ashamed of, and despised them; that he chose to resemble the vanquished rather than the victorious; and that he, who before had been king of Macedon, was now become one of the lieutenants of Darius."

The king was not ignorant of the discontent which reigned both in his court and army, and endeavoured to recover the esteem and friendship of both by his beneficence; but slavery, though purchased at ever so high a rate, must necessarily be odious to free-born men.<sup>2</sup> He therefore thought that the safest remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpose led them against Bessus. But as the army was encumbered with booty, and a useless train of baggage, so that it could scarcely move, he first caused all his own baggage to be carried into a great square, and afterwards that of his army, such things excepted as were absolutely necessary; he then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great anxiety

<sup>1</sup> Plat. in Alex. c. 637.

<sup>2</sup> Sed, ut opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est.—Q. Curt.



to know the meaning of all this; but after he had sent away the horses, he himself set fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example. Upon this the Macedonians lighted up the fire with their own hands, and burned the rich spoils they had purchased with their blood, and often forced out of the midst of the flames. Such a sacrifice must certainly have been made with the utmost reluctance; but the example the king set them silenced all their complaints, and they seemed less affected at the loss of their baggage, than at the neglect of their military discipline. A short speech the king made, soothed all their uneasiness; and, being now more able to exert themselves hereafter, they set out with joy, and marched towards Bactriana. In this march, he met with difficulties which would have quite damped any one but Alexander; but nothing could daunt his soul, or check his progress; for he put the strongest confidence in his good fortune, which indeed never forsook that hero, but extricated him from a thousand perils, wherein one would have naturally supposed both he and his army must have perished.

On arriving among the Drangæ, a danger to which he had not been accustomed, gave him very great uneasiness; and this was the report of a conspiracy that was formed against his person. One Dymnus, a man of no great figure at court, was the instigator of this treason; and the motive of it was some private disgust which he had received. He had communicated his execrable design to a young man named Nicomachus, who revealed it to Cebalinus, his brother. The latter immediately whispered it to Philotas, earnestly entreating him to acquaint the king with it, because every moment was of the utmost consequence, and that the conspirators were to execute the horrid deed in three days. Philotas, after applauding his fidelity, waited immediately upon the king, and discoursed upon a great variety of subjects, but without taking the least notice of the plot. In the evening, Cebalinus meeting him as he was coming out, and asking whether he had done as requested, he answered that he had not found an opportunity of mentioning it to his majesty, and went away. The next day this young man went up to him as he was going into the palace, and conjured him not to forget what he had told him the day before. Philotas replied, that he would be sure not to forget it; but did not however perform his promise. This made Cebalinus suspect him; and fearing, that in case the conspiracy should be discovered by any other person, his silence would be interpreted as criminal, he therefore got another person to disclose it to Alexander. The prince having heard the whole from Cebalinus himself, and being told how many times he had conjured Philotas to acquaint him with it, first commanded Dymnus to be brought before him. The latter conjecturing upon what account he was sent for by the king, ran himself through with his sword; but the guards having prevented this wretch from completing the deed, he was carried to the palace. The king asked him, Why he thought Philotas more worthy than he was of the kingdom of Macedon? But he was quite speechless; so that, after fetching a deep sigh, he turned his head aside, and breathed his last.

The king afterwards sent for Philotas, and speaking to him, after

having commanded every one to withdraw, he asked whether Cebalinus had really urged him several times to tell him of a plot which was carrying on against him. Philotas, without discovering the least confusion in his countenance, confessed ingenuously that he had; but made his apology, by saying, that the person who had whispered this, did not appear to him worthy of the least credit. He confessed, however, that the death of Dymnus plainly showed he had acted very imprudently in concealing so long, a design of so black a nature. Upon which, acknowledging his fault, he fell at the king's feet; which he embraced, and besought him to consider his past life, rather than the fault he had now committed, which did not proceed from any bad design, but from the fear he was under of alarming, very unseasonably, the king, should he communicate a design which he really supposed was without foundation. It is no easy matter to say, whether Alexander believed what Philotas said, or only dissembled his anger. However this may be, he gave him his hand, in token of reconciliation, and told him, that he was persuaded he had despised, rather than concealed the affair.<sup>1</sup>

Philotas was both envied and hated by a great number of courtiers; and indeed it was hardly possible it should be otherwise, because none of them was more familiar with the king, or more esteemed by him. Instead of softening or moderating the lustre of the distinguished favour he enjoyed, by an air of suavity and humanity; he seemed, on the contrary, to strive for nothing so much as to excite the envy of others, by affecting a silly pride, which generally displayed itself in his dress, his retinue, his equipage, and his table; and still more so by the haughty airs he assumed, which made him universally hated. Parmenio, his father, disgusted at his lofty behaviour, said one day to him, "My son, make thyself less."<sup>2</sup> The strongest sense is couched under these words: and it is evident, that the man who uttered them, was perfectly acquainted with the genius of courts. He used often to give Philotas advice to this effect; but too exalted a prosperity is apt to make men both deaf and blind; and they cannot persuade themselves, that favour, which is established on so seemingly solid a foundation, can ever change; the contrary of which Philotas found to his sorrow.

His former conduct with regard to Alexander, had given the latter just cause to complain of him; for he used to take the liberty to speak disrespectfully of the king, and applaud himself in the most haughty terms. Opening one day his heart to a woman, Antigona by name, with whom he was in love, he began to boast, in a very insolent manner, his father's services and his own: "What would Philip," said he, have been, had it not been for Parmenio? And what would Alexander be, were it not for Philotas? What would become of his pretended divinity, and his father Ammon, should we undertake to expose this fiction?" All these things were repeated to Alexander, and Antigona herself made oath that such words had been spoken. The king had nevertheless taken no notice of all this, not so much as once mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. l. xvii. p. 550, 551. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 7, 11, et l. vii. 1, 2. Arrian, l. iii. p. 141, 142. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 692, 693.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ὁ υἱός, χείρων μὲν γίγνηται.*

the least word which showed his resentment upon that occasion, when he was most intoxicated with liquor ; he had not so much as hinted it to his friends, not even to Hephæstion, from whom he scarcely concealed any thing. But the crime Philotas was now accused of, recalled to his memory the disgust he had formerly entertained.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately after the conversation he had with Philotas, he held a council composed of his chief confidants. Craterus, for whom Alexander had a great esteem, and who envied Philotas more on that very account, looked upon this as a very happy occasion for supplanting his rival. Concealing, therefore, his hatred under a specious pretence of zeal, he suggested to the king, "The apprehensions he might justly be under, both from Philotas himself, because mercy is not apt to work any change in a heart which could be corrupt enough to entertain so detestable a crime ; and from Parmenio his father, who, said he, will never be able to bear the thoughts of his owing his son's life to the king's clemency. Some beneficial acts are so great, that they become a burden to those on whom they are conferred, for which reason they do all in their power to erase them from their memory. And further, who can assure us, that both father and son are not engaged in the conspiracy ? When a prince's life is in danger, everything is of importance ; and all things, even to the slightest suspicions, are so many proofs. Can we conceive it possible, that a favourite, on whom his sovereign has bestowed the most conspicuous marks of his beneficence, should be calm and undisturbed, upon his being told of an affair of such mighty importance ? But we are told that this design was communicated by young people, who deserved very little credit. Wherefore, then, did he keep them in suspense two days, as if he really believed what they told him, and still promised them that he would reveal the whole affair to the king ? Who does not see, that he did this merely to prevent their having access by another way to his majesty ? Sir," continued he, "it is necessary, for your own sake and that of the state, for us to put Philotas to the torture ; in order to force from his own mouth an account of this plot, and the several persons who are his accomplices in it." This being the opinion of all the members of the council, the king assented to it. He then dismissed the assembly, having first enjoined them secrecy ; and the better to conceal his resolution, gave orders for the army's marching the next day, and even invited Philotas to supper with him.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been posted in the several places necessary, some entered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep sleep ; when, starting from his slumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, "Alas ! my sovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has got the better of your goodness." After this, they covered his face, and brought him to the palace without uttering a single word. The next morning, the Macedonians, according to an order published for that purpose, came thither under arms, being about six thousand. It was a very ancient custom for the army, in war-time, to take cognizance of capital

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<sup>1</sup> Plut. de Fortun. Alex. c. 2. p. 339.

crimes; and, in times of peace, for the people to do so; so that the prince had no power on these occasions, unless a sanction were given to it by one of those bodies; and the king was forced to have recourse to persuasion, before he employed his authority.<sup>1</sup>

First, the body of Dymnus was brought out; very few then present knowing either what he had done, or how he came by his death. Afterwards the king came into the assembly; an air of sorrow appearing in his countenance, as well as in his whole court, every one waited with impatience the issue of this gloomy scene. Alexander continued a long time with his eyes cast on the ground; but at last, having recovered his spirits, he made the following speech: "I narrowly escaped, O soldiers, being torn from you by the treachery of a small number of wretches; but by the providence and mercy of the gods, I now again appear before you alive; and I protest to you, that nothing encourages me more to proceed against the traitors, than the sight of this assembly, whose lives are much dearer to me than my own; for I desire to live for your sakes only; and the greatest happiness I should find in living, not to say the only one, would be the pleasure I shall receive in having it once in my power to reward the services of so many brave men, to whom I owe all things." Here he was interrupted by the cries and groans of the soldiers, who all burst into tears; "Alas! how will you behave when I shall name the persons who formed so execrable an attempt? I myself cannot think of it without shuddering. They, on whom I have been most lavish of my kindnesses; on whom I had bestowed the greatest marks of friendship; in whom I had put my whole confidence, and in whose breasts I lodged my greatest secrets — Parmenio and Philotas." At these names, all the soldiers gazed upon the other, not daring to believe their eyes or ears, nor anything else they saw or heard. Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus, were sent for, who made their several depositions of what they knew. But, as not one of them charged Philotas with engaging in the plot, the whole assembly being seized with a trouble and confusion, easier conceived than expressed, continued in a sad and gloomy silence.

Philotas was then brought in, his hands tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarse worn-out piece of cloth. How shocking a sight was this! Lost to himself, he did not dare to look up, or open his lips; but the tears streaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the by-standers wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his spirits and his voice by insensible degrees, he seemed desirous of speaking. The king then told him, that he should be judged by the Macedonians, and withdrew. Philotas might have justified himself very easily; for not one of the witnesses, and those who had been put on the rack, had accused him of being an accomplice in the plot. Dymnus, who first formed it, had not named him to any of the conspirators; and had Philotas been concerned in it, and the ringleader, as was pretended, Dymnus would certainly have named him, at the head of all the rest, in order to

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<sup>1</sup> *Nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas* — Q. Curt.

engage them the more strongly. Had Philotas been conscious to himself of guilt in this particular, as he was sensible that Cebalinus, who knew the whole, sought earnestly to acquaint the king of it, is it at all probable, that he could have lain quiet two days together, without once endeavouring either to despatch Cebalinus, or to put his dark design in execution? which he might very easily have done. Philotas set these proofs, and a great many more, in the strongest light; and he did not omit to mention the reasons which had made him despise the information that had been given him, as groundless and imaginary. Then directing, on a sudden, himself to Alexander, as if he had been present, "O king," says he, "wherever you may be," for it was thought Alexander heard all that passed from behind a curtain, "if I have committed a fault in not acquainting you with what I heard, I confessed it to you and you pardoned me. You gave me your royal hand as a pledge of this, and you did me the honour to admit me to your table. If you believed me, I am innocent; if you pardoned me, I am cleared. I refer all this to your own judgment. What new crime have I committed since? I was in a deep sleep when my enemies waked me, and loaded me with chains. Is it natural for a man, who is conscious that he is guilty of the most horrid of all crimes to be thus easy and undisturbed? The innocence of my own conscience, and the promise your majesty made me, gave my soul this calm. Do not let the enemy of my enemies prevail over your clemency and justice."

The result of this assembly was, that Philotas should be put on the rack. The persons who presided on that occasion were his most inveterate enemies, and they made him suffer every kind of torture. Philotas, at first, discovered the utmost resolution and strength of mind; the torments he suffered not being able to force from him a single word, nor even so much as a sigh. But at last, conquered by pain, he confessed himself to be guilty, named several accomplices, and even accused his own father. The next day, the answers of Philotas were read in a full assembly, he himself being present. Upon the whole, he was unanimously sentenced to die; immediately after which he was stoned, according to the custom of Macedonia, with some other of the conspirators.

They also judged at the same time, and put to death, Lyncestes Alexander, who had been found guilty of conspiring the death of the king, and kept three years in prison.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio: whether it were that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father after he had put the son to death, Polydamus, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to see the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's most intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who affect only their own fortunes. This was the very reason of his being nominated, because no one could suspect that he was sent with any such orders against Parmenio. He therefore set out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was intrusted with the king's treasures, which amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand talents. Alexander had given him several letters



for Cleander, the king's lieutenant in the province, and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them for Alexander, and the other sealed with the seal of Philotas, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the least suspicion. Polydamus was but eleven days in his journey, and alighted in the night-time at Cleander's. After having taken all the precautions necessary, they went, together with a great number of attendants, to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamus saw him, though at a great distance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmost joy; and after compliments, intermixed with the strongest indications of friendship, had passed on both sides, he gave him Alexander's letter. While opening it, he asked him what the king was doing; to which Polydamus replied, that he would know by his majesty's letter. Parmenio, after perusing it, said as follows: "The king is preparing to march against the Arachosii. How glorious a prince is this, who will not suffer himself to take a moment's rest! However, he ought to be a little careful of himself, now he has acquired so much glory." He afterwards opened the letter which was written in his son's name; and, by his countenance, seemed pleased with the contents of it. At that very instant Cleander thrust a dagger into his side, then made another thrust in his throat, and the rest gave him several wounds, even after he was dead.

Thus this great man ended his life; a man illustrious both in peace and war; who had performed many glorious actions without the king, whereas the king had never achieved any thing conspicuous but in concert with Parmenio. He was a person of great abilities and execution; was very dear to the grandees, and much more so to the officers and soldiers, who reposed the highest confidence in him; and looked upon themselves as assured of victory, when he was at their head, so firmly they relied on his capacity and good fortune. He was then seventy years of age; and had always served his sovereign with inviolable fidelity and zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded; his son and himself having been put to death merely on a slight suspicion, unsupported by any real proof, which nevertheless obliterated in a moment all the great services rendered by both to their country.

Alexander was sensible that such cruel executions might alienate the affections of the troops, of which he had a proof, by the letters they sent into Macedonia, which were intercepted by his order; concluding therefore that it would be proper for him to separate from the rest of the army, such soldiers as had most distinguished themselves by their murmurs and complaints, lest their seditious discourses should spread the same spirit of discontent, he formed a separate body of these, the command of which he gave to Leonidas; this kind of ignominy being the only punishment he inflicted on them. But they were so strangely affected with it, that they endeavoured to wipe out the disgrace it brought upon them, by a bravery, a fidelity, and an obedience, which they observed ever afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arrian. l. iii. p. 143, 148. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 3—5. Diod. l. xvii. p. 552, 554. A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 329.



To prevent the ill consequences that might arise from this secret discontent, Alexander set out upon his march, and continued the pursuit of Bessus; on which occasion he exposed himself to great hardships and dangers. After having passed through Drangania, Arachosia, and the country of the Arimaspi, where all things submitted to his arms, he arrived at a mountain called Paropamisus, a part of Caucasus, where his army underwent inexpressible fatigues, through weariness, thirst, cold, and the snows, which killed a great number of his soldiers. Bessus laid waste all the country that lay between him and mount Caucasus, in order that the want of provisions and forage might deprive Alexander of an opportunity of pursuing him. He indeed suffered very much, but nothing could check his vigour. After allowing his army to repose for some time at Drapsaca, he advanced towards Aornos and Bactra, the two strongest cities of Bactriana, and took them both. At Alexander's approach, about seven or eight thousand Bactrians, who till then had adhered very firmly to Bessus, abandoned him to a man, and retired each to his respective home. Bessus, at the head of the small number of forces who continued faithful to him, passed the river Oxus, burned all the boats he himself made use of, to prevent Alexander from crossing it, and withdrew to Nautacus, a city of Sogdiana, fully determined to raise a new army there. Alexander, however, did not give him time to do this; and not meeting with trees or timber sufficient for the building of boats and rafts, or floats of timber, he supplied the want of these by distributing to his soldiers a great number of skins, stuffed with straw, and such like dry and light materials; which laying under them in the water, they crossed the river in this manner; those who went over first, drawing up in order of battle, while their comrades were coming after them. In this manner his whole army passed over in six days.

While these things were doing, Spitamenes, who was the chief confidant of Bessus, formed a conspiracy against him, in concert with two more of his principal officers. Having seized his person, they put him in chains, forced his diadem from his head, tore to pieces the royal robe of Darius, which he had put on, and set him on horseback, in order to give him up to Alexander.

That prince arrived at a little city inhabited by the Branchidæ. These were the descendants of a family who had dwelt in Miletus, and whom Xerxes, at his return from Greece, had formerly sent into Upper Asia, where he had settled them in a very flourishing condition, in return for their having delivered up to him the treasure of the temple called Didymæon, with which they had been intrusted. These received the king with the highest demonstrations of joy, and surrendered both themselves and their city to him. Alexander sent for such Milesians as were in his army, who preserved a hereditary hatred against the Branchidæ, because of the treachery of their ancestors. He then left them the choice either of revenging the injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in consideration of their common extraction. The Milesians being so much divided in opinion, that they could not agree among themselves, Alexander undertook the decision himself. Accordingly, the next day he commanded his pha-

lax to surround the city; and a signal being given, they were ordered to plunder that abode of traitors, and put every one of them to the sword, which inhuman order was executed with the same barbarity as it had been given. All the citizens, at the very time they were going to pay homage to Alexander, were murdered in the streets and in their houses; no manner of regard being had to their cries and tears, and no distinction made of age or sex. They even pulled up the very foundations of the walls, in order that not the least traces of that city might remain. But of what crimes were these ill-fated citizens guilty? Were they responsible for those their fathers had committed upwards of one hundred and fifty years before? I do not know that history furnishes another example of so brutal and frantic a cruelty.

Shortly after, Bessus was brought to Alexander, not only bound, but stark-naked. Spitamenes held him by a chain, which went round his neck; and it was difficult to say, whether that object was more agreeable to the barbarians or Macedonians. In presenting him to the king, he addressed him as follows: "I have at last revenged both you and Darius, my kings and masters. I bring you a wretch who assassinated his sovereign, and who is now treated in the same manner as himself gave the first example of. Alas! why cannot Darius himself see this spectacle!" Alexander, after having greatly applauded Spitamenes, turned about to Bessus, and spoke thus: "Thou surely must have been inspired with the rage and fury of a tiger, otherwise thou wouldst not have dared to load a king, from whom thou hadst received so many instances of favour, with chains, and afterwards murdered him? Begone from my sight, thou monster of cruelty and perfidiousness." The king said no more, but sending for Oxatres, the brother of Darius, he gave Bessus to him, in order that he might suffer all the ignominy he deserved; suspending however his execution, that he might be judged in the general assembly of the Persians.

SECTION XIII. — ALEXANDER BUILDS A CITY NEAR THE IAXARTES.  
DEFEATS THE SCYTHIANS. TAKES THE CITY OF PETRA.

ALEXANDER, insatiate of victory and conquests, still marched forward in search of new nations, whom he might subdue.<sup>1</sup> After recruiting his cavalry, which had suffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, he advanced to the Iaxartes.<sup>2</sup>

Not far from this river, the barbarians rushed suddenly from their mountains, came and attacked Alexander's forces, and having carried off a great number of prisoners, they retired to their lurking holes, in which were twenty thousand who fought with bows and slings. The king went and besieged them in person, and being one of the foremost in the attack, he was shot with an arrow in the bone of his leg, and the iron point stuck in the wound. The Macedonians, who were greatly alarmed and afflicted, carried him off immediately, yet not so

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, l. iii. p. 148, 149, et l. iv. p. 150—160. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 6—11.

<sup>2</sup> Quintus Curtius and Arrian call it the Tanais, but they are mistaken. The Tanais lies much more westward, and empties itself, not into the Caspian sea, but into the Pontus Euxinus, and is now called the Don.

secretly but that the barbarians knew of it; for they saw, from the top of the mountain, every thing that was doing below. The next day they sent ambassadors to the king, who ordered them to be immediately brought in, when taking off the bandage which covered his wound, he showed them his leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. These assured him, that as soon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted as the Macedonians could possibly be; and that had it been possible for them to find the person who had shot that arrow, they would have delivered him up to Alexander; that none but impious wretches would wage war against the gods; in a word, that being vanquished by his unparalleled bravery, they surrendered themselves to him, with the nations who followed them. The king having engaged his faith to them, and taking back his prisoners, accepted of their homage.

After this he set out upon his march, and getting into a litter, a great dispute arose between the horse and foot who should carry it, each of those bodies pretending that this honour belonged to them only; and there was no other way of reconciling them, but by giving orders that they should carry it alternately.

From thence he arrived, the fourth day, at Maracanda, a very considerable city, and capital of Sogdiana, which he took; and after leaving a considerable garrison there, he burned and laid waste all the plains.

There came an embassy to him from the Abian Scythians, who, from the death of Cyrus, had lived free and independent; these submitted to Alexander. They were considered as the most equitable of all the barbarians; never making war but to defend themselves; and the liberty established among them, and which they no ways abused, removed all distinction, and equalled the meanest among them with the greatest. A love of poverty and justice was their peculiar characteristic, and enabled them to live happy together without wanting either kings or laws. Alexander received them kindly, and sent one of his chief courtiers to take a view of their country, and even of the Scythians, who inhabit beyond the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

He had marked out a spot of ground proper for building a city on the river Iaxarthes, in order to curb the nations he had already conquered, and those he intended to subdue. But his design was retarded by the rebellion of the Sogdians, which was soon after followed by that of the Bactrians. Alexander despatched Spitamenes, who had delivered up Bessus into his hands, believing him a very fit person to bring them back to their allegiance; but he himself had been chiefly instrumental in this insurrection. The king was greatly surprised at this treachery, and determined to take vengeance of him in the most signal manner. He then marched to Cyropolis, and besieged it. This was the last city of the Persian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whose name it was called. At the same time he sent Craterus, with two more of his general officers, to besiege the city of the Memaceni, to whom fifty troopers were sent, to desire them to sue for Alexander's clemency. These met with a very kind reception at first; but during the night they were all cut to pieces. Alexander

had resolved to spare Cyropolis, purely for the sake of Cyrus; for, of all the monarchs who had reigned over these nations, there was none whom he admired more than this king, and Semiramis, because they had surpassed all the rest in courage and glorious actions. He therefore offered very advantageous conditions to the besieged, but they were so blindly obstinate as to reject them, and that even with pride and insolence; upon which he stormed their city, abandoning the plunder of it to his soldiers, and razed it to the very foundations. From hence he went to the other city which Craterus was besieging. No place ever made a more vigorous defence; for Alexander lost his best soldiers before it, and was himself exposed to very great danger; a stone striking him with so much violence on the head, that it deprived him of his senses. The whole army indeed thought him dead, which threw them into tears; but this prince, whom no danger or disappointment could depress, pushed on the siege with greater vigour than before, the instant he recovered, without staying till his wound was healed, anger adding fresh fuel to his natural ardour. Having therefore caused the wall to be sapped, he made a large breach in it, and entered the city, which he burned to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Several other cities met with the same fate. There was a third rebellion of the Sogdians, who would not be peaceable, though Alexander had pardoned them twice before. They lost above one hundred and twenty thousand men in these different sieges. The king afterwards sent Menedemus, with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse, to Maracanda, whence Spitamenes had driven the Macedonian garrison, and shut himself up there.

With regard to himself, he returned and encamped on the Iaxarthes, where he surrounded with walls the whole spot of ground which his army had covered, and founded thereon a city, containing sixty furlongs, or three leagues, in circumference, which he also called Alexandria; having before built several of that name. He caused the workmen to make such despatch, that in less than twenty days the ramparts were raised, and the houses built; and indeed there was a great emulation among the soldiers, who should get his work done soonest, every one of them having had his portion allotted him. To people his new city, he ransomed all the prisoners he could meet with, settled several Macedonians there, who were worn out in the service, and permitted many natives of the country, at their own request, to inhabit it.

But the king of these Scythians who live on the other side of the Iaxarthes, seeing that this city, built on a river, was a kind of yoke to them, sent a great body of soldiers to demolish it, and drive the Macedonians to a greater distance. Alexander, who had no design of attacking the Scythians, finding them make several incursions, even in his sight, in a very insolent manner, was very much perplexed; especially when advice was brought him, at the same time, that the body of troops he had ordered to Maracanda, had been all, a very few excepted, cut to pieces. Such numerous obstacles would have discouraged any one but an Alexander; for the Sogdians had taken up arms, as also the Bactrians; his army was harassed by the Scythians;

and he himself was brought so low, that he was not able to stand upright, to mount on horseback, to speak to his forces, or give a single order. To increase this affliction, he found his army no way inclined to attempt the passage of the river, in sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle. The king continued in the utmost perplexity all the night long; his courage, however, surmounted all things. Being told, that the auspices were not propitious, he forced the soothsayers to substitute favourable ones in their stead. The day beginning to break, he put on his coat of mail, and showed himself to the soldiers, who had not seen him since the last wound he had received. These held their king in such high veneration, that his presence alone immediately removed all their fears, so that they shed tears of joy, and went unanimously and paid him their respects; entreating him to lead them to the enemy, against whom they before had refused to march. They worked so hard at the rafts or floats, that in three days time they had made twelve thousand; and also prepared a great number of skins for that purpose.

As every thing was ready for the march, several Scythian ambassadors arrived, to the number of twenty, according to the custom of their country, who all rode through the camp, desiring to speak with the king. Alexander having sent for them into his tent, desired them to sit down. They gazed attentively upon him a long time, without speaking a single word, being very probably surprised, as they formed a judgment of men from their air and stature, to find that his did not answer the high idea they entertained of him from his fame. The oldest of the ambassadors made this speech, which, as Quintus Curtius relates it, is pretty long; however, as it is very curious, I shall present my readers with the greatest part of it.

“Had the gods given thee a body proportioned to thy ambition, the whole universe would have been too little for thee. With one hand thou wouldst touch the east, and with the other the west; and, not satisfied with this, thou wouldst follow the sun, and know where he hides himself. Such as thou art, thou yet aspirest after what it will be impossible for thee to attain. Thou crossest over from Europe into Asia; and when thou shalt have subdued all the race of men, then thou wilt make war against rivers, forests, and wild beasts. Dost thou not know, that tall trees are many years growing, but may be torn up in an hour's time; that the lion serves sometimes for food to the smallest birds; that iron, though so very hard, is consumed by rust; in a word, that there is nothing so strong which may not be destroyed by the weakest thing?

“What have we to do with thee? We never set foot in thy country. May not those who inhabit woods, be allowed to live without knowing who thou art, and whence thou comest? We will neither command over, nor submit to any man. And that thou mayest be sensible what kind of people the Scythians are, know, that we received from heaven, as a rich present, a yoke of oxen, a ploughshare, a dart, a javelin, and a cup. These we make use of, both with our friends, and against our enemies. To our friends we give corn, which we procure by the labour of our oxen; with them we offer wine to the gods



in our cups ; and with regard to our enemies, we combat them at a distance with our arrows, and near at hand with our javelins. It is with these we formerly conquered the most warlike nations, subdued the most powerful kings, laid waste all Asia, and opened ourselves a way into the heart of Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

“But thou, who boastest thy coming to extirpate robbers, thou thyself art the greatest robber upon earth. Thou hast plundered all nations overcome by thee. Thou hast possessed thyself of Lydia, invaded Syria, Persia, and Bactriana ; thou art forming a design to march as far as India, and thou now comest hither to seize upon our herds of cattle. The great possessions thou hast, only make thee covet more eagerly what thou hast not. Dost thou not see how long the Bactrians have checked thy progress ? While thou art subduing these, the Sogdians revolt, and victory is to thee only the occasion of war.

“Pass but the Iaxartes, and thou wilt behold the great extent of our plans. It will be in vain for thee to pursue the Scythians ; and I defy thee ever to overtake them. Our poverty will be more active than thy army, laden with the spoils of so many nations ; and, when thou shalt fancy us at a great distance, thou wilt see us rush suddenly on thy camp ; for we pursue, and fly from our enemies with equal speed. I am informed that the Greeks speak jestingly of the Scythian solitudes, and that they are even become a proverb ; but we are fonder of our deserts, than of thy great cities and fruitful plains. Let me observe to thee, that fortune is slippery : hold fast, therefore, for fear she should escape thee. Put a curb to thy felicity, if thou desirest to continue in possession of it.

“If thou art a god, thou shouldest do good to mortals, and not deprive them of their possessions ; if thou art a mere man, reflect always on what thou art. They whom thou shalt not molest will be thy true friends, the strongest friendships being contracted between equals ; and they are esteemed equals, who have not tried their strength against each other : but do not imagine that those whom thou conquerest can love thee ; for there is no such thing as friendship between a master and his slave, and a forced peace is soon followed by a war.

“To conclude, do not suppose that the Scythians will take an oath in their concluding an alliance. The only oath among them, is to keep their word without swearing. Such cautions as these do indeed become Greeks, who sign their treaties, and call upon the gods to witness them ; but, with regard to us, our religion consists in being sincere, and in keeping the promises we have made. That man who is not ashamed to break his word with men, is not ashamed of deceiving the gods ; and of what use could friends be to thee whom thou couldst not trust !<sup>2</sup> Consider that we will guard both Europe and Asia for

<sup>1</sup> This is to be understood of the famous irruption of the Scythians, who advanced as far as Egypt, and possessed themselves of Upper Asia for twenty-eight years. See the first volume of this work, in the history of the Assyrians. I have not followed Q. Curtius literally in this place, his sense being much embarrassed.

<sup>2</sup> Jurando gratiam Scythas sancire ne credideris : colendo fidem jurant. Græcorum ista sententia est, qui acta consignant, et deos invocant ; nos religionem in ipsa fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines : callunt deos.—Q. Curt.



thee. We extend as far as Thrace, and we are told that this country is contiguous to Macedonia. The river Iaxarthes only divides us from Bactriana. Thus we are thy neighbours on both sides. Consider, therefore, whether thou wilt have us for friends or enemies."

The barbarian spoke thus: to whom the king made a very short answer, "that he would take advantage both of his own good fortune, and of their counsel; of his good fortune, by still continuing to rely upon it; and of their counsel, by not attempting any thing rashly." Having dismissed the ambassadors, his army embarked on the rafts, which by this time were got ready. In the front he placed such as carried bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to secure themselves from the arrows of the enemy. Behind these were those who worked the machines for discharging arrows and stones, covered on all sides with soldiers armed cap-a-pie. The rest who followed the engines, had their shields fixed together over their heads, in form of a tortoise, by which they defended the sailors, who wore corslets. The like order and disposition was observed in the other rafts or floats which carried the horse.

The army found great difficulty in crossing. Every thing conspired to intimidate them; the clamour and confusion, that are inseparable from such an enterprise; the rapidity of the stream, which carried away every thing with it; and the sight of a numerous army drawn up in battle, on the opposite shore. But the presence of Alexander, who was ever the foremost in encountering dangers, made them neglect their own safety, and be concerned for his only. As soon as the Macedonians began to draw near the shore, they who carried shields rose up together, when throwing their javelins with a strong arm, every weapon did execution. When they perceived that the enemy, overpowered with that shower of shafts, began to retire, and draw their horses back, they leaped on the shore with incredible swiftness, and animating one another, began the charge with vigour. In this disorder, the troopers, whose horses were ready bridled, rushed upon the enemy, and entirely broke them. The king could not be heard, by reason of the faintness of his voice; but the example he set spoke for him.

Nothing was now heard in the Macedonian army but shouts of joy and victory, while they continued to attack the barbarians with the utmost fury. The latter, not being able to stand so fierce an onset, fled as fast as their horses could carry them; for these were the cavalry only. Though the king was very weak, he nevertheless pursued them briskly a long way, till, at last quite spent, he was obliged to stop. After commanding his troops to pursue them as long as they could see, he withdrew to the camp in order to repose himself, and to wait the return of his forces. The Macedonians had already gone beyond the boundaries or limits of Bacchus, which were marked out by great stones ranged pretty close one to the other, and by great trees, the trunks of which were covered with ivy. The heat of the pursuit, however, carried them still farther, and they did not return back into the camp till after midnight; having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken many more prisoners, with eighteen hundred

horses, all which they drove before them. On Alexander's side there were but sixty troopers slain, and about one hundred foot, with a thousand wounded. Alexander sent back to the Scythians all their prisoners without ransom, to show, that not animosity, but a thirst of glory, had prompted him to make war against so valiant a nation.

The report of this victory, and much more the clemency with which the king treated the vanquished, greatly increased his reputation. The Scythians had always been considered as invincible; but after their defeat, it was owned that every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians. The Sacæ, who were a powerful nation, sent an embassy to Alexander, by which they submitted themselves to him, and requested his friendship. The Scythians themselves made an apology by their ambassadors; throwing the whole blame of what had happened on some few people, and declaring that they were ready to obey all the commands of the victorious prince.

Alexander, being so happily freed from the care and trouble of this important war, bent his whole thoughts on Maracanda, in which the traitor Spitamenes had fortified himself. At the first news of Alexander's approach, he had fled, and withdrawn into Bactriana. The king pursued him thither, but despairing to come up with him he returned back and sacked Sogdiana, which is watered by the river Polytimetus.

Among the Sogdians that were taken prisoners, there were thirty young men, who were well shaped and very comely, and the greatest lords of the country. These being told that they were led to execution by Alexander's command, began to sing songs of joy, to leap and dance, discovering all the indications of an immoderate joy. The king, surprised to see them go to death with so much gayety, had them brought before him; when he asked them, how they came to break into such transports of joy, when they saw death before their eyes? They answered, that they should have been afflicted, had any other person but himself put them to death; but as they would be restored to their ancestors by the command of so great a monarch, who had vanquished all nations, they blessed this death; a death so glorious, that the bravest men would wish to die the same. Alexander, admiring their magnanimity, asked whether they would desire to be pardoned, upon condition that they should no longer be his enemies? They answered, he might be assured that they had never been his enemies; but that, as he had attacked them, they had defended themselves; and that, had they been applied to in a gentle manner, and not attacked by force and violence, they would have vied with him in politeness and generosity. The king asked them farther, what pledges they would give him of their faith and sincerity? "No other," answered they, "but the same life we receive from your goodness, and which we shall always be ready to give back, whenever you shall require it." And, indeed, they were as good as their word. Four of them, whom he took into his body-guard, endeavoured to rival the Macedonians in zeal and fidelity.

The king, after having left a small number of forces in Sogdiana, marched to Bactria, where, having assembled all his generals, he com-

manded Bessus to be brought before them ; when, after reproaching him for his treachery, and causing his nose and ears to be cut off, he sent him to Ecbatana, there to suffer whatever punishment the mother of Darius should think proper to inflict upon him. Plutarch has left us an account of his execution. Four trees were bent by main force, towards each other ; and to each of these trees, one of the limbs of this traitor's body was fastened. They were afterward allowed to return to their natural position, and sprung back with so much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and so quartered him. A similar punishment is at this day inflicted on persons convicted of high treason, who are torn to pieces by four horses.

Alexander received at this time, both from Macedonia and Greece, a large number of recruits, amounting to upwards of sixteen thousand men. By this considerable reinforcement, he was enabled to subdue all those who had rebelled ; and to curb them for the future, he built fortresses in Margiana.

All things were now restored to a profound tranquillity.<sup>1</sup> There remained but one strong hold, called Petra Oxiana, or the rock of Oxius, which was defended by Arimazes, a native of Sogdiana, with thirty thousand soldiers under his command, and ammunition and provisions for two years. This rock, which was very high and craggy on all sides, was accessible only by a single path that was cut in it. The king, after viewing its works, was a long time in suspense whether he should besiege it ; but, as it was his character to aim at the marvellous in all things, and to attempt impossibilities, he resolved to try if he could overcome, on this occasion, nature itself, which seemed to have fortified this rock in such a manner as had rendered it absolutely impregnable. Before he formed the siege, he summoned those barbarians, but in mild terms, to submit to him. Arimazes received this offer in a very haughty manner ; and after using several insulting expressions, asked, "whether Alexander, who was able to do all things, could fly also ; and whether nature had, on a sudden, given him wings ?"

Alexander was highly exasperated at this answer. He therefore gave orders for selecting from among the mountaineers who were in his army, three hundred of the most active and dexterous. These being brought to him, he addressed them thus : "It was in your company, brave young men, that I stormed such places as were thought impregnable ; that I made my way over mountains covered with eternal snows ; crossed rivers, and broke through the passes of Cilicia. This rock, which you see, has but one outlet, which alone is defended by the barbarians, who neglect every other part. There is no watch or sentinel, except on that side which faces our camp. If you search very narrowly, you certainly will meet with some path that leads to the top of the rock. Nothing has been made so inaccessible by nature, as not to be surmounted by valour ; and it was only by our attempting, what no one before had hopes of effecting, that we possessed ourselves of Asia. Get up to the summit, and when you shall

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<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3676. Ant. J. C. 298.

have made yourselves masters of it, set up a white standard there as a signal; and be assured, that I then will certainly disengage you from the enemy, and draw them upon myself, by making a diversion." At the same time that the king gave out this order, he made them the most noble promises: but the pleasing him was considered by them as the greatest of all rewards. Fired therefore with the noblest ardour, and fancying that they had already reached the summit, they set out, after having provided themselves with wedges to drive into the stones, cramp-irons and thick ropes.

The king went round the mountain with them, and commanded them to begin their march about the second watch of the night,<sup>1</sup> by that part which should seem to them of easiest access; beseeching the gods to guide their steps. They then took provisions for two days; and being armed with swords and javelins only, they began to ascend the mountain, walking sometimes on foot; afterwards, when it was necessary for them to climb, some forced their wedges into the stones which projected forwards, and by that means raised themselves; others thrust their cramp-irons into the stones that were frozen, to keep themselves from falling in so slippery a way; in fine, others driving in their wedges with great strength, made them serve as so many scaling ladders. They spent the whole day in this manner, hanging against the rock, and exposed to numerous dangers and difficulties, being obliged to struggle at the same time with snow, cold, and wind. But the hardest task was yet to come; and the farther they advanced, the higher the rock seemed to rise. But that which terrified them most, was the sad spectacle of some of their comrades falling down precipices, whose unhappy fate was a warning to them what they themselves might expect. Notwithstanding this, they still progressed, and exerted themselves so vigorously, that, in spite of all these difficulties, they at last got to the top of the rock. Then they were inexpressibly weary, and many of them had even lost the use of some of their limbs. Night and drowsiness came upon them at the same time, so that, dispersing themselves in such distant parts of the rock as were free from snows, they lay down in them, and slept till daybreak. At last, waking from a deep sleep, and looking on all sides to discover the place where so many people could be hid, they saw smoke below them, which showed them the haunt of the enemy. They then put up the signal, as had been agreed; and their whole company drawing up, thirty-two were found wanting, who had lost their lives in the ascent.

In the mean time, the king, equally fired with a desire to storm the fortress, and struck with the visible dangers to which those men were exposed, continued on foot the whole day, gazing upon the rock, and he himself did not retire to rest till dark night. The next morning, by daybreak, he was the first who perceived the signal. He was still in doubt whether he might trust his eyes, because of the false splendour which shines out at daybreak; but the light increasing, he was sure of what he saw. Sending therefore for Cophes, who before, by his

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<sup>1</sup> About ten o'clock.

command, had sounded the barbarians, he despatched him a second time, with an exhortation to think better of the matter; and in case they should still depend upon the strength of the place, he then was ordered to show them the band of men behind their backs, who were got to the summit of the rock. Cophes employed all the arguments possible, to engage Arimazes to capitulate, representing to him, that he would gain the king's favour, in case he did not interrupt the great designs he meditated, by obliging him to make some stay before that rock. Arimazes sent a haughtier and more insolent answer than before, and commanded him to retire. Then Cophes, taking him by the hand, desired he would come out of the cave with him, which the barbarian doing, he showed him the Macedonians posted over his head, and said in an insulting tone of voice, "You see that Alexander's soldiers have wings." In the mean time, the trumpets were heard to sound in every part of the Macedonian camp, and the whole army shouted aloud, and cried, "victory!" These things, though of little consequence in themselves, did nevertheless, as often happens, throw the barbarians into so great a consternation, that without once reflecting how few were got to the summit, they thought themselves lost. Upon this, Cophes was recalled, and thirty of the chiefs among the barbarians were sent back with him, who agreed to surrender the place, upon condition that their lives might be spared. The king, notwithstanding the strong opposition he might meet with, was, however so exasperated at the haughtiness of Arimazes, that he refused to grant them any terms of capitulation. A blind and rash confidence in his own good fortune, which had never failed him, made him insensible to every danger. Arimazes, on the other side, blinded by fear, and concluding himself absolutely lost, came down with his relations, and the principal nobility of the country, into Alexander's camp. But this prince, who was not master of his anger, forgetting what the faith of treaty and humanity required on this occasion, caused them all to be scourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to crosses, at the foot of the same rock. The multitudes of people who surrendered, with all the booty, were given to the inhabitants of the cities which had been newly founded in those parts; and Artabazus was left governor of the rock, and the whole province round it.

#### SECTION XIV.—DEATH OF CLITUS. EXPEDITIONS OF ALEXANDER.

##### HE COMMANDS WORSHIP TO BE PAID TO HIMSELF.

ALEXANDER, having subdued the Massagetæ and the Dahæ, entered Bazaría. In this province are a great number of large parks stocked with deer; here the king took the diversion of hunting, in which he was exposed to very great peril; for a lion of an enormous size advanced directly to him, but he killed him with a single thrust. Although Alexander came off victorious on this occasion, yet the Macedonians, alarmed at the danger he had run, and the whole army in his person, gave orders, pursuant to the custom of their country, that the king should go no more hunting on foot, without being attended by some of his courtiers and officers. They were sensible that a king is not born for his own sake, but for that of his subjects; that he ought



to be careful of his own person for their sakes, and reserve his courage for other dangers; and that the being famous for killing beasts, a reputation unworthy of a great prince, ought not to be purchased so dear.<sup>1</sup>

From thence he advanced to Maracanda, where he quelled some tumults which had broken out in that country. Artabazus requesting to be discharged from the government of that province, by reason of his great age, he appointed Clitus his successor. He was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and signalized himself on many occasions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Rosaces had his arm raised in order to strike him behind, he covered the king with his shield, and cut off the barbarian's hand. Hellinece, his sister, had nursed Alexander; and he loved her with as much tenderness as if she had been his mother. As the king, from these several considerations, had a very great respect for Clitus, he intrusted him with the government of one of the most important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to set out the next day.

Before his departure, Clitus was invited in the evening to an entertainment, in which the king, after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; and was so excessively lavish of self-com mendation, that he even shocked those very persons who knew that he spoke truth.<sup>2</sup> Yet, the oldest men in the company held their peace, till beginning to depreciate the warlike acts of Philip, he boasted, "that the famous victory of Chæronæa was won by his means; and that the glory of so immortal a battle had been torn from him by the malice and jealousy of his father. That in the insurrection which broke out between the Macedonians and mercenary Greeks,<sup>3</sup> Philip, fainting away after the wounds he had received in that tumult, had laid himself down on the ground, and could not think of a better method to save himself, than by lying as dead; and on this occasion he had covered him with his shield, and killed with his own hand those who attempted to fall upon him; but his father could never prevail upon himself to confess this circumstance ingenuously, being vexed that he owed his life to his own son. That in a war against the Illyrians, he was the only person who had done any thing, Philip having had no manner of share in it, and hearing of the defeat of the enemy, no otherwise than by the letters he sent him. That the persons worthy of praise, were not such as initiated themselves into the mysteries of the Samothracians,<sup>4</sup> when they ought to have laid waste all Asia with fire and sword, but those who have achieved such mighty exploits as surpassed all belief."

These and the like discourses were very pleasing to the young men, but were shocking to those advanced in age; especially for Philip's

<sup>1</sup> Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 1—8. Arrian, iv. p. 161—171. Plut. in Alex. p. 693—696. Justin. l. xli. c. 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup> In que rex, cum multo incaluisset mero, immodicus sestimator sui, celebrare quæ gesserat cepit; gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui sentiebant vera memorari.—Q. Curt.

<sup>3</sup> This sedition is not mentioned in any other place.

<sup>4</sup> It was usual for generals, before they set out on their expeditions, to cause themselves to be initiated into these mysteries, and offer sacrifices to the gods who presided in them. Possibly Philip, by observing this ceremony, had delayed some enterprise.



sake, under whom they had fought for many years. Clitus, who also was intoxicated, turning about to him who sat below him at table, quoted to them a passage from Euripides,<sup>1</sup> but in such a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words distinctly. The sense of this passage was, "That the Greeks had done very wrong, in ordaining, that in the inscriptions engraved on trophies, the names of kings only should be mentioned; because, by these means, brave men were robbed of the glory they had purchased with their blood."<sup>2</sup> The king, suspecting that Clitus had used some disobliging expressions, asked those who sat nearest him, what he had said? As no one answered, Clitus, raising his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great dispute between the young and old men. Though the king was greatly vexed in his mind, he however stifled his resentment, and seemed to listen very patiently to all Clitus spoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite suppressed his passion, had Clitus stopped there; but the latter growing more and more insolent, as if determined to exasperate and insult the king, went such lengths as to defend Parmenio publicly; and to assert that the destroying of Thebes was but trifling in comparison to the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians: and that the old Macedonians, though sometimes unsuccessful, were greatly superior to those who were so rash as to despise them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill success, he was pleading his own cause, Clitus rose up, with his eyes sparkling with wine and anger, "It is nevertheless this hand," said he to him, extending it at the same time, "that saved your life at the battle of the Granicus. It is the blood and wounds of these very Macedonians, who are accused of cowardice, that raised you to this grandeur. But the tragical end of Parmenio, shows what reward they and myself may expect for all our services." The last reproach stung Alexander; but he still restrained his passion, and only commanded him to leave the table. "He is in the right," said Clitus, as he rose up, "not to bear freeborn men at his table, who can only tell him truth. He will do well to pass his life among barbarians and slaves, who will be proud to pay their adoration to his Persian girdle, and his white robe." But the king, no longer able to suppress his rage, snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the spot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. He, however, returned into it that moment by another door, singing with an air of insolence, verses, reflecting highly on the prince, who seeing the general near him, struck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the same time, "Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus."

The king's anger being in a manner suddenly extinguished in the blood of Clitus, his crime displayed itself to him in its blackest and most dreadful light. He had murdered a man who indeed abused his patience, but then he had always served him with the utmost zeal and

<sup>1</sup> In his *Andromache*.

<sup>2</sup> *Alieno enim sanguine partem gloriam intercipi.*—Q. Curt.

fidelity, and saved his life, though he was ashamed to own it. He had that instant performed the vile office of an executioner, in punishing, by a horrid murder, the uttering of some indiscreet words, which might be imputed to the fumes of wine. With what face could he appear before the sister of Clitus, his nurse, and offer her a hand imbrued in her brother's blood? Upon this he threw himself on his friend's body, forced out the javelin, and would have despatched himself with it, had not the guards who rushed in upon him, laid hold of his hands, and forcibly carried him into his own apartment.

He passed the night and the next day in tears. After that groans and lamentations had quite wasted his spirits, he continued speechless, stretched on the ground, and only venting deep sighs. But his friends, fearing his silence would be fatal, forced themselves into his chamber. The king took very little notice of the words that were employed to comfort him, but Aristander the soothsayer, putting him in mind of a dream, in which he imagined he saw Clitus, clothed in a black robe and seated at a table; and declaring that all which had then happened was appointed by the eternal decree of fate, Alexander appeared a little easier in his mind. He next was addressed by two philosophers, Calisthenes and Anaxarchus. The former went up to him with an air of humanity and tenderness, and endeavoured to suppress his grief, by agreeably insinuating himself, and tried to make him recall his reason, by reflections of a solid nature, drawn from the very essence of philosophy, and by carefully shunning all such expressions as might renew his affliction, and fret a wound, which, as it was still bleeding, required to be touched with the most gentle hand. But Anaxarchus did not observe this decorum; for the moment he entered, he cried aloud, "How! is this Alexander, on whom the eyes of the world are fixed? Behold him here extended on the floor, shedding floods of tears like the meanest slave! Does he not know that he himself is a supreme law to his subjects; that he conquered merely to raise himself to the exalted dignity of lord and sovereign, and not to subject himself to a vain opinion?" The king was determined to starve himself; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that his friends prevailed with him to take a little sustenance. The Macedonians declared by a decree, that Clitus had been very justly killed; to which decree, Anaxarchus the philosopher had given occasion, by asserting, that the will of princes is the supreme law of the state. Alas! how weak are all such reflections against the cries of a justly alarmed conscience, which can never be quieted, either by flattery or false arguments!

It must be confessed, that Clitus had committed an inexcusable fault. It was, indeed, his duty not to join in discourses calculated to sully the glory of Philip his benefactor; but to show his dislike of what was said, by a mournful, but modest silence. He possibly might have been allowed to speak in favour of the late monarch, provided he had expressed himself with prudence and moderation. Had such a reservedness been unsuccessful, he might justly have merited pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and shocking reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the

sacred character of kings; with regard to whom, however unjustly they may act, not only every contemptuous, insulting expression is forbidden, but every disrespectful and unguarded word; they being the representatives of God himself.

It must be confessed, that the circumstance of the banquet, greatly extenuates, or, in some measure, throws a veil over the fault of Clitus. When a prince invites a subject to a feast; when he makes him the companion of debauch, and in person, excites him to quaff immoderately, a king, on such an occasion, seems to forget his dignity, and to permit his subjects to forget it also; he gives a sanction, as it were, to the liberties, familiarities, and sudden flights which wine commonly inspires. And should he be displeased with a subject for equalling himself with him, he ought to blame himself for having first raised a subject so high. A fault committed under these circumstances is always a fault; but then it never ought to be expiated by the blood of the offender.

A certain author compares anger, when united with power, to thunder;<sup>1</sup> and indeed, what havoc does it not then make? But how dreadful must it be, when joined with drunkenness! We see this in Alexander. How unhappy was that prince, not to have endeavoured to subdue those two vices in his youth; and to have been confirmed in them by the example of one of his tutors!<sup>2</sup> For it is asserted that both were the consequences of his education. But what can be meaner or more unworthy a king than drinking to excess? What can be more fatal or bloody, than the transports of anger? Alexander, who had overcome so many nations, was himself conquered by these two vices, which throw a shade over the glory of his brightest actions. The reason of this, says Seneca, is, he endeavoured more to vanquish others than to subdue himself; not knowing that to triumph over our passions is, of all conquests, the most glorious.<sup>3</sup>

Alexander, after continuing ten days in Maracanda, in order to recover his spirits, marched into Xenippa, a province, bordering upon Scythia, to which place some rebels had retired, all of whom he subjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he set forward with his army toward the rock Choriensis, of which Sysimethres was governor. All access to it seemed absolutely impracticable; he at last, however, got near it, after having passed through numberless difficulties; and by the mediation of Oxarthes, a prince of that country who had adhered to Alexander, he prevailed upon Sysimethres to surrender. The king after this left him the government of that place, and promised him very great advantages in case he continued faithful.

Alexander had resolved to attack the Dahæ, because Spitamenes, chief of the rebels, was among them; but the felicity which always attended him, spared him that labour. The wife of this barbarian,

<sup>1</sup> Fulmen est, ubi cum potestate habitat iracundia.—Publ. Syr.

<sup>2</sup> Nec minus error eorum nocet moribus, si quidem Leonides, Alexandri pædagogus, ut a Babylonio Diogene traditor, quibusdam eum vitiis imbuisset, quæ robustum quoque et jam maximum regem ab illa institutione puerili sunt prosecuta.—Quintil. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Victor tot regum atque populorum, iræ succubuit. Id enim egerat, ut omnia potius haberet in potestate, quam affectus.—Imperare sibi, maximum imperium est.—Senec. epist. cxiii.

being no longer able to bear the wandering wretched life her husband had forced her to lead, and having often entreated him, but in vain, to surrender himself to the conqueror, she herself murdered him in the night; and quite covered with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander was shocked at so horrid a spectacle, and ordered her to be driven ignominiously from the camp.

Alexander, after having drawn his army out of the garrisons, where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabaza. In his way he encountered a dreadful storm. Flashes of lightning coming thick, one upon the other, dazzled the eyes of the soldiers, and entirely discouraged them. It thundered almost incessantly; and the thunder-bolt fell every moment at the feet of the soldiers,<sup>1</sup> so that they did not dare either to stand still or advance. On a sudden, a violent shower of rain, mingled with hail, came pouring down like a flood; and so extreme was the cold in this country, that the rain froze as soon as it fell. The sufferings of the army on this occasion were insupportable. The king, who was the only person invincible to these calamities, rode up and down among the soldiers; comforted and animated them; and pointing at smoke which issued from some distant huts, entreated them to march to them with all the speed possible. Having given orders for the felling of a great number of trees, and laying them in heaps, he had fires made in different places, and by this means saved the army: but upwards of a thousand men lost their lives. The king made up to the officers and soldiers the several losses they had sustained during this fatal storm.

When they were recovered so far as to be able to march, he went into the country of the Sacæ, which he soon overran and laid waste. Soon after this, Oxarthes received him in his palace, and invited him to a sumptuous banquet, in which he displayed all the magnificence of the barbarians. He had a daughter, called Roxana, a young lady, whose exquisite beauty was heightened by all the charms of wit and good sense. Alexander found her charms irresistible, and made her his wife; covering his passion with the specious pretence of uniting the two nations in such bands as should improve their mutual harmony, by blending their interests, and throwing down all distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage displeased the Macedonians very much, and exasperated his chief courtiers, to see him make one of his slaves his father-in-law; but as, after his murdering Clitus, no one dared to speak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, which can adapt themselves wonderfully to flattery and servile complacency.<sup>2</sup>

In fine, having resolved to march into India, and embark from thence on the ocean, he commanded, in order that nothing might be left behind to check his designs, that thirty thousand young men should be brought him, all completely armed, out of the several provinces, to serve him at the same time as hostages and soldiers. In the mean time, he sent Craterus against some of the rebels, whom he

<sup>1</sup> An erroneous idea of the ancients.

<sup>2</sup> Sed, post Clyti cædem, libertate sublata, vultu, qui maxime servit assentibantur.—Q. CURT.  
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easily defeated. Polysperchon likewise subdued a country called Bubacene; so that all things being in perfect tranquillity, Alexander bent his whole thoughts to the carrying on the war with India. This country was considered the richest in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious stones, with which the inhabitants adorn themselves, but with more luxury than gracefulness. It was related, that the swords of the soldiers were of gold and ivory; and the king, now the greatest monarch in the world, being determined not to yield to any person whatever in any circumstances, caused the swords of his soldiers to be ornamented with silver plates, put gold bridles to the horses, had the coats of mail brightened with gold and silver, and prepared to march for this enterprise, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, all equipped with the magnificence above described.

All things being ready for their setting out, he thought proper to reveal the design he had so long meditated, viz., to have divine honours paid him; and was solely intent on the means of putting that design in execution. He was resolved, not only to be called, but to be believed, the son of Jupiter; as if it had been possible for him to command as absolutely over the mind as over the tongue, and that the Macedonians would condescend to fall prostrate, and adore him after the Persian manner.

To soothe and cherish these ridiculous pretensions, there were no wanting flatterers, these common pests of courts, who are more dangerous to princes than the arms of their enemies.<sup>1</sup> The Macedonians, indeed, would not stoop to this base adulation; all of them, to a man, refusing to vary, in any manner, from the customs of their country. The whole evil was owing to some Greeks, whose depraved manners were a scandal to their profession of teaching virtue and the sciences. These, though the mean refuse of Greece, were nevertheless in greater credit with their king, than either the princes of his blood, or the generals of his army; it was such creatures as these that placed him in the skies; and published, wherever they came, that Hercules, Bacchus, Castor and Pollux, would resign to this new deity.

He therefore appointed a festival and made an incredibly pompous banquet, to which he invited the greatest lords of his court, both Macedonians and Greeks, and most of the highest quality among the Persians. With these he sat down at table for some time, after which he withdrew. Upon this, Cleon, one of his flatterers, began to speak, and expatiated very much on the praises of the king, as had before been agreed upon. He made a long detail of the high obligations they owed him, all which, he observed, they might acknowledge and repay at a very easy expense, merely with two grains of incense, which they should offer to him as a god, without the least scruple, since they believed him such. To this purpose he cited the example of the Persians. He observed that Hercules himself, and Bacchus, were not ranked among the deities, till after they had surmounted the

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<sup>1</sup> Non deerat talia concupiscenti pernicioſa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum quorum opes ſæpius aſſentatio, quam hoſtis, evertit.—Q. Curt.



envy of their coteremporaries. That in case the rest should not care to pay this justice to Alexander's merit, he himself was resolved to show them the way, and to worship him if he should come into the hall. But that all of them must do their duty, especially those who professed wisdom, who ought to serve the rest as an example of the veneration due to so great a monarch.

It appeared plainly that this speech was directed to Callisthenes. He was related to Aristotle, who had presented him to Alexander, his pupil, that he might attend upon that monarch in the war of Persia.<sup>1</sup> He was considered on account of his wisdom and gravity, as the fittest person to give him such wholesome counsel, as the most capable of preserving him from those excesses into which youth and fiery temper might hurry him; but he was accused of not possessing the gentle, insinuating behaviour of courts, and of not knowing a certain medium between grovelling complacency and inflexible obstinacy.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle had attempted, but to no purpose, to soften the severity of his temper; and foreseeing the ill consequences with which his disagreeable liberty of speaking his mind might be attended, he used often to repeat the following verse of Homer<sup>3</sup> to him;

"My son, thy freedom will abridge thy days."

And his prediction was but too true.

This philosopher, seeing that every one, on this occasion, maintained a deep silence, and that the eyes of the whole assembly were fixed on him, made the following speech, which appears to me very reasonable. It often happens, however, when a subject is bound in duty to oppose the inclinations of his sovereign, that the most cautious and most respectful zeal is considered as insolence and rebellion. "Had the king," said he, "been present when you made your speech, none among us would then have attempted to answer, for he himself would have interrupted you, and not have suffered you to prompt him to assume the custom of barbarians, in casting an odium on his person and glory, by so servile an adulation. But since he is absent, I will answer you in his name. I consider Alexander as worthy of all the honours that can be paid a mortal; but there is a difference between the worship of the gods, and that of men. The former includes temples, altars, prayers, and sacrifices; the latter is confined to praises only, and awful respect. We salute the latter, and look upon it as glorious to pay them submission, obedience, and fidelity; but we adore the former; we institute festivals to their honour, and sing hymns and songs to their glory. The worship of the gods does itself vary, according to their rank; and the homage we pay to Castor and Pollux, is not like that with which we adore Mercury and Jupiter. We must not therefore confound all things, either by bringing down the gods to the condition of mortals, or by raising a mortal to the state of a god. Alexander would be justly offended, should we pay to another person the homage due to his sacred person only; ought we not to dread the indignation of the gods as much, should we bestow upon

<sup>1</sup> Diogen. Laert. in Aristot. l. v. p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Inter abruptum contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac ocriculis, vacuum.—Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀκρόμορος δὲ μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι δὲ ἀγροῦνις.—Il 16, v. 95.



mortals the honours due to them alone? I am sensible that our monarch is vastly superior to the rest; he is the greatest of kings, and the most glorious of all conquerors; but then he is a man, not a god. To obtain this title, he must first be divested of his mortal frame; but this it is greatly our interest to wish may happen, as late as possible. The Greeks did not worship Hercules till after his death; and that, not till the oracle had expressly commanded it. The Persians are cited as an example for imitation; but how low is it that the vanquished should give law to the victor! Can we forget that Alexander crossed the Hellespont, not to subject Greece to Asia, but Asia to Greece?"

The deep silence which all the company observed while Callisthenes spoke, was an indication, in some measure, of their thoughts. The king, who stood behind the tapestry all the time, heard whatever had passed. He thereupon ordered Cleon to be told, that without insisting any farther, he would only require the Persians to fall prostrate, according to their usual custom; in a short time after he came in, pretending he had been busied in some affair of importance. Immediately the Persians fell prostrate to adore him. Polysperchon, who stood near him, observing that one of them bowed so low that his chin touched the ground, bid him, in a rallying tone of voice, "strike harder." The king, offended at this joke, threw Polysperchon into prison, and broke up the assembly. He, however, afterwards pardoned him, but Callisthenes was not so fortunate.

To rid himself of him, he laid to his charge a crime of which he was not guilty. Hermolaus, one of the young officers who attended upon the king in all places, had, upon account of some private pique, formed a conspiracy against him; but it was very happily discovered, the instant it was to have been put into execution. The criminals were seized, put to the torture, and executed. Not one among them had accused Callisthenes; but having been very intimate with Hermolaus, that alone was sufficient. He was accordingly thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and the most grievous torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a confession of guilt. But he insisted upon his innocence to the last, and expired in the midst of his tortures.

Nothing has reflected so much dishonour on Alexander's memory, as this unjust and cruel death of Callisthenes. He truly merited the name of philosopher, from the solidity of his understanding, the extent of his knowledge, the austerity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and above all, from the hatred he so evidently manifested for dissimulation and flattery of every kind. He was not born for courts, the frequenters of which must have a simple, pliable, flexible turn of mind; sometimes it must be of a knavish and treacherous, or at least of a hypocritical, flattering cast. He was very seldom seen at the king's table, though frequently invited to it; and whenever he prevailed so far upon himself as to go thither, his melancholy, silent air, was a manifest indication, that he disapproved of every thing that was said and done at it. With this humour, which was a little too severe, he would have been an inestimable treasure, had he been possessed by

a prince who hated falsehood; for among the many thousands who surrounded Alexander, and paid court to him, Callisthenes only had courage enough to tell him the truth. But where do we meet with princes who know the value of such a virtue, and the use which ought to be made of it? Truth seldom pierces those clouds which are raised by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their courtiers. And, indeed, Alexander, by this dreadful example, deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of exhorting him to those things which were for his own true interest. From that instant no one spoke with freedom in the council; even those who had the greater love for the public, and a personal affection for Alexander, thought themselves not obliged to undeceive him. After this, nothing was listened to but flattery, which gained such an ascendant over that prince, as entirely depraved him, and justly punished him, for having sacrificed to the wild ambition of having adoration paid him, the most virtuous man about his person.

I observe, after Seneca, that the death of Callisthenes is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and so horrid a crime, that no quality, however beautiful, no military exploit, though of the most conspicuous kind, can ever efface its infamy. It is said in favour of Alexander, that he killed an infinite number of Persians; that he dethroned and slew the most powerful king of the earth; conquered innumerable provinces and nations: penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the most remote part of Thrace to the extremities of the east: in answer to each of these particulars, "Yes," says Seneca, "but he murdered Callisthenes;" a crime of so heinous a nature, that it entirely obliterates the glory of all his other actions.<sup>1</sup>

SECTION XV.—ALEXANDER SETS OUT FOR INDIA. BESIEGES AND TAKES SEVERAL CITIES. DEFEATS PORUS, WHOM HE RESTORES TO HIS THRONE.

ALEXANDER, to stop the murmurs and discontents which arose among his soldiers, set out for India. He himself wanted action and motion, for he always, when unemployed, lost part of the glory he had acquired in war. An excess of vanity and folly prompted him to undertake this expedition; a project quite useless in itself, and attended with very dangerous consequences. He had read in the ancient fables of Greece, that Bacchus and Hercules, both sons of Jupiter, as himself was, had marched so far. He was determined not to be surpassed by them; and there were not wanting flatterers, who applauded this wild, chimerical design.<sup>2</sup>

These are the things that constitute the glory and merit of such

<sup>1</sup> Hoc est Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, occidit Persarum multa millia; opponetur, et Callisthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, occidit Darium, penes quem tunc magnum regnum erat; opponetur, et Callisthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, omnia oceano tenuis vicit, ipsum quoque tentavit ævis classibus, et imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, scd Callisthenem occidit. Omnis facit antiqua ducum regumque, exempla transierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit, quam scelus Callisthenis.—Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. vi. c. 95

<sup>2</sup> Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9.

pretended heroes; and it is this which many people, dazzled by a false splendour, still admire in Alexander; a ridiculous desire of overrunning the world; of disturbing the tranquillity of nations, who were not bound to him by any obligations; of treating all those as enemies who should refuse to acknowledge him for their sovereign; of plundering and extirpating such as should presume to defend their liberties, their possessions, and their lives, against an unjust invader, who came from the extremity of the earth to attack them without the least shadow of right. Add to this glaring injustice, the rash and stupid project he had formed, of subduing, with infinite labour and the utmost hazard, many more nations than it was possible for him to keep in subjection; and the sad necessity to which he was reduced, of being perpetually obliged to conquer them anew, and punish them for their rebellion. This is a sketch of what the conquest of India will exhibit to us, after I shall have given some little account of the situation and manners of that country, and some of its curiosities.

Ptolemy divides India into two parts; India on this, and India on the other side of the Ganges. Alexander did not go beyond the former, nor even so far as the Ganges. This first part is situated between the two great rivers, Indus, whence this country received its name, and the Ganges. Ptolemy says, the limits of it are, to the west, Paropamisus, Arachosia, and Gedrosia, which either form a part, or are upon the confines of the kingdom of Persia; to the north, mount Imaus, which is part of Great Tartary; to the east, the Ganges; to the south, the Ocean, or Indian Sea.

All the Indians are free, and, like the Lacedæmonians, have no slaves among them. The only difference is, the latter make use of foreign slaves, whereas there are none in India. They do not erect any monuments in honour of the dead, but are of opinion that the reputation of illustrious men is their mausoleum.<sup>1</sup>

They may be divided into seven classes. The first and most honourable, though the smallest, is that of the Brahmins, who are, as it were, the guardians of religion. I shall have occasion to mention them in the sequel.

The second and most numerous is that of the husbandmen. These are held in great veneration. Their only employment is to plough the fields, and they are never taken from this employment to carry arms and serve in the field in time of war: it is an inviolable law, never to molest them on their lands.

The third is that of herdsmen and shepherds, who keep herds and flocks, and never come into the cities. They rove up and down the mountains, and often exercise themselves in hunting.

The fourth is that of traders and artificers, among whom pilots and seamen are included. These three last orders pay a tribute to the king, and none are exempted from it but those that make arms, who, instead of paying anything, receive a stipend from the public.

The fifth is that of soldiers, whose only employment is war; they are furnished with all sorts of necessaries; and, in time of peace, are

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<sup>1</sup> Arrian de India, p. 324—328.

abundantly supplied with all things. Their life, at all times, is free and disengaged from cares of every kind.

The sixth order is that of overseers, who superintend the actions of others, and examine every transaction, either in cities or the country, and report the whole to the prince. The virtues and qualities required in these magistrates are, exactness, sincerity, probity, and the love of country. None of these magistrates, says the historian, have ever been accused of telling an untruth. Thrice happy nation, were this really fact! This observation, however, proves at least that truth and justice were held in great honour in this country, and that knavery and insincerity were detested.

Lastly, the seventh class consists of persons employed in the public councils, and who share the cares of the government with the sovereign. From this class are taken magistrates, intendants, governors of provinces, generals, and all military officers, whether for land or sea; comptrollers of the treasury, receivers, and all who are intrusted with the public moneys.

These different orders of the state never blend by marriage; and an artificer, for instance, is not allowed to take a wife from among the class of husbandmen; and so of the rest. None of these can follow two professions at the same time, nor quit one class for another. It is natural to conclude that this regulation must have contributed very much to the improvement of all arts and trades; as every one added his own industry and reflections to those of his ancestors, which were delivered down to him by an uninterrupted tradition.

Many observations might be made on these Indian customs, which I am obliged to omit, for the sake of proceeding in my history. I only entreat the reader to observe that in every wise government, every well governed state, the tilling of lands, and the grazing of cattle, two perpetual and certain sources of riches and abundance, have always been among the chief objects of the care of those who preside in the administration; and that the neglect of either, is erring against one of the most important maxims in policy.

I also admire very much that custom of appointing overseers, whether they are known for such or not, who go upon the spot, in order to inspect the conduct of governors, intendants, and judges; the only method to prevent the rapine and outrages to which unlimited authority, and the distance from a court, frequently give occasion; the only method, at the same time, for a sovereign to know the state of his kingdom, without which it is impossible for him to govern happily the people whom Providence has intrusted to his care. This care regards him personally; and those who act under him can no more dispense with the discharge of it, than they can usurp his diadem.

It is remarkable that in India, from the month of June to those of September and October, excessive rains very often fall, which render the crossing of rivers very difficult, and cause frequent inundations. Hence we may judge how greatly, during all this season, the armies of Alexander must have suffered, as they were at that time in the field.

Before I leave what relates in general to India, I shall say a few words concerning elephants, with which that country abounds more than any other. The elephant exceeds all terrestrial animals in size. Some are thirteen or fifteen feet high. The female goes a whole year with her young. It lives sometimes to the age of one hundred, or one hundred and twenty years; nay, much longer, if some ancient writers may be credited. Its nose, called its trunk, "proboscis," is long and hollow like a large trumpet, and serves the elephant instead of a hand,<sup>1</sup> which it moves with incredible agility and strength, and is of great service to it. The elephant, notwithstanding its prodigious size, is so tractable and industrious, that one would be almost apt to conclude it were endued with something like human reason.<sup>2</sup> It is susceptible of affection, fondness, and gratitude, so far as to pine away with sorrow when it has lost its master, and even sometimes to destroy itself when it happens to have injured or killed him in the transports of its fury. It is very docile. Arrian, whose authority is not to be questioned, relates that he had seen an elephant dance with two cymbals fixed to his legs, which he struck one after the other in cadence with his trunk; and that the rest danced round him, keeping time with surprising exactness.

He describes very particularly the manner in which they are taken. The Indians inclosed a large spot of ground with a trench about twenty feet wide, and fifteen feet deep, to which there is access but in one part, by a bridge covered with turf, in order that these animals, who are very subtle, may not suspect what is intended. Of the earth that is dug out of the trench, a kind of wall is raised, on the other side of which a little kind of chamber is made, where people conceal themselves in order to watch these animals, the entrance of which is very small. In this inclosure two or three tame female elephants are set. The instant the wild elephants see or smell them, they run and whirl about so much, that at last they enter the inclosure, upon which the bridge is immediately broken down; and the people on the watch fly to the neighbouring villages for help. After they have been broken for a few days by hunger and thirst, people enter the inclosure upon tame elephants, and with these they attack them. As the wild ones are by this time very much weakened, it is impossible for them to make a long resistance. After throwing them on the ground, men get upon their backs, having first made a deep wound round their necks, about which they throw a rope, in order to put them to great pain, in case they attempt to stir. Being tamed in this manner, they suffer themselves to be led quietly to the houses with the rest, where they are fed with grass and green corn, and tamed insensibly by blows and hunger, till such time as they obey readily their master's voice, and perfectly understand his language.

Every one knows the use that was formerly made of these animals in battle; they frequently, however, made greater havoc in the army

<sup>1</sup> Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficilis aditus habebant ad pastum.—Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. n. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Elephanto belluarum nulla providentior. At figura quæ vastior.—Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. i. n. 97.



to which they belonged, than in that of the enemy. Their teeth, or rather tusks, furnish us with ivory. But it is time to return to Alexander.

This prince having entered India,<sup>1</sup> all the petty kings of these countries came to meet and submit themselves to him. They declared that he was the third son of Jupiter,<sup>2</sup> who had arrived in their country; that they had known Bacchus and Hercules no otherwise than by fame; but as for Alexander, they had the happiness to see him, and to enjoy his presence. The king received them with the utmost humanity, commanding them to accompany him, and serve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephæstion and Perdiccas with part of his forces, commanding them to subdue all who should refuse to submit. But finding he was obliged to cross several rivers, he caused boats to be built in such a form that they could be taken to pieces; the several parts of them to be carried upon wagons, and afterwards put together again. Then, having commanded Craterus to follow him, with his phalanx, he himself marched before, with his cavalry and light-armed troops; and, after a slight engagement, he defeated those who had dared to oppose him, and pursued them to the next city, into which they fled. Craterus coming up, the king, in order to terrify, on a sudden, those nations who had not yet felt the power of the Macedonian arms, commanded his soldiers to burn down the fortifications of that place, which he besieged in a regular way, and to put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. But as he was going round the walls on horseback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithstanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havoc of all the soldiers and inhabitants, and did not so much as spare the houses.<sup>3</sup>

After subduing this nation, which was of great consequence, he marched towards the city of Nysa, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a forest that covered it. In the meantime, it grew so very cold in the night, that they had never yet felt so excessive a chill; but, very happily for them, a remedy was near at hand. They felled a great number of trees, and lighted up several fires, which proved very comfortable to the whole army. The besieged having attempted an unsuccessful sortie, a faction arose in the city; some being of opinion that it would be best for them to surrender, while others were for holding out the siege. This coming to the king's ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any farther injury; till at last, tired out with the length of the siege, they surrendered at discretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror. They declared that their city had been built by Bacchus. The whole army, for six days together, celebrated games and made rejoicings on this mountain, in honour of the god who was there worshipped.

He marched from thence to a country called Dædala, which had

<sup>1</sup> Quintus Curtius supposes that several countries on the other side of the Indus, but adjacent to that river, belonged to India, and made part of it.

<sup>2</sup> Could these Greek names of gods be known to the Indians?

<sup>3</sup> Quint. Curt. l. viii. c. 6—14. Arrian, l. iv. p. 182—195; l. v. p. 105—221. Plut. in Alex. p. 697—699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 557—559. Justin, l. 12, c. 7 8.



been abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, as also those of Acadera, into which he afterwards entered. This obliged him to change his mode of war, and to disperse his forces in different places, by which means the enemy were all defeated at once; no resistance was made anywhere, and those who were so courageous as to wait the coming up of the Macedonians, were all cut to pieces. Ptolemy took several cities the instant he sat down before them: Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, passed the river Choaspes,<sup>1</sup> and left Coenus to besiege a rich and populous city, called Basica by the inhabitants.<sup>2</sup>

He afterwards marched towards Magosa, whose king, called Assacanus, was lately dead, and Cleophes, his mother, ruled the province and city. There were thirty thousand foot in it, and both nature and art seemed to have united their endeavours in raising its fortifications; for towards the east it was surrounded by a very rapid river, the banks of which were steep, and difficult of access; and on the west were high and craggy rocks, at the foot of which were caves, which, through length of time, had increased into a kind of abysses; and where these failed, a trench of an astonishing height was raised with incredible labour.

While Alexander was going round the city to view its fortifications, he was shot by an arrow in the calf of his leg; but he only pulled out the weapon, and, without even binding up the wound, mounted his horse, and continued to view the outward fortifications of the city. But as he rode with his leg downward, and the congealing of the blood put him in great pain, it is related that he cried, "Every one swears that I am the son of Jupiter, but my wound makes me sensible that I am man."<sup>3</sup> He did not, however, leave the place till he had seen everything, and given all the necessary orders. Some of the soldiers, therefore, demolished such houses as stood without the city, and with the rubbish of them they filled up the gulfs above mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge stones into them; and all laboured with so much vigour, that in nine days the works were completed, and the towers were raised upon them.

The king, without waiting till his wound was healed, visited the works, and after applauding the soldiers for their great despatch, he caused the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were discharged against those who defended the walls. But that which most terrified the barbarians, was those towers of a vast height which seemed to them to move of themselves. This made them imagine that they were made to advance by the gods; and that those battering rams which beat down walls, and the javelins thrown by engines, the like of which they had never seen, could not be the effect of human strength; so that, persuaded that it would be impossible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themselves more secure there, they sent ambassadors to propose a surrender. The queen afterwards came and met Alexander,

<sup>1</sup> This is not the Choaspes which runs by Susa.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 3677. Ant. J. C. 327.

<sup>3</sup> Omnes jurant me avis esse filium, sed vulnust hoc hominem esse me clamet.—Seneca Epist. lxx.

attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of sacrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and restored her to her kingdom.

From hence Polysperchon was sent with an army to besiege the city of Ora, which he soon took. Most of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition that, Hercules having besieged this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the siege. There are not on this rock, as on many others, gentle declivities of easy access; but it rises like a bank; and being very wide at its base, grows narrower all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whose source is not far from this place, flows at the foot, its sides being perpendicular and high; and on the other side were vast morasses, which it was necessary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians, they were near a forest. This the king had cut down, commanding his soldiers to carry off nothing but the trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with the less difficulty; and he himself threw the first trunk into the morass. The army seeing this, shouted for joy, and every soldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finished in seven days; immediately after which he commenced the attack. The officers were of opinion that it would not be proper for the king to expose himself on this occasion, the danger being evidently too great. But the trumpet had no sooner sounded, than this prince, who was not master of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himself climbing the rock. At this sight it appeared no longer inaccessible, and every one flew after him. Never were soldiers exposed to greater danger; but they were all resolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whose whirlpools swallowed them up. The barbarians rolled great stones on the foremost, who, being scarcely able to keep upon their feet, the rock was so slippery, fell down the precipices, and were dashed to pieces. No sight could possibly be more dismal than this; the king, greatly afflicted at the loss of so many brave soldiers, caused a retreat to be sounded. Although he had lost all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raise the siege, still he acted as if he intended to continue it, and accordingly gave orders for bringing forward the towers, and other engines; the besieged, by way of insult, made great rejoicings, and continued the festivity for two days and two nights, making the rock, and the whole neighbourhood, echo with the sound of their drums and cymbals. But the third night, they were not heard, and the Macedonians were surprised to see every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was informed that the Indians had lighted them to assist their flight, and to guide them the more easily in those precipices during the obscurity of the night. Immediately the whole army, by Alexander's order, shouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives so much that several of them, fancying they saw the enemy, flung themselves from the top of the rock, and perished miserably. The king, having so happily and unexpectedly possessed himself of the rock in an almost miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offered sacrifices in their honour.

From thence he marched, and took Echolinus; and after sixteen days march, arrived at the river Indus, where he found that Hephæstion had got all things ready for his passage, pursuant to the orders given him. The king of the country, called Omphis, whose father died some time before, had sent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithstanding the Macedonian told him he might, he nevertheless delayed putting it on till his arrival. He then went to meet him with his whole army; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he pushed forward his horse, came up singly to him, and the king did the same. The Indian then told him, by an interpreter, "That he was come to meet him at the head of his army, in order to deliver up all his forces into his hands: that he surrendered his person and his kingdom to a monarch, who, he was sensible, fought only with the view of acquiring glory, and dreaded nothing so much as treachery." The king, greatly satisfied with the frankness of the barbarian, gave him his hand, and restored him his kingdoms. He then made Alexander a present of fifty-six elephants, and a great number of other animals of a prodigious size. Alexander asking him which were most necessary to him, husbandmen or soldiers? he replied that as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of greater service to him. These two monarchs were Abisares and Pores, the latter of whom was most powerful, and the dominions of both were situated on the other side of the Hydaspes. Omphis assumed the diadem, and took the name of Taxilus, by which the kings of that country were called. He made magnificent presents to Alexander, who did not suffer himself to be exceeded in generosity.

The next day, ambassadors from Abisares waiting upon the king, surrendered up to him, pursuant to the power given them, all the dominions of their sovereign; and, after the parties had mutually promised fidelity to each other, they returned.

Alexander, expecting that Porus, astonished with the report of his glory, would not fail to submit to him, sent a message to that prince, as if he had been his vassal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominion. Porus answered with great coldness, that he would do so, but with sword in hand. At the same time a reinforcement of thirty elephants, which were of great service, were sent to Alexander. He gave the superintendence of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaspes. Porus was encamped on the other side of it, in order to dispute the passage with him; and had posted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious size, and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thousand foot; not having, at most, above seven thousand horse. This prince was mounted on an elephant of a much larger size than that of the rest, and he himself exceeded the usual stature of men: so that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and silver, he appeared at the same time terrible and majestic. The greatness of his courage fully equalled his extraordinary stature, and he was as wise and prudent as it was possible for the monarch of so barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to pass. It was four furlongs wide, about four hundred fathoms, and so deep in every part that it looked like a sea, and was no where fordable. It was impetuous in its course, notwithstanding its great breadth; for it rolled with as much violence as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging foaming waves, which broke in many places, discovered that it was full of stones and rocks. Nothing, however, was so dreadful as the appearance of the shore, which was so completely covered with men, horses and elephants. These hideous animals stood like so many towers, and the Indians exasperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with greater terror. But this could not intimidate an army of men, whose courage was proof against all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted series of success; they however did not think it would be possible for them, as their barks were so crazy, to surmount the rapidity of the stream, or land with safety.

This river was full of little islands, to which the Indians and Macedonians used to swim, with their arms over their heads; and slight skirmishes were every day fought in the sight of the two kings, who were well pleased to make these small excursions of their respective forces, and to form a judgment from such skirmishes of the success of a general battle. There were two young officers in Alexander's army, Egesimachus and Nicanor, men of equal intrepidity, and who, having ever been successful, despised dangers of every kind. They took with them the bravest youths in the whole army; and, with no other weapons than their javelins, swam to an island in which several of the enemy were landed; where, with scarcely any other assistance than their intrepidity, they made a great slaughter. After this bold stroke, they might have retired with glory, were it possible for rashness, when successful, to keep within bounds. But as they waited with contempt, and an insulting air, for those who came to succour their companions, they were surrounded by a band of soldiers, who had swum unperceived to the island, and overwhelmed with the darts that were shot from afar. Those who endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, were either carried away by the waves, or swallowed up by the whirlpools. The courage of Porus, who saw all this from the shore, was surprisingly increased by this success.

Alexander was in great perplexity; and finding he could not pass the Hydaspes by force of arms, he therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice. Accordingly, he caused his cavalry to attempt several times to pass it in the night, and to shout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpose. Porus immediately hurried thither with his elephants, but Alexander continued in order of battle on the bank. This stratagem having been attempted several times, and Porus finding the whole was but mere noise and empty menaces, he took no farther notice of these motions, but only sent scouts to every part of the shore. Alexander, being now no longer apprehensive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to cross the river in the night, began to resolve seriously to pass it.

There was in this river, at a considerable distance from Alexander's camp, an island of a greater extent than any of the rest. This being covered with trees, was well adapted for covering and concealing his design, and therefore he resolved to attempt the passage that way. The better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive them on this occasion, he left Craterus in his camp with a great part of the army, with orders for them to make a great noise at a certain time which should be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to cross the river: but that he would not attempt this, till such time as Porus should have raised his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw or advance towards those Macedonians who should attempt the passage. Between the camp and the island he had posted Meleager and Gorgias with the foreign horse and foot, with orders for them to pass over in bodies, the instant they should see him engaged in battle.

After giving these orders, he took the rest of his army, both cavalry and infantry: and, wheeling off from the shore, in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night-time towards the island into which he was resolved to go; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander caused his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was opposite to that of Porus. His life-guards were drawn up round, in all the pomp and splendour with which the majesty of a great king is usually surrounded. He also caused a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the same age with himself, and so much resembled the king, both in stature and features, especially at so great a distance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might suppose Alexander himself was on the bank, and was attempting a passage in that place. He however was by this time got to the island above mentioned; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the rest of his troops, while the enemy was employed in opposing Craterus. A furious storm now arose, which seemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved of advantage to it; for so fortunate was this prince, that obstacles served only as advantages and succours in his favour: the storm was succeeded by a very violent shower, with impetuous winds, flashes of lightning and thunder, insomuch that there was no hearing or seeing any thing. Any man but Alexander would have abandoned his design; he, on the contrary, was animated by danger, not to mention that the noise, the confusion, and the darkness assisted his passage. He thereupon made the signal for the embarkation of his troops, and went off himself in the first boat. It is reported, that it was on this occasion he cried out, "O Athenians! could you think I would expose myself to such dangers to merit your applause?" And indeed, nothing could contribute more to immortalize his name, than the having his actions recorded by such great historians as Thucydides and Xenophon;<sup>1</sup> and so anxious was he about the character which would be given him after his death, that he wished it were possible for him to return again into

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<sup>1</sup> Lucian. de Conscrib. Hist. p. 694.



the world, only so long as was necessary to know what kind of impression the perusal of his history made on the minds of men.

Scarcely any person appeared to oppose their descent, because Porus was wholly taken up with Craterus, and imagined he had nothing to do but oppose his passage. Immediately, this general, pursuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and seemed to attempt the passage of the river. Upon this all the boats reached the shore, except one, which the waves dashed to pieces against a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, consisting of six thousand foot and five thousand horse.

He himself headed the latter; and, having commauded the foot to make all imaginable despatch after, he marched before him. It was his firm opinion, that in case the Indians should oppose him with their whole force, his cavalry would give him infinite advantage over them; and that, be this as it would be, he might easily continue fighting until his foot should come up; or, that in case the enemy, alarmed at the news of his passing, should fly, it would then be in his power to pursue, and make a great slaughter of them.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had passed the river, sent against him a detachment, commanded by one of his sons, of two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander at first imagined them to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but, being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with such a vigour, that Porus's son was killed upon the spot, with four hundred horses, and all the chariots were taken. Each of these chariots carried six men; two were armed with bucklers, two bowmen sat on each side, and two guided the chariot, who also always fought when the battle grew warm, having a great number of darts, which they discharged at the enemy. But all these did little execution that day, because the rain, which fell in great abundance, had moistened the earth to such a degree, that the horses could scarcely stand upon their legs: and the chariots being very heavy, most of them sunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his son, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his post, because Craterus, with the rest of the Macedonian army, made a feint as if they intended to pass the river. He resolved at last to go and meet Alexander, whom he justly supposed to be at the head of the choicest troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuse those who were posted on the opposite shore, he set out with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three thousand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm sandy soil, in which his horses and chariots might wheel about with ease, he drew up his army in order of battle, with an intent to await the coming up of the enemy. He posted in front, and on the first line, all the elephants at an hundred feet distance from each other, in order that they might serve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in these intervals, because of the fear those horses would have of the elephants;



and much less the infantry, when they should see that of the enemy posted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trodden to pieces by those animals. He had posted some of his foot on the same line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and his infantry was covered by his two wings of horse, before which the chariots were posted. Such was the order and disposition of the army of Porus.

Alexander, on coming in sight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmost diligence, and arrived shortly after, and in order that they might have time to take breath, and not be led directly, as they were much fatigued, against the enemy, he caused his horse to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now, every thing being ready, and the infantry having sufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the signal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were posted, for the very reason which had made Porus draw them up in that manner: but his cavalry being stronger, he drew out the greatest part of them; and marching against the left wing, sent Coenus with his own regiment of horse, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the same time; ordering him to attack the cavalry on the left, in the rear, while he himself would charge them at the same time both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to stir from their posts, till Alexander's cavalry had thrown that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into disorder.

When come within arrow-shot, he detached a thousand bowmen on horseback, with orders for them to make their discharge on the horse of Porus's left wing, to throw it into disorder, while he himself should charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians, having again joined their squadron, and drawing them up in a narrower compass, advanced against Alexander. At that instant Coenus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; so that the Indians were obliged to face about on all sides, to defend themselves from the thousand bowmen, and against Alexander and Coenus. Alexander, to make the best advantage of the confusion into which this sudden attack had thrown them, charged, with great vigour, those who made head against him, who being no longer able to stand so violent an attack, were soon broken, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance against the enemy's horse; but, at that very instant, the Macedonian phalanx, moving on a sudden, surrounded those animals, and charged with their pikes both the elephants and their leaders. This battle was very different from all which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants rushing upon the battalions, broke with inexpressible fury, the thickest of them; when the Indian horse, seeing the Macedonian foot stopped by the elephants, returned to the charge; that of Alexander, however, being stronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a second time, and obliged it to retire among the elephants; upon which the Macedonian horse, being all united in one body, spread terror and confusion wherever

they attacked. The elephants being covered with wounds, and the greatest part having lost their leaders, did not preserve their usual order; but, distracted with pain, no longer distinguished friends from foes, and running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purposely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them wherever they came forward, or charged with darts those that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having surrounded the enemy with the horse, made a signal to his foot to march up with all imaginable speed, in order to make a last effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force, all which they executed successfully. In this manner the greatest part of the Indian cavalry was cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which sustained equal loss, seeing themselves charged on all sides, at last fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp with the rest of the army, seeing Alexander engaged with Porus, crossed the river, and charging the routed soldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians lost on this occasion twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse; not to mention the chariots which were all broken to pieces, and the elephants that were either killed or taken. Porus's two sons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province; all the colonels of horse and foot, and those who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he lost but eighty of the six thousand soldiers who were at the first charge, ten bowmen of the horse, twenty of his horse-guards, and two hundred common soldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a soldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, seeing all his horse defeated, and the greatest part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius, who, in a like disaster, was the first that fled; on the contrary, he continued in the field, as long as one battalion or squadron stood their ground; but at last, having received a wound in the shoulder, he retired upon his elephant; and was easily distinguished from the rest by the greatness of his stature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander, finding who he was by these glorious marks, and being desirous of saving this king, sent Taxilus after him, because he was of the same nation. The latter advancing to him as near as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to stop, in order to hear the message he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and seeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy, "How!" says he, "is it not Taxilus that calls, that traitor to his country and kingdom?" Immediately after which, he would have transfixed him with his dart, had he not instantly retired. Notwithstanding this, Alexander was still desirous to save so brave a prince, and thereupon despatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who besought him in the strongest terms, to wait upon a conqueror who was altogether worthy of him. After much entreaty, Porus consented, and accordingly set forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, went forward in order to receive him with some of his train. Being come pretty near, Alex-

ander stopped, purposely to take a view of his stature and noble mien, he being about five cubits in height.<sup>1</sup> Porus did not seem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a resolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whose courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the esteem of the brave prince who had taken him prisoner. Alexander spoke first, and with an august and gracious air, asked him how he desired to be treated? "Like a king," replied Porus. "But," continued Alexander, "do you ask nothing more?" "No," replied Porus; "all things are included in that single word." Alexander, struck with this greatness of soul, the magnanimity of which seemed heightened by distress, did not only restore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the highest testimonies of honour, esteem, and friendship. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to say, whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praise on this occasion.

Alexander built a city on the spot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had crossed the river. He called the one Nicæa, from his victory; and the other Bucephalon, in honour of his horse who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the last duties to such of his soldiers as had lost their lives in battle, he solemnized games, and offered up sacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes.

This prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his victories. We are astonished at the rapidity of Alexander's conquests; the ease with which he surmounted the greatest obstacles, and forced almost impregnable cities; the uninterrupted and unheard-of felicity, that extricated him out of those dangers into which his rashness plunged him, and in which, one would have concluded, he must a hundred times have perished. But to unravel these mysterious events, several of which are repugnant to the usual course of things, we must go back to a superior cause, unknown to the profane historians and to Alexander himself. This monarch was, like Cyrus, the minister and instrument of the Sovereign Disposer of empires, who raises and destroys them at pleasure. He had received the same orders to overthrow the Persian and eastern empires, as Cyrus had to destroy that of Babylon. The same power conducted their enterprises, assured them of success, protected and preserved them from all dangers, till they had executed their commission, and completed their ministry. We may apply to Alexander the words which God spake to Cyrus in Isaiah,<sup>2</sup> "Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him. And I will cause the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked paths straight. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee treasures of darkness, and hidden treasures of secret places. I girded thee, though thou hast not known me." This is the true and only cause of the incredible success with which this conqueror was attended; of his unparalleled bravery; the affection his soldiers had for him, the

<sup>1</sup> Seven feet and a half.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xiv. 1—5.

foreknowledge of his felicity, and his assurance of success, which astonished his most intrepid captains.

SECTION XV. — ALEXANDER ADVANCES INTO INDIA. HE IS EXPOSED TO GREAT DANGER AT THE SIEGE OF OXYDRACÆ.

ALEXANDER, after his famous victory over Porus, advanced into India, where he subdued a great many nations and cities. He looked upon himself as a conqueror by profession as well as by his dignity, and engaged every day in new exploits with so much ardour and vivacity, that he seemed to fancy himself invested with a personal commission, and that there was an immediate obligation upon him to storm all cities, to lay waste all provinces, to extirpate all nations, which should refuse his yoke; and that he should have considered himself as guilty of a crime, had he forbore visiting every corner of the earth, and carrying terror and desolation wherever he went. He passed the Acesines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two considerable rivers. Advice was then brought him, that a great number of free Indians had made a confederacy to defend their liberties; and, among the rest, the Caytheans, who were the most valiant and most skilful of those nations in the art of war; and that they were encamped near a strong city, called Sangala. Alexander set out against these Indians, defeated them in a pitched battle, took the city, and razed it to the very foundations.<sup>1</sup>

One day, as he was riding at the head of his army, some philosophers, called brachmans in the language of that country, were conversing together as they were walking in a meadow. The instant they perceived him, they all stamped upon the ground with their feet. Alexander, surprised at this extraordinary gesture, demanded the cause of it. They answered, pointing to the ground with their fingers, "that no man possessed any more of that element than he could enjoy; that the only difference between him and other men was, that he was more restless and ambitious than they, and overran all seas and lands, merely to injure others and himself; and yet, he would die at last, and possess no greater part of the earth than was necessary for his interment." The king was not displeased with this answer: but he was hurried on by a torrent of glory, and his actions were the very reverse of what he approved.<sup>2</sup>

These brachmans, says Arrian, are in great veneration in their country. They do not pay any tribute to the prince, but assist him with their counsel, and perform the same offices as the magi do to the kings of Persia. They assist at the public sacrifices; and if a person desires to sacrifice in private, one of these must be present, otherwise the Indians are persuaded they would not be agreeable to the gods. They apply themselves particularly to consulting the stars; none but themselves pretend to divination; and they foretell, chiefly, the change of weather and of the seasons. If a brachman has failed thrice in his predictions, he is silenced for ever.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3678. Ant. J. C. 326. Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, l. vii. p. 265, 276. Id. in Indic. p. 324. Strab. l. xv. p. 715—717. Plut. in Alex. p. 701. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9.

Their sentiments, according to Strabo, are not very different from those of the Greeks. They believe that the world had a beginning; that it will end; that its form is circular; that it was created by God, who presides over, and fills it with his majesty; and that water is the principle of all things. With regard to the immortality of the soul, and the punishment of the wicked in hell, they follow the doctrine of Plato; intermixing it, like that philosopher, with some fictions, in order to express or describe those punishments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the Greeks gave them the name of gymnosophists. Many incredible particulars are related, concerning the austerity of their lives and their exceeding patience. Their only food is roots and water. As they admit the metempsychosis, and believe that the souls of men transmigrate into those of beasts, they abstain from the flesh of animals. It is thought, that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from the brachmans. They continue whole days standing with their faces towards the sun, and that in the season when this luminary darts its rays with the greatest violence. Persuaded that it is beneath the dignity of a man to wait calmly for death, when he finds himself oppressed by age or sickness, they hold it glorious to prevent their last hour, and burn themselves alive; and, indeed, they pay no honours to those who die merely of old age; and imagine they would pollute their funeral pile, and the fire that is to burn them to ashes, should they go into it otherwise than full of life and vigour. Other brachmans, more judicious and humane than the former, live in cities, and associate with their own species: and so far from considering self-murder as a virtuous or brave action, they look upon it as a weakness in man, not to wait patiently the stroke of death, and as a crime, to dare to anticipate the will of the gods.

Cicero admires, in his Tusculan questions, the invincible patience, not only of the Indian sages, but also of the women of that country, who used to contend for the honour of dying with their common husband. This privilege was reserved for that wife whom the husband had loved most affectionately; and was given in her favour by the sentence of persons appointed for that purpose, who never gave judgment till such time as they had made a strict examination, and heard the allegations on all sides. The wife on whom the preference was bestowed, ran to meet death, and ascended the funeral pile with incredible joy and patience; while the surviving wives withdrew in the deepest transports of affliction, and with their eyes bathed in tears.<sup>1</sup>

The description which Porphyry has left of these philosophers, resembles in many particulars that given above. According to this author, the brachmans live on herbs, roots, and fruits. They abstain from animals of every kind, and if they touch any, they thereby render themselves unclean. They spend the greatest part of the day and night in singing hymns in honour of their gods. They fast and pray

<sup>1</sup> Mulieres in India, cum est cujusque earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit: plures enim singules solent esse nuptæ. Quæ est victrix, ea læta prosequentibus suis una cum viro in rogam imponitur: illa victa, moesta discedit.—Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 78.



continually. The greatest part of them live alone, and in the deepest solitude, and neither marry nor profess any thing. They wish for nothing so earnestly as death; and considering this life as a burden, they wait impatiently for the moment when the soul will leave the body.<sup>1</sup>

These philosophers exist still in India, where they are called bramins; and retain, in many points, the tradition and tenets of the ancient brachmans.

Alexander, passing near a city wherein several of these brachmans dwelt, was very desirous to converse with them, and, if possible, to prevail with some of them to follow him. Being informed that these philosophers never made visits, but that those who had an inclination to see them, must go to their houses, he concluded, that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them; and not just, to force these sages to any thing contrary to their laws and usages. Onesicritus, who was a great philosopher, and had been a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, was deputed to them. He met, not far from the city, with fifteen brachmans, who from morning till evening stood always naked, in the same posture in which they at first had placed themselves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addressed himself first to Calanus, and told him the occasion of his coming. The latter gazing upon the clothes and shoes of Onesicritus, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, "that anciently, the earth had been covered with barley and wheat, as it was at that time with dust; that besides water, the rivers used to flow with milk, honey, oil, and wine: that man's guilt<sup>2</sup> had occasioned a change of this happy condition; and that Jupiter, to punish their ingratitude, had sentenced them to a long, painful labour: that their repentance afterwards moving him to compassion, he had restored them their former abundance; however, that by the course of things, they seemed to be returning to their ancient confusion." This relation shows evidently, that these philosophers had some notion of the felicity of the first man, and of the evil to which he had been sentenced for his sins.

After this first conversation, Onesicritus spoke to Mandanis, the chief, and, as it were, the superior of the band. This brachman said, "that he thought Alexander worthy of admiration, in seeking thus for wisdom in the midst of the cares of his government; that he was the first who had ever united in himself the two characters of conqueror and philosopher;<sup>2</sup> that it were to be wished, that the latter character were the attribute of those who could inspire the wisdom which they themselves possessed, and command it by their authority." He added, that he could not conceive the motive which had prompted Alexander to undertake so long and laborious a journey, nor what he came in search of, in so remote a country.

Onesicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their austere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, saying, that they would find in him a generous master and benefactor, who would heap upon them honours and riches of all kinds. Then Mandanis, assum-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. de Abst. Animal.

<sup>2</sup> Μόνον γὰρ ἰδοὶ αὐτὸν ἐν οὖλοις φιλοσοφῶντα.



ing a haughty, philosophical tone, answered, "that he did not want Alexander, and was the son of Jupiter as well as himself; that he was exempted from want, desire, or fear; so long as he should live, the earth would furnish him all things necessary for his subsistence; and that death would rid him of a troublesome companion, meaning his body, and set him at full liberty." Calanus appeared more tractable; and notwithstanding the opposition, and even the prohibition of his superior, who reproached him for his abject spirit, in stooping so low as to serve another master besides God, he followed Onesicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonstrations of joy.

We find by history, that this people used often to employ parables and similies for conveying their thoughts. One day, as he was discoursing with Alexander upon the maxims of wise policy and a prudent administration, he exhibited to that prince a sensible image, and a natural emblem of his empire. He laid upon the ground a great ox-hide, which was very dry and shrunk up, and then set his foot upon one edge of it. The hide being pressed so, gave way, and all the other edges flew up; going thus quite round the hide, and pressing the several edges of it, he made him observe, that while he lowered it on one side, all the rest rose up, till treading at last upon the middle, the hide fell equally on all sides. By this image he hinted to him, that it would be proper for him to reside in the centre of his dominions, and not undertake such long journeys. We shall soon show the reader the manner in which this philosopher ended his days.

Alexander being determined to continue the war as long as he should meet with new nations, and to look upon them as enemies while they should live independent of him, was meditating about passing the Hyphasus. He was told, that after passing that river, he must travel eleven days through deserts, and that then he would arrive at the Ganges, the greatest river in all India. That farther in the country lived the Gangaridæ and the Prasii, whose king was preparing to oppose his entering his dominions, at the head of twenty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, reinforced by two thousand chariots, and which struck the greatest terror, with three thousand elephants. This report being spread through the army, surprised all the soldiers, and raised a general murmur. The Macedonians, who after having travelled through so many countries, and grown gray in the field, were incessantly directing their eyes and wishes towards their dear, native country, made loud complaints, that Alexander should every day heap war upon war, and danger upon danger. They had undergone, but just before, inexpressible fatigues, having been exposed to rain, accompanied with storms and thunder, for above two months. Some bewailed their calamities in such terms as raised compassion; others insolently cried aloud, that they would march no farther.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander, being informed of this tumult, and that secret assemblies were formed in his camp, to prevent the ill consequences of them,

<sup>1</sup> Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1—9. Arrian, l. v. p. 221—234, et l. vi. 255—259. Plut. in Alex. p. 699, 701. Diod. l. xvii. p. 559—570. Justin, l. xii. c. 9, 10.

sent for the officers into his tent, and commanding them to call the soldiers together, he made the following speech: "I am not ignorant, soldiers! that the Indians have published several things, purposely to terrify us; but such discourses and artifices are not unusual to you. Thus the Persians described the straits of Cilicia, the vast plains of Mesopotamia, the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, as so many insurmountable difficulties, and yet your bravery conquered them. Do you repent that you have followed me thus far? As your glorious deeds have subdued for you a multitude of provinces; as you have extended your conquests beyond the Iaxartes and mount Caucasus; as you see the rivers of India flow through the midst of your empire; why are you afraid of crossing the Hyphasus, and of setting up your trophies on the banks of it, as on those of the Hydaspes? What! can the elephants, whose number is so falsely augmented, terrify you to such a degree? But has not experience taught you, that they are more destructive to their own masters than to the enemy? Endeavours are used to intimidate you by the dreadful idea of innumerable armies; but are they more numerous than those of Darius? It is surely too late for you to count the legions of the enemy, after your victories have made Asia a desert. It was when you crossed the Hellespont that you ought to have reflected on the small number of your forces: but now the Scythians form part of our army; the Bactrians, the Sogdians, and the Dahæ are with us, and fight for our glory. I, however, do not depend on these barbarians. It is on you only that I rely; your victorious arms only are present to my imagination, and your courage alone assures me success. So long as I shall be surrounded with you in fight, I shall not have any occasion to count the number of my troops, nor that of the enemy, provided you go on to battle with the same marks of joy and confidence you have hitherto discovered. Not only our glory, but even our safety, is at stake. Should we now retreat, it will be supposed that we fly before our enemies, and from that moment we shall appear as mean as the enemy will be judged formidable; for you are sensible, that in war, reputation is every thing. It is in my power to make use of authority, and yet I employ entreaties only. Do not abandon, I conjure, I do not say your king and master, but your pupil and companion in battles. Do not break to pieces, in my hand, that glorious palm which will soon, unless envy rob me of so great a glory, equal me to Hercules and to Bacchus." As the soldiers stood with their eyes cast on the ground, and did not once open their lips, "What!" continued he, "do I then speak to the deaf? Will no one listen to me, nor condescend to answer? Alas! I am abandoned, I am betrayed, I am delivered up to the enemy. But I will advance still further, though I go alone. The Scythians and Bactrians, more faithful than you, will follow me wherever I lead them. Return then to your country, and boast, ye deserters of your king, that you have abandoned him. As for myself, I will here either meet with the victory you despair of, or with a glorious death, which henceforward ought to be the sole object of my wishes."

Notwithstanding this lively, pathetic speech, the soldiers still kept

a profound silence. They waited in expectation of hearing their commanders and chief officers remonstrate to the king that their affection was as strong as ever; but that as their bodies were covered with wounds, and worn out with toils, it would be impossible for them to continue the war. However, not one of them presumed to address him in their favour. The examples of Clitus, and that of Callisthenes were still recent. The officers who were then with him, had a hundred times ventured their lives in battle for their prince; but they had not the courage to hazard the losing of their fortunes by telling him the truth. While, therefore, the soldiers as well as officers continued silent, without even daring once to lift up their eyes, there rose on a sudden a murmur, which increasing by insensible degrees, broke into such deep groans and floods of tears that the king himself, whose anger was now changed into compassion, could not forbear weeping.

At last, while the whole assembly were in tears and in deep silence, Coenus took courage, and drew near to the throne, discovering by his air and action, that he desired to speak. And when the soldiers saw him take off his helmet, that being the custom when any person spoke to the king, they besought him to plead the cause of the army; and accordingly he spoke as follows: "No, sir, we are not changed with regard to our affections for you: God forbid that so great a calamity should ever befall us. We shall always retain the same zeal, the same affection and fidelity. We are ready to follow you at the hazard of our lives, and to march wherever you shall think fit to lead us. But, if your soldiers may be allowed to lay before you their sentiments, sincerely, and without disguise, they beseech you to condescend so far as to give ear to their respectful complaints, which nothing but the most extreme necessity could have extorted from them. The greatness, sir, of your exploits has conquered, not only your enemies, but even your soldiers themselves. We have done all that it was possible for men to do. We have crossed seas and lands. We shall soon have marched to the end of the world; and you are meditating the conquest of another, by going in search of new Indies, unknown to the Indians themselves. Such a thought may be worthy of your valour, but it surpasses ours, and our strength still more. Behold those ghastly faces, and those bodies covered with wounds and scars. You are sensible how numerous we were at your first setting out, and you see what now remains of us. The few, who have escaped so many toils and dangers, are neither brave nor strong enough to follow you. All of them long to revisit their relations and country, and to enjoy in peace, the fruit of their labours and your victories. Forgive them a desire natural to all men. It will be glorious, sir, for you to have fixed such boundaries to your fortune, as only your moderation could prescribe you; and to have vanquished yourself, after having conquered all your enemies."

Coenus had no sooner spoke, than there were heard, on all sides, cries and confused voices, intermingled with tears, calling upon the king as "their lord and father." Afterwards, all the rest of the officers, especially those who assumed a greater authority, because of their age, and for that reason could be better excused the freedom

they took, made the same humble request : but still the king would not comply with it. It must cost a monarch many pangs, before he can prevail with himself to comply with things repugnant to his inclination. Alexander therefore shut himself up two days in his tent, without once speaking to any one, not even to his most familiar friends, in order to see whether some change might not be wrought in the army, as frequently happens on such occasions. But, finding it would be impossible to change the resolution of the soldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their return. This news filled the whole army with inexpressible joy ; and Alexander never appeared greater, or more glorious, than on this day, in which he designed, for the sake of his subjects, to sacrifice some part of his glory and grandeur. The whole camp echoed with praises and blessings of Alexander, for having suffered himself to be overcome by his own army, who was invincible to the rest of the world. No triumph is comparable to those acclamations and applauses that come from the heart, and which are the lively and sincere overflowings of it ; and it is a great pity that princes are not more affected with them.

Alexander had not spent above three or four months, at most, in conquering all the country between the Indus and the Hyphasus, called to this day Pengab, that is, the Five Waters, from the five rivers which compose it. Before setting out, he raised twelve altars, to serve as so many trophies and thanksgivings for the victories he had obtained.

These instances of gratitude, in regard to the gods, were attended with the most incredible marks of vanity. The altars which he erected to their honour were seventy-five feet high. He caused a camp to be marked out, three times as large as his own, and surrounded it with a fosse fifty feet in depth by ten broad. He ordered the foot to prepare, and leave each in his tent, two beds, seven feet and a half in length ; and the cavalry to make mangers for the horses of twice the usual dimensions. Every thing else was in proportion. Alexander's view in these orders, which flowed from an extravagance of vanity, was to leave posterity monuments of his heroic, and more than human grandeur, and to have it believed that himself and his followers were superior to all other mortals.

He afterwards crossed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered, as far as the Hyphasus. He also reconciled this monarch with Taxilus, and settled a peace between them by means of an alliance, equally advantageous to both. From thence he went and encamped on the banks of the Acesines ; but great rains having made this river overflow its banks, and the adjacent countries being under water, he was obliged to remove his camp higher up. Here a fit of sickness carried off Coenus, whose loss was bewailed by the king and the whole army. There was not a greater officer among the Macedonians, and he had distinguished himself in a very peculiar manner in every battle in which he engaged. He was one of those singularly good men, zealous for the public, all whose actions are free from self-interested or ambitious views ; and who bear so great a love to their

king, as to dare to tell him the truth, be the consequence what it will. But now Alexander was preparing for his departure.<sup>1</sup>

His fleet consisted of eight hundred vessels, as well galleys as boats, to carry the troops and provisions. Every thing being ready, the whole army embarked, about the setting of the Pleiades or seven stars, according to Aristobulus, that is, about the end of October. The fifth day, the fleet arrived where the Hydaspes and Acesines unite their streams. Here the ships were very much shattered, because these rivers unite with such prodigious rapidity, that as great storms arise in this part as in the open sea. At last he came into the country of the Oxydracæ and the Malli, the most valiant people in those parts. These were perpetually at war with each other; but, having united for their mutual safety, they had drawn together ten thousand horse, and eighty thousand foot, all vigorous young men, with nine hundred chariots. Alexander, however, defeated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of strong holds, and at last marched against the city of the Oxydracæ, whither the greatest part were retired. He immediately caused the scaling-ladders to be set up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forced one of the scaling-ladders from the soldier; mounted it the first, covered with his shield, and got to the top of the wall, followed only by Peucestes and Limneus. The soldiers, believing him to be in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, seeing himself the sole object against which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was so rash, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crowded with the enemy, having nothing to expect, but to be either taken or killed before it would be possible for him to rise, and without once having an opportunity to defend himself, or revenge his death. But happily for him, he poised his body in such a manner, that he fell upon his feet; and finding himself standing, he, sword in hand, repulsed such as were nearest him, and even killed the general of the enemy, who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a second time, not far from thence there stood a large tree, against the trunk of which he leaned, his shield receiving all the darts that were shot at him from a distance; for no one dared to approach him, so great was the dread which the boldness of the enterprise, and the fire that shot from his eyes, had struck into the enemy. At last, an Indian shot an arrow three feet long, that being the length of their arrows, which piercing his coat of mail, entered a considerable way into his body, a little above the right side. So great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropped his arms, and lay as dead. Behold then this mighty conqueror, this vanquisher of nations, upon the point of losing his life, not at the head of his armies, but in a corner of an obscure city, into which his rashness had thrown him.<sup>2</sup> The Indian, who had wounded Alexander, ran, in the greatest transport of joy, to strip him. Alexander, however, no sooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, than fired with the thirst of revenge, he recalled his spirits; and,

<sup>1</sup> Arr. in Ind. p. 319. Strab. l. xv. p. 692.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. de Fortun. Alex. p. 344.



laying hold of the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged his dagger into his side. Some of his chief officers, as Peucestes, Leonatus, and Timæus, who had got to the top of the wall with some soldiers, came up that instant, and attempting impossibilities, for the sake of saving their sovereign's life, formed themselves as a bulwark round his body, and sustained the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time, the soldiers, who had climbed up with the officers above mentioned, having broken the bolts of a little gate standing between two towers, by that means opened a passage for the Macedonians. Soon after, the town was taken, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age or sex.

The first object of their care was to carry Alexander into his tent. Having conveyed him to it, the surgeons cut off, so very dexterously, the wood of the shaft which had been shot into his body, that they did not move the steel point; and, after undressing him, they found it was a bearded arrow;<sup>1</sup> and that it could not be pulled out without danger, unless the wound was widened. The king bore the operation with incredible resolution, so that there was no occasion for people to hold him. The incision being made, and the arrow drawn out, so great an effusion of blood ensued, that the king fainted away. Every one thought him dead; but the blood being stopped, he recovered by degrees, and knew the persons about him. All that day, and the whole night after, the army continued under arms round his tent; and would not stir from their posts, till certain news was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little rest.

At the end of seven days, the time requisite for closing the wound, as he knew that the report of his death increased among the barbarians, he caused two vessels to be joined together, and had his tent pitched in the middle, in sight of every one; purposely to show himself to those who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects, and the hopes with which they flattered themselves. He afterwards went down the river, proceeding at some distance before the rest of the fleet, lest the noise of the oars should keep him from sleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the soldiers, who were upon guard, brought him his litter, but he refused it, and calling for his horse, mounted him. At this sight, all the shore and the neighbouring forests echoed with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they saw him rise, in a manner, from the grave. On coming near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, surrounded with a great number of soldiers, some of whom kissed his hands, while others clasped his knees; others again were contented with only touching his clothes, and with seeing him; but all burst into tears, and calling for a thousand blessings from heaven wished him long life, and an uninterrupted series of prosperity.

At this instant, deputies came from the Malli, with the chiefs of the Oxydracæ, to the number of one hundred and sixty, besides the gov-

<sup>1</sup> Arrows are so called that have beards at their points like fish-hooks.--Animadvertunt hamos inesse selo.



erners of the cities and of the province, who brought him presents, and paid him homage, pleading in excuse for not having done it before, their strong love of liberty. They declared, that they were ready to receive for their governor, whatever person he might be pleased to nominate; that they would pay him tribute, and give him hostages. He demanded a thousand of the chief persons of their nation, whom he also might make use of in war, till he had subjected all the country. They put into his hands such of their countrymen as were most handsome and best shaped, with five hundred chariots, though not demanded by him; at which the king was so much pleased, that he gave them back their hostages, and appointed Philip their governor.

Alexander, who was overjoyed at this embassy, and found his strength increase daily, tasted with so much the greater pleasure the fruits both of his victory and health, as he had like to have lost them for ever. His chief courtiers and most intimate friends thought it a proper junction, during this calm and serenity of his mind, for them to unbosom themselves, and expose their fears to him. It was Craterus who spoke on this occasion. "We begin, royal sir, to breathe and live, now we find you in the condition to which the goodness of the gods has restored you. But how great were our fears and our griefs! How severely did we reproach ourselves, for having abandoned, in such an extremity, our king, our father! It was not in our power to follow him; but this did not extenuate our guilt, and we look upon ourselves as criminals, in not having attempted impossibilities for your sake. But, sir, never plunge us in such deep affliction hereafter. Does a wretched paltry town deserve to be bought at so dear a price as the loss of your life? Leave these petty exploits and enterprises to us, and preserve your person for such occasions only as are worthy of you. We still shudder with horror, when we reflect on what we so lately were spectators of. We have seen the moment, when the most abject hands upon earth were about to seize the greatest prince in the universe, and despoil him of his royal robes. Permit us, sir, to say, you are not your own master, but that you owe yourself to us: we have a right over your life, since ours depend on it; and we dare take the freedom to conjure you, as being your subjects and your children, to be more careful of so precious a life, if not for your own sake, at least for ours, and for the felicity of the world."

The king was deeply impressed with these testimonies of their affection, and having embraced them severally with inexpressible tenderness, he answered as follows: "I cannot sufficiently thank all present, who are the flower of my citizens and friends, not only for your having this day preferred my safety to your own, but also for the strong proofs you have given me of your zeal and affection from the beginning of this war: and if any thing is capable of making me wish for a longer life, it is the pleasure of enjoying, for years to come, such valuable friends as you. But give me leave to observe, that in some cases we differ very much in opinion. You wish to enjoy me long; and even, if it were possible, for ever: but, as for myself, I compute the length of my existence, not by years, but by glory. I might have confined my ambition within the narrow limits of Macedonia; and

contented with the kingdom my ancestors left me, have waited in the midst of pleasures and indulgence, and inglorious old age. I own, that if my victories, not my years, are computed, I shall seem to have lived long; but can you imagine, that after having made Europe and Asia but one empire, after having conquered the two noblest parts of the world, in the tenth year of my reign, and the thirtieth of my age, that it will become me to stop in the midst of so exalted a career, and discontinue the pursuit of glory, to which I have entirely devoted myself? Know, that this glory ennobles all things, and gives a true and solid grandeur to whatever appears insignificant. In whatever place I may fight, I shall fancy myself upon the stage of the world, and in the presence of all mankind. I confess that I have achieved mighty things hitherto; but the country we are now in, reproaches me that a woman has done still greater. I mean Semiramis. How many nations did she conquer! How many cities were built by her! What magnificent and stupendous works did she finish! How shameful is it, that I should not yet have attained to so exalted a pitch of glory! Do but second my ardour, and I shall soon surpass her. Defend me only from secret cabals and domestic treasons, by which most princes lose their lives; I take the rest upon myself, and will be answerable to you for all the events of the war."

This speech gives us a perfect idea of Alexander's character. He had no notion of true glory. He did not know either the principle, the rule, or end of it. He certainly placed it where it was not. He was strongly prejudiced in vulgar error, and cherished it. He fancied himself born merely for glory; and that none could be acquired but by unbounded, unjust, and irregular conduct. In his impetuous sallies after a mistaken glory, he followed neither reason, virtue, nor humanity; and, as if his ambitious caprice ought to have been a rule and standard to all other men, he was surprised that neither his officers nor soldiers would enter into his views; and they lent themselves very unwillingly to support his ridiculous enterprises.

Alexander, having ended his speech, dismissed the assembly, and continued encamped for several days in this place. He afterwards went upon the river, and his army marched after him upon the banks. He then came among the Sabracæ, a powerful nation of Indians. These had levied sixty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and reinforced them with five hundred chariots; but the arrival of Alexander spread terror through the whole country, and they accordingly sent ambassadors to make their submission. After having built another city, which he also called Alexandria, he arrived in the territories of Musicanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in those of the king of Samus. At the siege of one of this king's towns, Ptolemy was dangerously wounded; for the Indians had poisoned all their arrows and swords, so that the wounds they made were mortal. Alexander, who had the highest love and esteem for Ptolemy, was very much afflicted, and caused him to be brought in his bed near him, that he himself might have an eye to his cure. He was his near relation, and, according to some writers, a natural son of Philip. Ptolemy was one of the bravest men in the army, was highly esteemed in war, and had

greater talents for peace. He was averse to luxury, very generous, easy of access, and did not imitate the pomp, which wealth and prosperity had led the rest of the Macedonian noblemen to assume: in a word, it is hard to say, whether he were more esteemed by his sovereign or his country. We are told, there appeared to him, in a dream, a dragon, which presented him with an herb, as an effectual remedy; and that upon his waking, he ordered it to be sent for; when laying it upon the wound, it was healed in a few days, to the universal joy of the army.

The king continuing his voyage, arrived at Patala, about the beginning of the dog-days, that is, about the end of July; so that the fleet was nine months at least from its setting out till its arrival at that place.<sup>1</sup> There the river Indus divides into two large arms, and forms an island, similar to, but much larger than the Delta of the Nile; and hence the city above mentioned received its name; Patala, according to Arrian,<sup>2</sup> signifying, in the Indian tongue, the same as Delta in the Greek. Alexander caused a citadel to be built in Patala, as also a harbour and an arsenal for the shipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to sail as far as the ocean, exposing in this manner so many brave men to the mercy of a river with which they were wholly unacquainted. The only consolation they had in this rash enterprise, was Alexander's uninterrupted success. When he had sailed twenty leagues, the pilots informed him that they began to perceive the sea air, and therefore believed that the ocean could not be far off. Upon this news, leaping for joy, he besought the sailors to row with all their strength, and told the soldiers, "that they at last were come to the end of their toils, which they had so earnestly desired; that now, nothing could oppose their valour nor add to their glory; that without fighting any more, or spilling of blood, they were masters of the universe; that their exploits had the same boundaries with nature; that they would be spectators of things known to the immortal gods."

Having approached nearer to the sea, a circumstance, new and unheard of by the Macedonians, threw them into the utmost confusion, and exposed the fleet to the greatest danger; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Forming a judgment of this vast sea from that of the Mediterranean, the only one they knew, and whose tides are imperceptible, they were very much astonished when they saw it rise to a great height, and overflow the country; and considered it as a mark of the anger of the gods, to punish their rashness. They were no less surprised and terrified, some hours after, when they saw the ebbing of the sea, which now withdrew as it had before advanced, leaving those lands uncovered which it had so lately overflowed. The fleet was very much shattered, and the ships being now upon dry land, the fields were covered with clothes, and with broken oars and planks, as after a great storm.

At last Alexander, after having sailed full nine months in rivers, arrived at the ocean, where gazing with the utmost eagerness upon

<sup>1</sup> Strab. l. xv. p. 692.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, in Indio. p. 314

that vast expanse of waters, he imagined that this sight, worthy of so great a conqueror as himself, greatly overpaid all the toils he had undergone, and the many thousand men he had lost, to arrive at it. He then offered sacrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the sea the bulls which he slaughtered, and a great number of golden cups; and besought the gods not to suffer any mortal after him to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conquests to the extremities of the earth on that side, he imagined he had completed his mighty design; and, highly delighted with himself, he returned to rejoin the rest of his fleet and army, which waited for him at Patala, and its neighbourhood.

SECTION XVII. — ALEXANDER IS GRIEVOUSLY DISTRESSED BY FAMINE.  
HE MARRIES STATIRA, THE DAUGHTER OF DARIUS.

ALEXANDER, having returned to Patala, prepared all things for the departure of his fleet. He appointed Nearchus admiral of it, who was the only officer that had courage to accept of this commission, which was a very hazardous one, because they were to sail over a sea entirely unknown to them. The king was very much pleased at his accepting it; and, after testifying his acknowledgment upon that account, in the most obliging terms, he commanded him to take the best ships in the fleet, and to go and sound the sea-coast extending from the Indus to the head of the Persian gulf; and, after having given these orders, he set out by land for Babylon.<sup>1</sup>

Nearchus did not leave the Indus at the same time with Alexander. It was not yet the season proper for sailing, being summer, when the southern sea-winds rise; and the voyage requiring the aid of the north winds, which blow in winter. He therefore did not set sail till about the end of September, which was too soon; and accordingly, he was incommoded by winds some days after his departure, and obliged to shelter himself for twenty-four days.<sup>2</sup>

We are obliged for these particulars to Arrian, who has given us an exact journal of his voyage, copied from that of Nearchus the admiral.

Alexander, after having left Patala, marched through the country of the Oritæ, the capital whereof was called Ora, or Rambacis. Here he was in such want of provisions, that he lost a great number of soldiers; and brought back from India scarcely the fourth part of his army, which had consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. Sickness, bad food, and the excessive heats, had swept them away in multitudes; but famine made a still greater havoc among the troops in this barren country, which was neither ploughed nor sowed; its inhabitants being savages, who fared very hard, and led a most uncomfortable life. After they had eaten all the palm-tree roots that could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beasts of burden, and next upon their war-horses; and when they had no beasts left to carry their baggage, they were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which the Macedonians had

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, in Indio. p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 335.

run to the extremities of the earth. The plague, a disease which generally accompanies famine, completed the calamity of the soldiers, and destroyed great numbers of them.

After marching sixty days, Alexander arrived on the confines of Gedrosia, where he found plenty of all things; for the soil was not only very fruitful, but the kings and great men, who lay nearest the country, sent him all kinds of provisions. He continued some time here, in order to refresh his army. The governors of India having sent, by his order, a great number of horses, and all kinds of beasts of burden, from the several kingdoms subject to him, he remounted his troops, equipped those who had lost every thing, and soon after, presented all of them with arms, as beautiful as those they had before, which it was very easy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Persia, at that time in peace, and in a very flourishing condition.

He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of masquerade, and bacchanalian festivity; committing the most riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horses, himself being seated on a magnificent chariot, above which a scaffold was raised in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasts and carousing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, some of which, in the shape of tents, were covered with rich carpets, and purple coverlets; and others, shaped like cradles, were overshadowed with branches of trees. On the sides of the roads, and at the doors of houses, a great number of casks, ready broached, were placed, whence the soldiers drew wine in large flagons, cups, and goblets, prepared for that purpose.

The whole country echoed with the sound of instruments, and the howling of the bacchanals, who, with their hair dishevelled, and like so many frantic creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themselves to every kind of licentiousness. All this he did in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, crossed all Asia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous, dissolute march lasted seven days, during all which time, the army was never sober. It was very happy, says Quintus Curtius, for them, that the conquered nations did not think of attacking them in this condition; for a thousand resolute men, well armed, might with great ease have defeated these conquerors of the world, while thus plunged in wine and excess.

Nearchus still keeping along the sea-coast, from the mouth of the Indus, came at last into the Persian gulf, and arrived at the island of Harmusia, now called Ormus. He was there informed, that Alexander was not above five days' journey from him. Having left the fleet in a secure place, he went to meet Alexander, accompanied only by four persons. The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almost alone, he imagined that it had been entirely destroyed, and that Nearchus had been so very happy as to escape from the general defeat. His arrival confirmed him still more in his opinion, when he beheld a company of



pale, lean creatures, whose countenances were so changed, that it was scarcely possible to know them again. Taking Nearchus aside, he told him, that he was overjoyed at his return, but, at the same time, was inconsolable for the loss of his fleet. "Your fleet, royal sir," cried he immediately, "thanks to the gods, is not lost," upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confessed that this happy news gave him greater pleasure than the conquest of all Asia. He heard, with uncommon delight, the account Nearchus gave of his voyage, and the discoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite up the Euphrates as far as Babylon, pursuant to the first orders he had given him.<sup>1</sup>

In Carmania, many complaints were made to Alexander, concerning governors and other officers, who had grievously oppressed the people of various provinces during his absence; for, fully persuaded that he would never return, they had exercised every species of rapine, tyranny, cruelty, and oppression. But Alexander, strongly affected with their grievances, and pierced to the very soul with their just complaints, put to death as many as were found guilty of mal-administration, and with them, six hundred soldiers, who had been the instruments of their exactions and other crimes. He even afterwards treated with the same severity, all such of his officers as were convicted of the like guilt, so that his government was beloved by all the conquered nations. He was of opinion, that a prince owes these examples of severity to his equity, which ought to check every kind of irregularity; to his glory, to prove that he does not connive or share in the injustice committed in his name; to the consolation of his subjects, whom he supplies with a vengeance which they themselves ought never to exercise: in fine, to the safety of his dominions, which, by so equitable an administration, is secured from many dangers, and very often from insurrections. It is a great unhappiness to a kingdom, when every part of it resounds with exactions, vexations, oppressions, and corruption, and not so much as a single man is punished, as a terror to the rest; and that the whole weight of the public authority falls only upon the people, and never on those who ruin them.

The great pleasure Alexander took in the account which Nearchus gave him of his successful voyage, inspired that prince with a great inclination to go upon the ocean. He proposed no less than to sail from the Persian gulf, round Arabia and Africa, and to return into the Mediterranean by the straits of Gibraltar, called at that time, the Pillars of Hercules; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed by order of a king of Egypt, called Nechao, as I have observed elsewhere. It was afterwards his design, when he should have humbled the pride of Carthage, against which he was greatly exasperated, to cross into Spain, called by the Greeks Iberia, from the river Iberus: he next was to go over the Alps, and coast along Italy, where he would have had but a short passage into Epirus, and from thence into Macedonia. For this purpose, he sent

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<sup>1</sup> Arrian. in Indica. p. 348—352.



orders to the viceroys of Mesopotamia and Syria, to build, in several parts of the Euphrates, and particularly at Thapsacus, ships sufficient for that enterprise; and he caused to be felled, on mount Libanus, a great number of trees, which were to be carried into the above-mentioned city. But this project, as well as many others which he meditated, were all defeated by his early death.

Continuing his march, he went to Pasargada, a city of Persia. Orsines was governor of the country, and the greatest nobleman in it. He was descended from Cyrus; and, besides the wealth he inherited from his ancestor, he himself had amassed great treasures, having, for many years, ruled a large country. He had done the king a signal service. The person who governed the provinces during Alexander's expedition into India, happened to die; when Orsines, observing that, for want of a governor, all things were running to confusion, took the administration upon himself, composed matters very happily, and preserved them in the utmost tranquillity, till Alexander's arrival. He went to meet him, with presents of all kinds for himself, as well as his officers. These consisted of a great number of fine managed horses, chariots enriched with gold and silver, precious moveables, jewels, gold vases of prodigious weight, purple robes, and four thousand talents of silver in specie. However, this generous magnificence proved fatal to him; for he presented such gifts to the principal grandees of the court, as infinitely exceeded their expectations, but gave nothing to the eunuch Bagoas, the king's favourite; and this, not through forgetfulness, but out of contempt. Some persons telling him how much the king loved Bagoas, he answered, "I honour the king's friends, but not an infamous eunuch." These words being told Bagoas, he employed all his influence to ruin a prince descended from the noblest blood in the east, and irreproachable in his conduct. He even bribed some of his attendants, giving them instructions how to impeach him at a proper season, and in the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he filled his mind with suspicions and distrusts, using ambiguous expressions of that nobleman, as if by chance; and dissembling very artfully the motives of his discontent. The king, however, suspended his judgment for the present, but discovered less esteem than before for Orsines, who knew nothing of what was plotting against him, so secretly the affair was carried on; and the eunuch, in his private discourses with Alexander, was perpetually charging him either exactions or treason.

The great danger to which princes are exposed, is the suffering themselves to be prejudiced and over-reached in this manner by their favourites; a danger so common, that St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, assures him, that if he were exempted from this weakness, he might boast himself to be the only man in the world that is so. What is here spoken of princes, is applicable to all who represent them. Great men generally listen with pleasure to the slanderer; and for this reason, because he generally puts on the mask of affection and zeal, which soothes their pride. Slander always makes some im-

pression on the most equitable minds; and leaves behind it such dark and gloomy traces, as raise suspicions, jealousies, and distrusts. The artful slanderer is bold and indefatigable, because he is sure to escape unpunished; and is sensible that he runs but very little danger in greatly prejudicing others. With regard to the great, they seldom inquire into secret calumnies, either from indolence, giddiness, or shame to appear suspicious, fearful, or diffident; in a word, from their unwillingness to own that they were imposed upon, and abandoned themselves to a rash credulity. In this manner, the most unsullied virtue, and the most irreproachable fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable ruin.

Of this we have a sad example on the present occasion. Bagoas, after having taken his measures at a distance, at last gave birth to his dark design. Alexander having caused the monument of Cyrus to be opened, in order to perform funeral honours to the ashes of that great prince, found nothing in it, but an old rotten shield, two Scythian bows, and a scimitar; whereas he hoped to find it full of gold and silver, as the Persians had reported. The king laid a golden crown on his arm, and covered it with his cloak; vastly surprised that so powerful and renowned a prince had not been buried with greater pomp than a private man. Bagoas thinking this a proper time for him to speak, "are we to wonder," says he, "at finding the tombs of kings so empty, since the houses of the governors of provinces are filled with the gold of which they have deprived them? I, indeed, had never seen this monument; but I have heard Darius say, that immense treasures were buried in it. Hence flowed the unbounded liberality and profusion of Orsines, who, bestowing what he could not keep without ruining himself, thought to make a merit of this in your sight." This charge was without the least foundation; and yet, the magi, who guarded the sepulchre, were put to the torture, but all to no purpose; and nothing was discovered relating to the pretended theft. Their silence on this occasion ought naturally to have cleared Orsines; but the artful, insinuating discourses of Bagoas, had made a deep impression on Alexander's mind, and by that means given calumny an easy access to it. The accusers whom Bagoas had suborned, having made choice of a favourable moment, came and impeached Orsines, and charged him with the commission of several odious crimes, and among the rest, with stealing the treasures of the monument. At this charge, the matter appeared no longer doubtful, and the indications were thought sufficient; so that this prince was loaded with chains before he had so much as suspected that any accusation had been brought against him; and was put to death, without even being heard, or confronted with his accusers. Too unhappy fate of kings, who do not hear and examine things in person! and who still continue infatuated, notwithstanding the numberless examples they read in history of princes who have been betrayed in like manner.

I have already said, that there had followed the king, an Indian, called Calanus, reputed the wisest man of his country, who, though he professed the practice of the most severe philosophy, had however been persuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court.

This man having lived eighty-three years, without ever having been afflicted with sickness; and having a very severe fit of the cholic upon his arrival at Pasargada, he resolved to put himself to death. Resolutely determined not to let the perfect health he had always enjoyed be impaired by lingering pains; and being also assured of falling into the hands of physicians, and of being tortured with loads of medicine, he besought the king to order the erecting of a funeral pile for him, and desired that after he had ascended it, fire might be set to it. Alexander imagined that Calanus might be easily dissuaded from so dreadful a design; but, finding that in spite of all the arguments he could use, Calanus was still inflexible, he at last was obliged to acquiesce with it. Calanus then rode on horseback to the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; caused libations to be performed upon himself, and the rest of the ceremonies to be observed which are practised at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims; embraced such of his friends as were present; entreated them to be merry that day, to feast and carouse with Alexander; assuring them at the same time, that he would soon see that prince in Babylon. After saying these words, he ascended, with the utmost cheerfulness, the funeral pile, laid himself down upon it, and covered his face: and, when the flame reached him, he did not make the least motion; but with a patience and constancy that surprised the whole army, continued in the posture in which he at first had laid himself; and completed his sacrifice, by dying pursuant to the custom practised by the sages of his country.<sup>1</sup>

Diodorus informs us, that people differed very much in opinion with respect to this action. Some condemned it, as suiting only a frantic, senseless wretch; others imagined he was prompted to it out of vain-glory, merely for the sake of being gazed at, and to pass for a miracle in constancy, and these were not mistaken: in fine, others applauded this false heroism, which had enabled him to triumph in this manner over sorrow and death.

Alexander, having returned into his tent, after this dreadful ceremony, invited several of his friends and general officers to supper; and in compliance with the request of Calanus, and to do him honour, he proposed a crown, as a reward for him who should drink most. The conqueror on this occasion was Promachus, who swallowed four measures of wine, that is, eighteen or twenty pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown, worth a talent, he survived his victory but three days. Of these guests, forty-one died of their intemperance: a scene worthy of closing that which Calanus had shortly before exhibited!

From Pasagada, Alexander came to Persepolis; and, surveying the remains of the conflagration, was exasperated against himself, for his folly in setting it on fire. From thence he advanced towards Susa. Nearchus, in compliance with his orders, had begun to sail up the Euphrates with his fleet; but upon advice that Alexander was going to Susa, he came down again to the mouth of the Pasi-tigris, and

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<sup>1</sup> Arrian, l. vii. p. 276. Diod. l. vii. p. 573, 574. Plut. in Alex. p. 703.

sailed up this river to a bridge, where Alexander was to pass it. Then the naval and land armies joined. The king offered to his gods sacrifices, by way of thanks, for his happy return, and great rejoicings were made in the camp. Nearchus received the honours due to him for the care he had taken of the fleet, and for having conducted it so far safe, through numberless dangers.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander found in Susa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, eldest daughter of Darius, and gave the youngest to his friend Hephæstion. And in order that, by making these marriages more common, his own might not be censured, he persuaded the greatest noblemen in his court, and his principal favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they chose from among the noblest families of Persia, about eighty young maidens, whom they married. His design was, by these alliances, to cement so strongly the union of the two nations, that they should henceforward form but one, under his empire. The nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner. He likewise feasted all the rest of the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related that there were nine thousand guests at this feast, and that he gave each of them a gold cup for the libations.

Not satisfied with this bounty, he would also pay his soldiers' debts. But finding that several would not declare the sum they owed, for fear of its being an artifice, merely to discover those among them who were too lavish of their money, he appointed in his camp, officers, where all debts were paid without asking the name either of debtor or creditor. His liberality was very great on this occasion, and gave general satisfaction; we are told that it amounted to nearly ten thousand talents; but his indulgence, in permitting every person to conceal his name, was a still more agreeable circumstance. He reproached his soldiers for their seeming to suspect the truth of his promise, and said to them, "That a king ought never to forfeit his word with his subjects; nor his subjects suspect that he could be guilty of so shameful a prevarication."<sup>2</sup> A truly royal maxim, as it forms the security of a people, and the most solid glory of a prince; which at the same time may be renounced for ever by the violation of a single promise, which, in affairs of government, is the most fatal of all errors.

There arrived at this time, at Susa, thirty thousand Persian young men, most of the same age, and called epigones; that is, successors; as coming to relieve the old soldiers in their duty and long fatigues. Such only had been made choice of as were the strongest and best shaped in all Persia, and had been sent to the governors of such cities as were either founded or conquered by Alexander. These had instructed them in military discipline, and in all things relating to the science of war. They were all very neatly dressed, and armed after the Macedonian manner. These came and encamped before the city, where, drawing up in order of battle, they were reviewed, and performed their exercises before the king, who was extremely well

<sup>1</sup> Arrian de Ind. p. 357, 358.

<sup>2</sup> Οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι ἐστ' ἐν τὴν βασιλείᾳ ἀλλ' ὅτι ἡ ἀληθείαν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους; ὅτι τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὲς ἀλλ' ὅτι ἡ ἀληθείαν δοκεῖν τὴν βασιλείᾳ.—Arrian.

pleased, and very bountiful to them afterwards, at which the Macedonians took great umbrage. And, indeed, Alexander observing that these were harassed and tired out with the length of the war, and often vented murmurs and complaints in the assemblies; he, for that reason, was desirous of training up these new forces, purposely to check the licentiousness of the veterans. It is dangerous to disgust a whole nation, and to favour foreigners too openly.

In the meantime, Harpalus, whom Alexander, during his expedition into India, had appointed governor of Babylon, quitted his service. Flattering himself with the hopes that this prince would never return from his wars in that country, he had given way to all kinds of licentiousness, and consumed in his infamous revels part of the wealth with which he had been intrusted. As soon as he was informed that Alexander, in his return from India, punished very severely such of his lieutenants as had abused their power, he meditated how he might best secure himself; and, for this purpose, he amassed five thousand talents, assembled six thousand soldiers, withdrew into Attica, and landed at Athens.<sup>1</sup> Immediately all such orators, as made a trade of eloquence, ran to him in crowds, all ready to be corrupted by bribes, as they were before by hopes of them. Harpalus did not fail to distribute a small part of his wealth among these orators, to win them over to his interest, but he offered Phocion seven hundred talents, and even put his person under his protection, well knowing the very great authority he had over the people.<sup>2</sup>

The fame of his probity, and particularly of his disinterestedness, had gained this credit. Philip's deputies had offered him great sums of money in that prince's name, and entreating him to accept them, if not for himself, at least for his children, who were so poor that it would be impossible for them to support the glory of his name: "if they resemble me," replied Phocion, "the little spot of ground, with the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raised me the glory you mention, will be sufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to foment and heighten their luxury."<sup>3</sup> Alexander having likewise sent him a hundred talents, Phocion asked those who brought them upon what design Alexander sent him so great a sum, and did not remit any to the rest of the Athenians? "It is," replied they, "because Alexander looks upon you as the only just and virtuous man." Phocion answered, "let him suffer me still to enjoy that character, and be really what I am taken for."<sup>4</sup>

The reader will suppose that he did not give a more favourable reception to the persons sent by Harpalus. And, indeed, he spoke to them in very harsh terms, declaring that he should immediately take such measures as would be very disagreeable to the person on whose errand they came, in case he did not leave off bribing the city; so that Harpalus lost all hopes from that quarter.

Demosthenes did not at first show more favour to Harpalus. He

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Demosth. p. 857, 858.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. In Phoc. p. 751.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

<sup>4</sup> Si mei similes erunt, idem hic, inquit, agellus, illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit, sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo meis impensis illorum ali augerique luxuriam. Cor. Nep in Phoc. c. 1.



advised the Athenians to drive him out from their city, and not to involve it in a war upon a very unjust occasion; and, at the same time, without the least necessity.

Some days after, Harpalus, as an inventory was taking of his goods, having observed that Demosthenes took a particular pleasure in viewing one of the king's cups of solid gold, and that he admired the fashion and the beauty of the workmanship, desired him to take it in his hand and tell him the weight of it. Demosthenes, taking the cup, was surprised at its heaviness, and accordingly asked how much it weighed. Harpalus answered, with a smile, twenty talents, I believe; and that very evening sent him that sum with the cup; for so great was the penetration of Harpalus that he could discover, by the air and certain glances, the foibles of a man struck with the charms of gold. Demosthenes could not resist its power; but, overcome by this present, and being no longer master of himself, he joined on a sudden with the opposite party; and the very next morning, wrapping his neck well in woollen cloths, he went to the assembly.<sup>1</sup> The people then called on him to rise and make a speech, but he refused, making signs that he had lost his voice; upon which some wags cried aloud that their orator had been seized in the night, not with a quinzey, but an argyrancy;<sup>2</sup> thereby intimating that the money of Harpalus had suppressed his voice.

The people, being told next day of the gift which had been sent to Demosthenes, were highly exasperated, and refused to hear his justification. Harpalus was thereupon expelled the city; and, in order to discover the persons who had taken bribes, the magistrates commanded a strict search to be made in all houses, that of Caricles excepted; who, having been but recently married, was exempted from this inquiry, out of respect to his bride. The politeness shown on this occasion does honour to Athens, and is not always exercised elsewhere.

Demosthenes, to prove his innocence, proposed a decree, by which the senate of the Areopagus was empowered to take cognizance of this matter. He was the first they tried, and was fined, upon being convicted, fifty talents; for the payment of which he was thrown into prison. He, however, found means to escape, and left his country. Demosthenes did not behave with resolution and magnanimity in his banishment; residing, generally, at Ægina or Trezina, every time he cast his eyes on Attica, his face would be covered with tears; and he suffered such words to escape from him as were unworthy a brave man; words which by no means correspond with his resolute and generous behaviour during his administration. Cicero was reproached with the same weakness in his exile, which shows that great men are not such at all times and on all occasions.

It is to be wished, for the honour of eloquence, that what Pausanias

<sup>1</sup> The expression in the Greek is full of beauty and spirit. Plutarch compares the gold which had been accepted by Demosthenes, to a garrison of the enemy, which a governor had received into his city, and thereby dispossessed himself of the command of it. Πλάγεις τὴν τῆς δωροδοκίας, ὥστερ παραδιδυγμένους φρουρὰν.

<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to translate the agreeable play of these Greek words: Οὐχ ἐπὶ συναγχαῖς ἔπεσον, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀργυραγχαῖ; εἰληφθᾶν νυκτὶ τὸν δημάρχον.



relates, in justification of Demosthenes, were true; and it is very probable it was so. According to this author, Harpalus, after flying from Athens, was seized by Philoxenus, the Macedonian; and, being racked, to extort from him the names of such Athenians as had been bribed by him, he did not once mention Demosthenes, whose name, had he been guilty, he would not have suppressed before Philoxenus, as that orator was his enemy.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the first report of Harpalus flying to Athens, Alexander, fully determined to go in person to punish Harpalus and the Athenians, had commanded a fleet to be equipped. But after news was brought that the people in their assembly had ordered him to depart their city, he laid aside all thoughts of turning into Europe.

Alexander, having still a curiosity to see the ocean, came down from Susa upon the river Eulæus; and, after having coasted the Persian gulf to the mouth of the Tigris, he went up that river towards the army, which was encamped on its banks, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephæstion.

Upon his arrival there he published a declaration in the camp, by which all the Macedonians, who, by reason of their age, wounds, or any other infirmity, were unable to support any longer the fatigues of the service, were permitted to return into Greece; declaring that his design was to discharge them, to be bountiful to them, and send them back to their native country in a safe and honourable manner. His intention was, in making this declaration, to oblige, and, at the same time, give them the strongest proof how greatly they were in his esteem. The very contrary, however, happened; for, being already disgusted upon some other accounts, especially by the visible preference which Alexander gave to foreigners, they imagined that his resolution was to make Asia the seat of his empire, and to disengage himself from the Macedonians; and that the only motive of his doing this was, that they might make room for the new troops he had levied in the conquered countries. This alone was sufficient to exasperate them to fury. Upon which, without observing the least order or discipline, or regarding the remonstrances of their officers, they went to the king with an air of insolence which they had never assumed till then; and, with seditious cries, unanimously demanded to be discharged: saying, farther, that since he despised the soldiers who had gained him all his victories, he and his father, Ammon, might carry on the war against whom and in what manner they pleased; but, as for themselves, they were fully determined not to serve him any longer.

The king, no ways surprised, and, without once hesitating, leaped from his tribunal, caused the principal mutineers, whom he himself pointed out to his guards, to be immediately seized, and ordered thirteen to be punished. This bold and vigorous action, which astonished the Macedonians, suppressed their courage in an instant. Quite amazed and confounded, and scarcely daring to look at one another, they stood with downcast eyes, and were so dispirited and trembled

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<sup>1</sup> Pausan. l. ii. p. 143.

so exceedingly, that they were unable either to speak or even to think. Seeing them in this condition, he re-ascended his tribunal, where, after repeating to them, with a severe countenance and a menacing tone of voice, the many favors which Philip, his father, had bestowed upon them, and all the marks of kindness and friendship by which he himself had distinguished them, he concluded with these words: "You all desire a discharge; I grant it you. Go, now, and publish to the whole world that you have left your prince to the mercy of the nations he had conquered, who were more affectionate to him than you." After speaking thus, he returned suddenly into his tent, cashiered his old guard, appointed another in its place, all composed of Persian soldiers, shut himself up for some days, and would not, during the time, see any person.

Had the Macedonians been sentenced to die, it could not have surprised them more than when news was brought to them that the king had confided the guard of his person to the Persians. They could suppress their grief no longer, so that nothing was heard but cries, groans and lamentations. Soon after they all ran together to the king's tent, threw down their arms, confessing their guilt, acknowledging their fault with tears and sighs; declared that the loss of life would not be so grievous as the loss of honour, and protested that they would not leave the place till the king had pardoned them. At last, Alexander could no longer resist the tender proofs they gave of their sorrow and repentance; so that when he himself, at his coming out of his tent, saw them in this dejected condition, he could not refrain from tears; and, after some gentle reproaches, which were softened by an air of humanity and kindness, he declared so loud as to be heard by them all, that he restored them to his friendship. This was restoring them to life, as was manifest from their shouts.

He afterwards discharged such Macedonians as were no longer able to carry arms, and sent them back to their native country with rich presents. He commanded that, at the exhibition of the public games, they should be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there sit with crowns on their heads; and gave orders that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should receive, during their minority, the same pay which had been given their fathers. Such support and honours granted to veterans, must necessarily ennoble, in a very conspicuous manner, the military profession. It is not possible for a government to enrich every soldier in particular, but it may animate and console him by marks of distinction, which inspire a stronger ardour for war, more constancy in the service, and nobler sentiments and motives.

Alexander appointed Craterus commander of these soldiers, to whom he gave the government of Macedonia, Thessaly and Thrace, which Antipater had enjoyed; and the latter was commanded to bring the recruits, instead of Craterus. The king had long since been quite tired with the complaints of his mother and Antipater, who could not agree. She charged Antipater with aspiring to sovereign power, and the latter complained of her violent and untractable disposition, and had often declared in his letters that she did not behave in a manner

suitable to her dignity. It was with some reluctance Antipater resigned his government.

From Opis Alexander arrived at Ecbatana, in Media; where, after having despatched the most urgent affairs of the kingdom, he again solemnized games and festivals. There had come to him from Greece three thousand dancers, makers of machinery, and other persons skilled in diversions of this kind. It happened unluckily, during the celebration of these festivals, that Hephæstion died of a disease which he brought upon himself. Alexander abandoned himself to immoderate drinking, his whole court followed his example, and sometimes spent whole days and nights in these excesses. In one of them, Hephæstion lost his life. He was the most intimate friend the king had, the confidant of all secrets; and, to say all in a word, a second self. Craterus only seemed to dispute this high honour with him. A few words, which one day escaped that prince, shows the difference he made between these two courtiers. "Craterus," says he, "loves the king, but Hephæstion loves Alexander." This expression signifies, if I mistake not, that Hephæstion had devoted himself, in a tender and affectionate manner, to the person of Alexander; but that Craterus loved him as a king; that is, was concerned for his reputation, and sometimes was less obsequious to his will than he was zealous for his glory and interest. An excellent character, but very uncommon.<sup>1</sup>

Hephæstion was as much beloved by all his courtiers as by Alexander himself. Modest, even-tempered, beneficent, free from pride, avarice and jealousy; he never abused his credit, nor preferred himself to those officers whose merit made them necessary to his sovereign. He was universally regretted; but his death threw Alexander into excessive sorrow, to which he abandoned himself in such a manner as was unworthy so great a king. He seemed to receive no consolation, but in the extraordinary funeral honours he paid to his friend at his arrival in Babylon, whither he commanded Perdiccas to carry his corpse.

In order to remove, by business and employment, the melancholy ideas which the death of his favourite perpetually awakened in his mind, Alexander marched his army against the Coasæi, a warlike nation, inhabiting the mountains of Media, whom not one of the Persian monarchs had ever been able to conquer. The king, however, reduced them in forty days, afterwards passed the Tigris and marched towards Babylon.

#### SECTION XVIII. — ALEXANDER ENTERS BABYLON. HIS DEATH. HIS CORPSE CONVEYED TO THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER-AMMON.

ALEXANDER being arrived within a league and a half of Babylon, the Chaldeans, who pretended to know futurity by the stars, deputed to him some of their old men, to acquaint him that he would be in danger of his life in case he entered that city, and were very urgent with him to go no farther. The Babylonish astrologers were held in such great reputation that this advice made a prodigious impression

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3680. Ant. J. C. 324.

on his mind, and filled him with confusion and dread. Upon this, after sending several of the grandees of his court to Babylon, he himself went another way; and, having marched about ten leagues, he stopped for some time in the same place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philosophers, being told the foundation of his fear and scruples, waited upon him; when setting in the strongest light the principles of Anaxagoras, whose tenets they followed, they demonstrated to him, in the strongest manner, the vanity of astrology, and made him have so great a contempt for divination in general, and for that of the Chaldeans in particular, that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army.<sup>1</sup> He knew that there were arrived in that city ambassadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole earth echoing so with the terror of his name, that the several nations came, with inexpressible ardour, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their sovereign. This view, which agreeably soothed the strongest of all his passions, contributed very much to stifle every other reflection, and to make him careless of all advice that might be given him, so that he set forward with all possible diligence toward the great city, there to hold the states-general, as it were, of the world. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambassadors, with the grandeur and dignity suitable to a great monarch, and, at the same time, with the affability and politeness of a prince who is desirous of winning the affection of all. He loaded those of Epidaurus with great presents for the deity who presides over their city, as well as over health, but reproached him at the same time. "Æsculapius," says he, "has showed me but very little indulgence in not preserving the life of a friend, who was as dear to me as myself." In private, he discovered a great friendship for such of the deputies of Greece as came to congratulate him on his victories and his happy return; and he restored them all the statues, and other curiosities, which Xerxes had carried out of Greece, that were found in Susa, Babylon, Pasargada, and other places. We are told that among these were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and that they were brought back to Athens.<sup>2</sup>

The ambassadors from Corinth having offered him, in the name of their city, the freedom of it, he laughed at an offer which seemed altogether unworthy of one who had attained so exalted a pitch of grandeur and power. When, however, Alexander was told that Corinth had granted this privilege to Hercules only, he accepted it with joy; and gloried in treading in his steps, and resembling him in all things. But, says Seneca, in what did this frantic young man, with whom successful temerity passed for virtue, resemble Hercules? The latter, free from all self-interested views, travelled through the world, merely to serve the several nations he visited, and to purge the earth of such robbers as infested it: whereas Alexander, who is justly entitled the

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, l. vii. p. 294—309. Q. Curt. l. x. c. 4—7. Plut. in Alex. p. 705—707.

<sup>2</sup> Diocl. l. xvii. p. 577—583. Justin. l. xii. c. 13—16.

plunderer of nations, made his glory consist in carrying desolation into all places, and in rendering himself the terror of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publicly in the assembly of the Olympic games, whereby the several cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, those excepted who had committed sacrilege, or any other crime deserving death; and ordered Antipater to employ an armed force against such cities as should refuse to obey. This letter was read in the assembly. But as for the Athenians and Ætoli-ans, they did not think themselves obliged to put orders in execution which seemed to interfere with their liberty.

Alexander, after having despatched these affairs, finding himself now at leisure, began to think of Hephæstion's burial. This he solemnized with greater magnificence, than had ever been seen. As he himself undertook the management of this funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring cities to contribute their utmost in exalting the pomp of it. He likewise ordered all the nations of Asia to extinguish what the Persians call the sacred fire, till the ceremony of the interment should be ended; which was considered an ill omen, it being never practised in Persia, except at the death of a monarch. All the officers and courtiers, to please Alexander, caused images to be carved of that favourite, of gold, ivory, and other precious materials.

At the same time the king having procured a great number of architects, and skilful workmen, first caused near six furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be thrown down; and, having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the spot designed for the funeral pile, he had a most magnificent monumental structure erected over it.

This edifice was divided into thirty parts, in each of which was raised a uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree wood. The whole formed a perfect square, the circumference of which was adorned with extraordinary magnificence. Each side was a furlong, or one hundred fathoms, in length. At the foot of it, and in the first row, were set two hundred and forty-four prows of ships gilded, on the buttresses,<sup>1</sup> or supporters of which were fixed the statues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground; and two other statues, in an upright posture, completely armed, larger than life, being five cubits in height. The spaces between the prows were spread and adorned with purple cloth. Over these prows was a colonnade of large flambeaux, the shafts of which were fifteen cubits high, embellished with crowns of gold at the part where they were held. The flame of those flambeaux ending at top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads inclining downwards, and extended wings, served as capitals. Dragons fixed near, or upon the base, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles.

<sup>1</sup> Quid illi simile habebat vesanus adolescens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas? Hercules nihil sibi vicit. Orbem terrarum transivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando—malorum hostis, bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pacator. At hic a pueritia latro gentiumque vastator—summum bonum duxit, terrori esse cunctis mortalibus.—Senec. de Benef. l. i. c. 13.

<sup>2</sup> In Greek 'Ἐρωίδες, or ears. These are two pieces of timber, which project to the right and left of the prow.



Over this colonnade stood a third, in the base of which was represented, in relievo, a party of hunting animals of every kind. On the fourth, the combat of the Centaurs was represented in gold. Lastly, on the fifth, were placed alternately, golden figures, representing lions and bulls. The whole edifice terminated with military trophies, after the Macedonian and barbarian fashion, as so many symbols of the victory of the former, and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roofs were represented syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled, but in an imperceptible manner, with musicians, who sang mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceased. This edifice was upwards of one hundred and thirty cubits high, that is, above one hundred and ninety-five feet.

The beauty and the design of this structure, the singularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the several ornaments of it, surpassed the most wonderful productions of fancy, and were all in exquisite taste. Alexander had appointed to superintend the building of this edifice, Stasicrates, a great architect, and admirably well skilled in mechanics, in all whose inventions and designs there appeared, not only prodigious magnificence and surprising boldness, but such a greatness as was scarcely conceivable.

It was this artist who, discoursing some time before with Alexander, had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, none would so well admit of being cut into the shape of a man, as Mount Athos in Thrace; that, if he therefore pleased but to give orders, he would make this mountain the most durable of all statues, and that which would lie most open to the view of the universe. In its left hand it should hold a city, consisting of ten thousand inhabitants; and from its right should pour a great river, whose waters would discharge themselves into the sea. One would have thought that this project would have pleased Alexander, who sought for the great and marvellous in all things; nevertheless, he rejected it, and wisely answered, that it was enough there was one prince whose folly Mount Athos would eternize. This was meant of Xerxes, who having endeavoured to cut through the isthmus of that mountain, wrote a letter to it in the proudest, but most vain-glorious terms.<sup>1</sup> "With regard to myself," says Alexander, "Mount Caucasus, the river Tanais,<sup>2</sup> the Caspian Sea, all which I passed in triumph, shall be my monument."<sup>1</sup>

The expense of the splendid monument which this prince erected in honour of Hephæstion, with that of the funeral, amounted to upwards of twelve thousand talents. But, what man was ever so ridiculously and extravagantly profuse? All this gold, all this silver, was no other than the blood of nations, and the substance of provinces, which were thus sacrificed to a vain ostentation.

To crown the affection which Alexander had for his deceased friend, something was still wanting to the honours he paid him, to raise them above human nature; and this was what he proposed, and for that

<sup>1</sup> Proud Athos, who liftest thy head to heaven, be not so bold as to oppose to my workmen such rocks and stones as they cannot cut; otherwise I will cut thee quite to pieces, and throw thee into the sea.—Plut. de ira cohib. p. 555.

<sup>2</sup> The Iaxartes is here meant.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Fortun. Alex. Serm. i. 325.



purpose had sent to the temple of Ammon a trusty person named Philip, to inquire the will of the god. It doubtless was the echo of that of Alexander; and the answer was, that sacrifices might be offered to Hephæstion, as a demigod. These were not spared in any manner; Alexander himself first setting the example, when he made a great feast, to which upwards of ten thousand persons were invited. At the same time, he wrote to Cleomenes, governor of Egypt, commanding him to build a temple to Hephæstion in Alexandria, and another in the island of Pharos. In this letter, which is still extant, to excite his diligence, and hasten the work, he grants the governor, who was despised universally for his injustice and rapine, a general pardon for all his crimes, past, present, and future; provided that, at his return, the temple and city should be completed. And now, nothing was seen but new altars, temples, and festivals; no oaths were administered but in the name of the new deity; to question his divinity was a capital crime. An old officer, a friend of Hephæstion, having bewailed him as dead, in passing before his tomb, had like to have been put to death for it; nor would he have been pardoned, had not Alexander been assured, that the officer wept, merely from some remains of tenderness, and not as doubting Hephæstion's divinity. I cannot say whether Alexander prevailed so far, as to make any one give credit to Hephæstion's divinity; but he himself appeared, or at least endeavoured to appear, firmly persuaded of it; and gloried, not only that he had a god for his father, but that he himself could make gods.

During almost a year which Alexander continued in Babylon, he revolved a great many projects in his mind; such as, to go round Africa by sea, to make a complete discovery of all the nations, lying round the Caspian Sea, and inhabiting its coasts; to conquer Arabia, to make war with Carthage, and to subdue the rest of Europe. The very thoughts of sitting still fatigued him, and the great vivacity of his imagination and ambition would never suffer him to be at rest; nay, could he have conquered the whole world, he would have sought a new one, to satiate the avidity of his desires.

The embellishing of Babylon also employed his thoughts very much. Finding it surpassed in extent, in conveniency, and in whatever can be wished, either for the necessities or pleasures of life, all the other cities of the East, he resolved to make it the seat of his empire; and for that purpose, was desirous of adding to it all the conveniencies and ornaments possible.

This city, as well as the country round about it, had suffered greatly by the breaking of the bank or dyke of the Euphrates, at the head of the canal called Pallacopa. The river running out of its usual channel, by this breach, overflowed the whole country; and forcing its way perpetually, the breach grew at last so wide, that it would have cost almost as much to repair the bank, as the raising of it had done at first. So little water was left in the channel of the Euphrates about Babylon, that there was scarcely depth enough for small boats, which consequently was of great prejudice to the city.

Alexander undertook to remedy this, for which purpose he embarked upon the Euphrates, in order to take a view of the place. It

was on this occasion that he reproached, in a ludicrous and insulting tone of voice, the magi and Chaldeans who accompanied him, for the vanity of their predictions; since, notwithstanding the ill omens with which they had endeavoured to terrify him, as if he had been a credulous woman, he had entered Babylon, and was returned from it in safety. Attentive to nothing but the object of his voyage, he went and reviewed the breach, and gave the proper orders for repairing and restoring it to its former condition.

This design of Alexander merited the greatest applause. Such works are truly worthy in great princes, and give immortal honour to their name, as not being the effect of a ridiculous vanity, but entirely calculated for the public good. By the execution of this project, he would have recovered a whole province which lay under water; and have made the river more navigable, and consequently of greater service to the Babylonians, by turning it again into its channel as before.

This work, after having been carried on for the length of thirty furlongs, a league and a half, was stopped by difficulties owing to the nature of the soil; and the death of this prince, which happened soon after, put an end to this project, and several others he had formed. A supreme cause, unknown to men, prevented its execution. The real obstacle to the success of it, was the curse which God had pronounced against this city; an anathema which no human power could divert or retard. "I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant," the Lord of hosts had sworn above three hundred years before: "I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the bosom of destruction.<sup>1</sup> It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation. Neither shall the shepherds make their fold there."<sup>2</sup> Heaven and earth would sooner have passed away, than Alexander's design been put in execution. No river was now to flow by Babylon; the places round it were to be overflowed and changed to uninhabitable fens; it was to be rendered inaccessible by prodigious quantities of mud and dirt; and the city, as well as the country about it, were to be covered by stagnated waters, which would make all access to it impracticable. Thus it now lies;<sup>3</sup> and all things were to conspire to reduce it to this dejected state, in order that the prophecy might be completely fulfilled; "for the Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? and his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back!" Nothing shows more evidently the strength and weight of this invincible curse, than the efforts of the most powerful prince that ever reigned; a prince, the most obstinate that ever was, with regard to the carrying on his projects; a prince, none of whose enterprises had ever miscarried, but who failed in this, though it did not seem so difficult as the rest.

Another design which Alexander meditated, and had most at heart, was the repairing the temple of Belus. Xerxes had demolished it in

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xiv. 22, 23.

<sup>2</sup> See what is said on this subject in the history of Cyrus.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xlii. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Isa. xiv. 27.

his return from Greece, and it had lain in ruins ever since. Alexander was resolved, not only to rebuild it, but even to raise a much more magnificent temple. Accordingly, he had caused all the rubbish to be removed; and finding that the magi, to whose care he had left this, went on but slowly, he made his soldiers work: and although ten thousand of them were daily employed at it, for two months successively, the work was not finished at the death of this prince, so prodigious were its ruins. When it came to the turn of the Jewish soldiers, who were in his army, to work as the rest had done, they could not be prevailed upon to give their assistance; but excused themselves with saying, that as idolatry was forbidden by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to assist in building a temple designed for idolatrous worship; and accordingly not one lent a hand on this occasion. They were punished for disobedience, but all to no purpose; so that, at last, Alexander, admiring their perseverance, discharged, and sent them home.<sup>1</sup> This scrupulous resolution of the Jews is a lesson to many Christians, as it teaches them, that they are not allowed to join or assist in the commission of an action that is contrary to the law of God.

One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of Providence on this occasion. God had broken to pieces, by the hand of his servant Cyrus, the idol Belus,<sup>2</sup> the god who rivalled the Lord of Israel; he afterwards caused Xerxes to demolish this temple. These first blows which the Lord struck at Babylon, were so many omens of its total ruin; and it was as impossible for Alexander to complete the rebuilding of this temple, as for Julian, some centuries after, to restore that of Jerusalem.

Although Alexander employed himself in the works above-mentioned, during his stay in Babylon, he spent the greater part of his time in such pleasures as that city afforded; and one would conclude, that the chief aim, both of his occupations and diversions, was to stupefy himself, and to drive from his mind the melancholy and afflicting ideas of an impending death, with which he was threatened by all the predictions of the magi and other soothsayers: for though, in certain moments, he seemed not to regard the various notices which had been given him; he was however seriously affected with them inwardly; and these gloomy reflections were for ever returning to his mind. They terrified him at last to such a degree, that whenever the most insignificant thing happened, his imagination swelled it immediately to a prodigy, and interpreted it into an unhappy omen. The palace was now filled with sacrifices, with persons whose office was to perform expiations and purifications, and with others who pretended to prophecy. It was certainly a spectacle worthy a philosophic eye, to see a prince, at whose nod the world trembled, abandoned to the strongest terrors; so true is it, says Plutarch, that if the contempt of the gods, and the incredulity which prompts us neither to fear nor believe any thing, be a great misfortune, the superstitious man, whose soul is a prey to the most abject fears, the most ridiculous follies, is equally

<sup>1</sup> Josephus contra Aprian. l. i. c. 8.

<sup>2</sup> God gives him this name in Isaiah.

unhappy. It is plain that God, by a just judgment, took a pleasure in degrading, before all ages and nations, and in sinking lower than the condition of the vulgar, the man who had affected to set himself above human nature, and to equal himself to the Deity. This prince had sought, in all his actions, that vain-glory of conquest which men most admire; and to which they affix, more than to any thing else, the idea of grandeur; and God delivered him up to a ridiculous superstition, which virtuous men of good sense and understanding despise most, and than which, nothing can be more weak or grovelling.

Alexander was therefore for ever solemnizing new festivals, and perpetually at new banquets, in which he drank with his usual intemperance. After having spent a whole night carousing, a second was proposed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty guests at table. He drank to the health of every person in company, and then pledged them severally. After this, calling for the cup of Hercules, which contained six bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, named Proteas, and afterwards pledged him again in the same bumper. He had no sooner swallowed it, than he fell upon the floor. "Here then," says Seneca, describing the fatal effects of drunkenness, "is this hero; invincible to all the toils of prodigious marches, to the dangers of sieges and combats, to the most violent extremes of heat and cold; here he lies, conquered by his intemperance, and struck to the earth by the fatal cup of Hercules."<sup>1</sup>

In this condition he was seized with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with some favourable intervals, in which he gave the necessary orders for the sailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land forces, being persuaded he should soon recover. But at last, finding himself past all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his corpse to the temple of Ammon.

Notwithstanding his great weakness, he struggled with death, and, raising himself upon his elbow, presented his soldiers, to whom he could not refuse this last testimony of friendship, his dying hand to kiss.<sup>2</sup> After this, his principal courtiers asking to whom he left the empire, he answered, "to the most worthy;" adding, that he foresaw the decision of this would give occasion to strange funeral games after his decease. And Perdiccas inquiring farther, at what time they should pay him divine honours, he replied, "when you are happy." These were his last words, and soon after he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, and had reigned twelve. He died in the middle of the spring, the first year of the 114th Olympiad.

No one, say Plutarch and Arrian, suspected then that Alexander

<sup>1</sup> Alexandrum tot itinera, tot proelia, tot hiemes, per quas, victa temporum locorumque difficultate, transierat, tot flumina ex ignoto cadentia, tot maria tutum dimiserunt; intemperantia hibendi, et ille Herculeus ac fatalis scyphus condidit.—Senec. Epist. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Quanquam violentia morbi dilabatur, in cubitum tamen erectus, dextram omnibus, qui eam contingere vellent, porrexit. Quis autem illam osculari non curreret, quæ jam rito oppressa, maximi exercitus complexui, humanitate quam spiritu vividiore, sufficit?—Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

had been poisoned; and yet at this time such reports generally prevail.<sup>1</sup> But the state of his body proved that he did not die by that means; for all his chief officers disagreeing among themselves, the corpse, though it lay quite neglected for several days in Babylon, which stands in a hot climate, did not show the least symptoms of putrefaction. The true poison which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thousands besides Alexander. It was nevertheless believed afterwards, that this prince had been poisoned by the treachery of Antipater's sons; that Cassander, the eldest of them, brought the poison<sup>2</sup> from Greece; that Iolas, his younger brother, threw the fatal draught into Alexander's cup, of which he was the bearer; and that he chose the time of the feast mentioned above, in order that the prodigious quantity of wine he then drank might conceal the true cause of his death. The state of Antipater's affairs, at that time, gave some grounds for this suspicion. He was persuaded that he had been recalled with no other view than to ruin him, because of his mal-administration during his vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable that he commanded his sons to commit a crime which would save his own life, by taking away that of his sovereign. An undoubted circumstance is, that he could never wash out this stain; and that as long as he lived, the Macedonians detested him as a traitor who had poisoned their king. Aristotle was also suspected, but with no great foundation.

Whether Alexander lost his life by poison, or by excessive drinking, it is surprising to see the prediction of the magi and soothsayers, with regard to his dying in Babylon, so exactly fulfilled. It is certain and indisputable, that God has reserved to himself only the knowledge of futurity; and if the soothsayers and oracles have sometimes foretold things which really came to pass, they could do it in no other way than by their impious correspondence with devils, who, by their penetration and natural sagacity, find out several methods whereby they dive to a certain degree into futurity, with regard to approaching events; and are enabled to make predictions, which, though they appear above the reach of human understandings, are yet not above that of malicious spirits of darkness. The knowledge those evil spirits have of all the circumstances which precede and prepare an event; the part they frequently bear in it, by inspiring such of the wicked as are given up to them with the thoughts and desire of doing certain actions, and committing certain crimes; an inspiration to which they are sure those wicked persons will consent: by these things, devils are enabled to foresee and foretell certain particulars.<sup>3</sup> They, indeed, often mistake in their conjectures, but God also sometimes permits them to succeed in them, in order to punish the impiety of those,

<sup>1</sup> A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321.

<sup>2</sup> It is pretended that this poison was an extremely cold water, which exudes drop by drop, from a rock in Arcadia, called Nonacris. Very little of it falls, and it is so very sharp, that it corrodes whatever vessel receives it, those excepted which are made of a mule's hoof. We are told, that it was brought for this horrid purpose from Greece to Babylon in a vessel of the latter sort.

<sup>3</sup> *Dæmones perversis (solent) malefacta suadere, de quorum moribus certi sunt quod sint eis talia suadentibus consensuri. Suadent autem miris et invisibilibus modis.*—S. Aug. de Divinat. Dæmon. p. 509.



who, in contradiction to his commands, inquire their fate of such lying spirits.<sup>1</sup>

The moment that Alexander's death was known, the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanquished bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief of his death occasioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, all his faults were forgotten. The Persians declared him to have been the most just, the kindest sovereign that ever reigned over them; the Macedonians, the best, the most valiant prince in the universe; and all exclaimed against the gods for having enviously bereaved mankind of him, in the flower of his age, and at the height of his fortune. The Macedonians imagined they saw Alexander, with a firm and intrepid air, still lead them on to battle, besiege cities, climb walls, and reward such as had distinguished themselves. They then reproached themselves for having refused him divine honours, and confessed they had been ungrateful and impious for bereaving him of a name he so justly merited.

After rendering him this homage of veneration and tears, they turned their whole thoughts and reflections on themselves, and on the sad condition to which they were reduced by Alexander's death. They considered that they were on the farther side, with respect to Macedonia, of the Euphrates, without a leader to head them, and surrounded with enemies who abhorred their new yoke. As the king died without nominating his successor, a dreadful futurity presented itself to their imagination, and exhibited nothing but divisions, civil wars, and a fatal necessity of still shedding their blood and of opening their former wounds, not to conquer Asia, but only to give a king to it; and to raise to the throne, perhaps, some mean officer or wicked wretch.

This great mourning was not confined to Babylon, but spread over all the provinces, and the news of it soon reached Sysigambis. One of her daughters was with her, who being still inconsolable for the death of Hephæstion, her husband, felt all her private woes revived by the sight of the public calamity. But Sysigambis bewailed the several misfortunes of her family; and this new affliction awakened the remembrance of all its former sufferings. One would have thought that Darius was but just dead, and that this unfortunate mother solemnized the funeral of two sons at the same time. She wept the living no less than the dead: "Who now," she would say, "will take care of my daughters? Where shall we find another Alexander?" She would fancy that she saw them again reduced to a state of captivity, and that they had lost their kingdom a second time; but, with this difference, that now Alexander was gone, they had no refuge left. At last she sunk under her grief. This princess, who had borne with patience the death of her father, her husband, eighty of her brothers, who were murdered in one day by Ochus; and, to say all in one word, that of Darius her son, and the ruin of her family; though she had submitted patiently to all these losses,

<sup>1</sup> Facile est et non incongruum, ut omnipotens et Justus, ad eorum poenam quibus ista prædicantur—occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat.—St. Aug. de Div. Quæst. ad Simplic. l. ii. Quæst. 3.



she, however, had not strength of mind sufficient to support herself after the death of Alexander. She would not take any sustenance and starved herself to death, to avoid surviving this last calamity.

After Alexander's death, great contentions arose among the Macedonians about appointing a successor, of which I shall give an account in its proper place. After seven days spent in confusion and disputes, it was agreed that Aridæus, bastard brother to Alexander, should be declared king; and that in case Roxana, who was eight months gone with child, should be delivered of a son, he should share the throne in conjunction with Aridæus, and that Perdiccas should have the care of both, for Aridæus was a weak man and wanted a guardian as much as a child.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corpse after their manner, Aridæus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral, which made Olympias bewail the fate of her son, who having had the ambition to rank himself among the gods, was so long deprived of burial, a privilege allowed to the meanest of mortals.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION XIX.—THE JUDGMENT WE ARE TO FORM OF ALEXANDER.

THE reader would not be satisfied if, after having given a detail of Alexander's actions, I should not take notice of the judgment we are to form of them, especially as authors have differed widely in their opinions with regard to the merits of this prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of ecstasy, as the model of a perfect hero, which opinion seems to have prevailed; others, on the contrary, have represented him in such colours as at least sully, if not quite eclipse, the splendour of his victories.

This diversity of sentiment denotes that of Alexander's qualities; and it must be confessed, that good and evil, virtues and vices, were never more equally blended than in the prince whose history we have written.<sup>2</sup> But this is not all; for Alexander appears very different according to the times or seasons in which we consider him, as Livy has very justly observed. In the inquiry he makes concerning the fate of Alexander's arms, in case he had turned them towards Italy, he discovers in him a kind of double Alexander; the one, wise, temperate, judicious, brave, intrepid, but, at the same time, prudent and circumspect; the other, immersed in all the wantonness of a haughty prosperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; softened by delights, abandoned to intemperance and excesses; in a word, resembling Darius rather than Alexander; and having made the Macedonians degenerate into all the vices of the Persians, by the new turn of mind, and the new manners he assumed after his conquests.<sup>3</sup>

I shall have an eye to this plan in the account I am now to give

<sup>1</sup> Ælian. l. xiii. c. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Luxuria, industria; comitate, arrogantia; malis bonisque artibus mixtus.*—Tacit.

<sup>3</sup> *Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merso secundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui si ex habitu novæ fortunæ, novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod sibi victor induerat, spectetur. Dario magis similis quam Alexandro in Italiam venisset, et exercitum Macedonibus oblitum, degenerantemque jam in Persarum mores adduxisset.*—Liv. l. ix. n. 13.

of Alexander's character, and shall consider it under two aspects, and, in a manner, two eras; first, from his youth till the battle of Issus, and the siege, of Tyre, which followed soon after; and, secondly, from that victory till his death. The former will exhibit to us great qualities, with few defects, according to the idea the heathens had of these; the second will present to us enormous vices; and, notwithstanding the splendour of so many victories, very little true and solid merit, even with regard to warlike actions, a few battles excepted, in which he sustained his reputation.

## PART FIRST.

WE are first to acknowledge and admire, in Alexander, a happy disposition, cultivated and improved by an excellent education. He had a great, noble and generous soul. He delighted in bestowing and doing service, qualities he had acquired in his infant years. A young lad, whose business it was to gather up and throw the balls when he played at tennis, to whom he had given nothing, taught him a good lesson on that subject. As he always threw the balls to the other players, the king, with an angry air, cried to him, "and am I, then, to have no ball?" "No, sir," replied the lad, "you do not ask me for it." This witty and ready answer gave great satisfaction to the prince, who laughed, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After this, there was no occasion to excite him to acts of generosity; for he would be quite angry with such as refused them at his hands. Finding Phocion continue inflexible on this head, he told him by letter "that he would no longer be his friend, in case he refused to accept of his favours."<sup>1</sup>

Alexander, as if he had been sensible of the mighty things to which he was born, endeavoured to shine on all occasions, and appear more conspicuous than any other person. No one was ever fired with so strong a love for glory; and it is well known that ambition, which is considered by Christians as a great vice, was looked upon by the heathens as a great virtue. It was that which made Alexander support with courage all the toils and fatigues necessary for those who would distinguish themselves in the exercises both of body and mind. He was accustomed very early to a sober, hard, plain way of life, uncorrupted with luxury or delicacy of any kind; a way of life highly advantageous to young soldiers.

I do not know whether any prince in the world had a nobler education than Alexander. He was very conversant in eloquence, poetry, polite learning, the whole circle of arts, and the most abstracted and most sublime sciences. How happy was he in meeting with so great a preceptor! None but an Aristotle was fit for an Alexander. I am overjoyed to find the disciple pay so illustrious a testimony in respect to his master, by declaring he was more indebted to him, in one sense, than to his father. A man who thinks and speaks in this manner, must be fully sensible of the great advantages of a good education.

The effects of this were soon seen. Is it possible for us to admire

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<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

too much the great solidity and judgment which this young prince discovered in his conversations with the Persian ambassadors? his early wisdom, while, in his youth, he acted as regent during his father's absence, and pacified the feuds which had broken out in Macedonia! his courage and bravery at the battle of Chæronea, in which he so gloriously distinguished himself?

It is a pain for me to see him wanting in respect to his father at a banquet, and employing severe, insulting expressions on that occasion. It is true, indeed, that the insult which Philip offered Olympias, his mother, in divorcing her, transported him in a manner beyond himself; but still, no pretence, no injustice or violence, can either justify or excuse such usage to a father and a king.

He afterwards discovered more moderation, when on occasion of the insolent and seditious discourses held by his soldiers in an insurrection, he said, "that nothing was more royal, than for a man to hear with calmness himself ill spoken of, at the time he is doing good." It has been observed that the great prince of Condé did not think any thing more worthy of admiration in this conqueror, than the noble haughtiness with which he spoke to the rebellious soldiers, who refused to follow him: "Go," says he, "ungrateful, base wretches, and proclaim in your country, that you have abandoned your king among nations who will obey him better than you."<sup>1</sup> "Alexander," says that prince, "abandoned by his own troops among barbarians, who were not yet completely conquered, believed himself so worthy of commanding others, that he did not think men could refuse to obey him. Whether he were in Europe or in Asia, among Greeks or Persians, it was the same to him. He fancied, that wherever he found men, he found subjects." Alexander's patience and moderation, which I took notice of at first, are no less wonderful.

The first years of his reign are perhaps the most glorious of his life. That at twenty years of age, he was able to appease the intestine feuds which raged in the kingdom; that he either crushed or subjected foreign enemies, and those of the most formidable kind; that he disarmed Greece, most of the nations whereof had united against him; and that in less than three years, he should have enabled himself to execute securely those plans his father had so wisely projected; all these evince a presence of mind, a strength of soul, a courage, an intrepidity, and, what is more than all, a consummate prudence; qualities which form the true hero.

This character he supported in a wonderful manner, during the whole course of his expedition against Darius, till the time mentioned by us. Plutarch very justly admires the bare plan of it, as the most heroic act that ever was.<sup>2</sup> He formed it the very moment he ascended the throne, looking upon this design, in some measure, as a part of what he inherited from his father. When scarcely twenty years old, surrounded with dangers both within and without his kingdom, finding his treasury drained and encumbered with debts, to the amount of two hundred talents, which his father had contracted; having an army

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Alex. p. 388.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. de Fortun. Alex. Orat. i. p. 327.

which was greatly inferior in number to that of the Persians; in this condition, Alexander already turned his eyes towards Babylon and Susa, and proposed no less a conquest than that of so vast an empire.

Was this the effect of the pride and rashness of youth? asks Plutarch. Certainly not, replies that author. No man ever formed a warlike enterprise with so great preparations, and such mighty succours, by which I understand, continues Plutarch, magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and courage; preparations and aids, with which philosophy supplied him, and which he thoroughly studied; so that we may affirm, that he was as much indebted for his conquest to the lessons of Aristotle his master, as to the instruction of Philip his father.

We may add, that, according to all the maxims of war, Alexander's enterprise must naturally have been successful. Such an army as his, though not a very great one, consisting of Macedonians and Greeks, that is, of the best troops at that time in the world; and trained up to war during a long course of years, inured to toils and dangers, formed by a happy experience to all the exercises of sieges and battles, animated by the remembrance of their past victories, by the hopes of an immense booty, and more so by their hereditary and irreconcilable hatred to the Persians; such an army, headed by Alexander, was almost sure of conquering an army, composed, indeed, of infinite numbers of men, but of few soldiers.

The rapidity of the execution was answerable to the wisdom of the project. After having gained the affection of all his generals and officers by an unparalleled liberality, and all his soldiers by an air of goodness, and affability, and even familiarity, which, so far from debasing the majesty of a prince, adds to the respect which is paid him, such a zeal and tenderness as is proof against all this; after this, I say, the next thing to be done, was to astonish his enemies by bold enterprises; to terrify them by examples of severity; and, lastly, to win them by acts of humanity and clemency. He succeeded wonderfully in these. The passage of the Granicus, followed by a famous victory, the two celebrated sieges of Miletus and Halicarnassus, showed Asia a young conqueror, to whom no part of military knowledge was unknown. The razing of the last city to the very foundations, spread a universal terror; but the allowing all those the enjoyment of their liberties and ancient laws, who submitted cheerfully, made the world believe, that the conqueror had no other view than to make nations happy, and to procure them an easy and lasting peace.

His impatience to bathe himself, when covered with sweat, in the river Cydnus, might be looked upon as a gay, juvenile action, unworthy of his dignity; but we must not judge of it from the manners of the present age. The ancients, all whose exercises bore some relation to those of war, accustomed themselves early to bathing and swimming. It is well known, that in Rome, the sons of the nobility, after having heated themselves in the Campus Martius, with running, wrestling, and hurling the javelin, used to plunge into the Tiber, which runs by that city. By these exercises they enabled themselves to pass rivers and lakes in an enemy's country; for these are never crossed, but after painful marches, and after having been long exposed to the

sunbeams, which, with the weight of the soldiers' arms, must necessarily make them sweat. Hence we may apologize for Alexander's bathing himself in a river, which had like to have been fatal to him, especially as he might not know that the waters of it were so excessively cold.

The two battles of Issus and Arbela, with the siege of Tyre, one of the most famous of antiquity, entirely proved that Alexander possessed all the qualities which form the great soldier; skill in making choice of a field of battle; such a presence of mind in the heat of action, as is necessary for giving out proper orders; a courage and bravery, which the most evident dangers only animated; an impetuous activity, tempered and guided by such a prudent reservedness, as will not suffer the hero to be carried away by an indiscreet ardour; lastly, such a resolution and constancy, as is neither disconcerted by unforeseen obstacles, nor discouraged by difficulties, though seemingly insurmountable, and which know no other bounds or issue than victory.

Historians have observed a great difference between Alexander and his father, in their manner of making war. Stratagem, and even knavery, were the prevailing arts of Philip, who always acted secretly, and in the dark; but his son pursued his schemes with more candour, and without disguise. The one endeavoured to deceive his enemies by cunning, the other to subdue them by force of arms. The former discovered more art, the latter had a greater soul. Philip did not look upon any methods, which conduce to conquest, as ignominious; but Alexander could never prevail with himself to employ treachery.<sup>1</sup> He, indeed, endeavoured to draw over the ablest of the generals of Darius: but then he employed honourable means. When he marched near Memnon's lands, he commanded his soldiers, upon the severest penalties, not to commit the least depredation in them. His design, by this conduct, was either to gain him over to his side, or to make the Persians suspect his fidelity. Memnon also delighted in behaving with generosity towards Alexander; and hearing a soldier speak ill of that prince, "I did not take thee into my pay," said he, striking him with his javelin, "to speak injuriously of that prince, but to fight against him."<sup>2</sup>

The circumstance which raises Alexander above most conquerors, and, as it were, above himself, is, the use he made of victory after the battle of Issus. This is the most beautiful incident in his life; is the point of sight in which it is his interest to be considered, and it is impossible for him not to appear truly great in this view. By the victory of Issus, he had possessed himself, not only of the person of Darius, but also of his empire. Not only Sysigambis, that king's mother, was his captive, but also his wife and daughters, princesses whose beauty was not to be paralleled in all Asia. Alexander was in the bloom of his life, a conqueror, free, and not yet engaged in the bonds of marriage, as an author observes of the first Scipio Africanus, on a

<sup>1</sup> Vincendi ratio utrique diversa. Hic aperte, ille artibus bella tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere hostibus, hic palam fuis. Prudentior ille consilio, hic animo magnificentior—Nulla apud Philippum turpis ratio vincendi.—Justin. l. ix. c. 8.—Pausan. l. vii. p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. in Apoph. p. 174.



like occasion :<sup>1</sup> nevertheless, his camp was, to these princesses, a sacred asylum, or rather a temple, in which their chastity was secured, as under the guard of virtue itself, and so highly revered, that Darius, in his dying moments, hearing the kind treatment they had met with, could not forbear lifting up his dying hands towards heaven, and to wish success to so wise and generous a conqueror, who governed his passions so absolutely.

In the enumeration of Alexander's good qualities, I must not omit one rarely found among the great, and which nevertheless does honour to human nature, and makes life happy : this is, his being endowed with a soul capable of a tender friendship ; his openness, truth, perseverance, and humility, in so exalted a fortune, which generally considers itself only, makes its grandeur consist in humbling all things around it, and is better pleased with servile wretches, than with free, sincere friends.

Alexander endeared himself to his officers and soldiers ; treated them with the greatest familiarity ; admitted them to his table, his exercises, and conversations ; was deeply troubled for them when involved in any calamity, grieved for them when sick, rejoiced at their recovery, and shared in whatever befel them. We have examples of this in Hephæstion, Ptolemy, in Craterus, and many others. A prince of real merit does no ways debase his dignity by such a familiarity and condescension ; but on the contrary, is more beloved and respected upon that very account. Every man of a tall stature does not scruple to put himself upon a level with the rest of mankind, well knowing that he shall overtop them all. It is the interest of truly diminutive persons only, not to vie in stature with the tall, nor to appear in a crowd.

Alexander was dear to others, because they were sensible he was beforehand with them in affection. This circumstance made the soldiers strongly desirous to please him, and fired them with intrepidity : hence they were always ready to execute all his orders, though attended with the greatest difficulties and dangers : this made them submit patiently to the severest hardships, and threw them into the deepest affliction, whenever they happened to give him any room for discontent.

In this picture which has been given of Alexander, what was wanting to complete his glory ? Military virtue has been exhibited in its utmost splendour ; goodness, clemency, moderation, and wisdom, have crowned it, and added such a lustre as greatly enhances its value. Let us suppose that Alexander, to secure his glory and his victories, had stopped short in his career : that he himself had checked his ambition, and raised Darius to the throne, with the same hand that had dispossessed him of it ; had made Asia Minor, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, free and independent of Persia ; that he had declared himself protector of all the cities and states of Greece, with no other view than to secure their liberties, and the enjoyment of their respective

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<sup>1</sup> Et jus enis, et victor.—Val. Max. l. iv. c. 8.



laws and customs; that he afterwards had returned to Macedon, and there contented with the lawful bounds of his empire, made all his glory and delight consist in rendering his people happy, in procuring it abundance of all things, in seeing the laws put in execution, and making justice flourish; in causing virtue to be had in honour, and endearing himself to his subjects; in fine, that having become, by the terror of his arms, and much more so by the fame of his virtues, the admiration of the whole world, he saw himself, in some measure, the arbiter of all nations, and exercised over the minds of men, such an empire as is infinitely more lasting and honourable than that which is founded on fear only. Let us suppose all this to have happened, Alexander would have been as great, as glorious, as good a prince as ever blessed mankind.

To the forming so great a character, a greatness of soul, and a most refined taste for true glory, are required, such as is seldom met with in history. Men generally do not consider, that the glory which attends the most brilliant conquests, is greatly inferior to the reputation of a prince, who has despised and trampled upon ambition, and known how to give bounds to universal power.<sup>1</sup> But Alexander was far from possessing these happy qualities. His uninterrupted felicity, that never experienced adverse fortune, intoxicated and changed him to such a degree, that he no longer appeared the same man; and I do not remember that ever the poison of prosperity had a more sudden or more forcible effect than upon him.

#### PART SECOND.

From the siege of Tyre, which was soon after the battle of Issus, in which Alexander displayed all the courage and abilities of a great warrior, we see the virtues and noble qualities of this prince degenerate on a sudden, and make way for the greatest vices and most brutal passions. If we sometimes, through the excesses to which he abandons himself, perceive some bright rays of humanity, gentleness, and moderation, these are the effects of a happy disposition, which not being quite extinguished by vice, is however governed by it.

Was ever enterprise more wild and extravagant, than that of crossing the sandy deserts of Libya; of exposing his army to the danger of perishing with thirst and fatigue; of interrupting the course of his victories, and giving his enemy time to raise a new army, merely for the sake of marching so far, in order to get himself named the son of Jupiter-Ammon; and purchase, at so dear a rate, a title which could only render him contemptible?

How mean was it in Alexander to omit always in his letters, after the defeat of Darius, the Greek word *Χαίρειν*, which signifies health, except in those he wrote to Phocion and Antipater! as if this title, because employed by other men, could have degraded a king, who is

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<sup>1</sup> Scis ubi vera principis, ubi sempiterna sit gloria.—Arcus, et statuas, aras etiam templaque demoliter et obscurat oblivio? contra, contemptor ambitionis, et infinitæ potentie domitor ac fræuator animus ipsa vetustate florescit.—Plin. in Pan. Trajan.

obliged by his office to procure, at least to wish, all his subjects the enjoyment of the felicity implied by that word.<sup>1</sup>

Of all vices, none is so grovelling, none so unworthy, not only of a prince, but of a man of honour, as drunkenness; its bare name is intolerable and strikes us with horror. How infamous a pleasure is it to spend whole days and nights in carousing; to continue these excesses for weeks together; to pride one's self in exceeding other men in intemperance, and to endanger one's life with no other view than to gain such a victory! Not to mention the infamous enormities that attend these debauches, how greatly shocking is it to hear the frantic discourses of a son, who, being intoxicated with the fumes of wine, industriously strives to defame his father, to sully his glory, and, lost to all shame, prefer himself to him! Drunkenness is only the occasion, not the cause, of these excesses. It betrays the sentiments of the heart, but does not place them there. Alexander, puffed up by his victories, greedy and insatiable of praise, intoxicated with the mighty idea he entertained of his own merit, jealous of and despising all mankind, has the power, in his sober moments, to conceal his sentiments; but no sooner is he intoxicated, than he shows himself to be what he really is.

What shall we say to his barbarously murdering an old friend, who, though indiscreet and rash, was yet his friend? of the death of the most honest man in all his court, whose only crime was his refusing to pay him divine homage? of the execution of two of his principal officers, who were condemned, though nothing could be proved against them, and on the slightest suspicions?

I pass over a great many other vices which Alexander, according to many historians, yielded to, and which are not to be justified. To speak of him, therefore, only as a warrior and a conqueror, qualities in which he is generally considered, and which have gained him the esteem of all ages and nations, as we now have to do, is to examine whether this esteem be so well grounded as is generally supposed.

I have already observed, that to the battle of Issus and the siege of Tyre inclusively, it cannot be denied that Alexander was a great warrior and an illustrious general. But, yet, I doubt very much whether, during these first years of his exploits, he ought to be considered in a more conspicuous light than his father; whose actions, though not so dazzling, are, however, as much applauded by good judges and those of the military profession. Philip, at his accession to the throne, found all things unsettled. He himself was obliged to lay the foundations of his own fortune, and was not supported by the least foreign assistance. He raised himself to the power and grandeur to which he afterwards attained. He was obliged to train up not only his soldiers, but his officers; to instruct them in all the military exercises; to enure them to the fatigues of war; and to his care and abilities Macedon owed the rise of the celebrated phalanx; that is, of the best troops the world had then ever seen, and to which Alexander owed all his conquests. How many obstacles stood in Philip's way

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<sup>1</sup> Plat. in Phoc. p. 749.

before he could possess himself of the power which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, had successively exercised over Greece! The Greeks, who were the bravest and most sagacious people in the world, would not acknowledge him for their chief till he acquired that title by wading through seas of blood, and by gaining numberless conquests over them. Thus we see that the way was prepared for Alexander's executing his great design; the plan whereof, and the most excellent instructions relative to it, had been laid down to him by his father. Now, will it not appear a much easier task to subdue Asia with Grecian armies, than to subject the Greeks, who had so often triumphed over Asia?

But, without carrying farther the parallel of Alexander with Philip, which all who do not consider heroes according to the number of provinces they have conquered, but, by the intrinsic value of their actions, must give in favour of the latter, what judgment are we to form of Alexander after his triumph over Darius? and is it possible to propose him, during the latter part of his life, as a model worthy the imitation of those who aspire to the character of great soldiers and illustrious conquerors?

In this inquiry I shall begin with that which is unanimously agreed, by all the writers on this subject, to be the foundation of the solid glory of a hero; I mean the justice of the war in which he engages, without which he is not a conqueror and a hero, but a robber and usurper. Alexander, in making Asia the seat of war, and turning his arms against Darius, had a plausible pretence for it; because the Persians had been, in all ages, and were at that time, professed enemies to the Greeks, over whom he had been appointed generalissimo, and whose injuries he, therefore, might think himself justly entitled to revenge. But, then, what right had Alexander over the great number of nations, who did not know even the name of Greece, and had never done him the least injury? The Scythian ambassador spoke very judiciously when he addressed him in these words: "What have we to do with thee? We never once set our feet in thy country. Are not those who live in woods allowed to be ignorant of thee, and the place from whence thou comest? Thou boastest, that the only design of thy marching is to extirpate robbers: thou thyself art the greatest robber in the world." This is Alexander's true character, in which there is nothing to be rejected.

A pirate spoke to him to the same effect, and in stronger terms. Alexander asked him, "What right have you to infest the seas?" "The same that thou hast," replied the pirate with a generous liberty, "to infest the universe; but, because I do this in a small ship, I am called a robber; and, because thou actest the same part with a great fleet, thou art styled conqueror."<sup>1</sup> This was a witty and just answer, says St. Austin, who has preserved this small fragment of Cicero.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eleganter et veraciter Alexandro illi Magno comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogasset, quid ei videretur ut mare haberet infestum; ille, libera contumacia; quid tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor; quia tu magna classe, imperator. Refert Nonius Maro. ex. Cic. iii. de Rej.

<sup>2</sup> St. Aust. de Civ. Dei, l. iv. c. 4.

If, therefore, it ought to be laid down as a maxim, and no reasonable man can doubt of its being so, that every war, undertaken merely from the view of ambition, is unjust, and that the prince who begins it is guilty of all the sad consequences, and all the blood shed on that occasion, what idea ought we to form of Alexander's last conquest? Was ever ambition more extravagant; or, rather, more furious, than that of this prince? Coming from a little spot of ground, and forgetting the narrow limits of his paternal domains, after he had far extended his conquests, has subdued not only the Persians, but also the Bactrians and Indians, has added kingdom to kingdom; after all this, he still finds himself pent up; and, determined to force, if possible, the barriers of nature, he endeavours to discover a new world, and does not scruple to sacrifice millions of men to his ambition or curiosity.<sup>1</sup> It is related that Alexander, upon being told by Anaxarchus, the philosopher, that there was an infinite number of worlds, wept to think that it would be impossible for him to conquer them all, since he had not yet conquered one.<sup>2</sup> Is it wrong in Seneca to compare these pretended heroes, who have gained renown no otherwise than by the ruin of nations, to a conflagration and a flood, which lay waste and destroy all things; or to wild beasts, who live merely by blood and slaughter?<sup>3</sup>

Alexander, passionately fond of glory, the true nature and the just bounds of which were unknown to him, prided himself upon treading in the steps of Hercules, and even in carrying his victorious arms farther than he. What resemblance was there, says the same Seneca, between that wise conqueror and this frantic youth, who mistook his successful rashness for merit and virtue? Hercules, in his expeditions, made no conquests for himself. He overran the universe as the subduer of monsters, the enemy of the wicked, the avenger of the good, and the restorer of peace by land and sea. Alexander, on the contrary, an unjust robber from his youth, a cruel ravager of provinces, an infamous murderer of his friends, makes his happiness and glory consist in rendering himself formidable to all mortals, forgetting that not only the fiercest animals, but even the vilest, make themselves feared by their poisons.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devastandi, et ad ignota mittebat. Jam in unum regnum multa regna coniecit, (or congegit:) jam Græci Persæque eundem timent; jam etiam a Daric liberæ nationes jugam accipiunt. Hic tamen ultra oceanum solemque, indignatur ab Herculis Liberique vestigiis victoriam flectere: ipsi naturæ vim parat—et, ut ita dicam, mundi claustra perrumpit. Tanta est occitas mentium, et tanta initorum suorum oblivio. Ille modo ignobilis anguli non sine controversia Dominus, detecto sine terrarum, per suum rediturus orbem, tristis est.—Senec. Epist. 94 et 119.

<sup>2</sup> Alexandro pectus insatiabile laudis, quo Anaxarcho; innumerabiles mundos esse referenti; Heu me, inquit, miserum, quod ne uno quidem adhuc potitus sum! Angusta homini possessio gloriæ fuit, quæ Deorum omnium domicilio sufficit.—Val. Max. l. viii. c. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere pestes mortalium, quam inundatio—quam conflagratio.—Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iii. in Præfat.

<sup>4</sup> Homo gloriæ deditus, cujus nec naturam nec modum noverat, Herculis (vestigia sequens, ac ne ibi quidem resistens ubi illa defecerant. Quid illi (Herculi) simile habebat vesanus adolescens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas? Hercules nihil sibi vicit: orbem terrarum transivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando. Quid vinceret malorum hostis, bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pacator? At hic a pueritia latro, gentiumque vastator, tam hostium pernicies quam amicorum, qui summum bonum ducerat terrori esse cunctis mortalibus: oblitus, non ferocissima tantum sed ignavissima quoque animalia timeri ob virus maum.—Senec. de Benef. l. i. c. 13.

But, leaving this first consideration, which represents conquerors to us as so many scourges sent by the wrath of heaven into the world to punish the sins of it, let us proceed to examine, abstractedly in themselves, the last conquests of Alexander, in order to see what judgment we are to form of them.

It must be confessed, that the actions of this prince diffuse a splendour that dazzles and astonishes the imagination, which is ever fond of the great and marvellous. His enthusiastic courage raises and transports all who read his history as it transported himself. But, should we give the name of bravery and valour to a boldness that is equally blind, rash and impetuous; a boldness void of all rule, that will never listen to the voice of reason, and has no other guide than a senseless ardour for false glory, and a wild desire of distinguishing itself, be the methods ever so unlawful? This character suits only a military robber, who has no attendants; whose life only is exposed; and who, for that reason, may be employed in some desperate action; but it is far otherwise with regard to a king, for he owes his life to all his army and his whole kingdom. If we except some very rare occasions, on which a prince is obliged to venture his person and share the danger with his troops, in order to preserve them, he ought to call to mind that there is a great difference between a general and a private soldier. True valour is not desirous of displaying itself, is no ways anxious about its own reputation, but is solely intent in preserving the army. It holds its course equally between a fearful wisdom, that foresees and dreads all difficulties, and a brutal ardour, which industriously pursues and confronts dangers of every kind. In a word, to form an accomplished general, prudence must soften and direct the too fiery temper of valour; as this latter must animate and warm the coldness and slowness of prudence.

Do any of these characteristics suit Alexander? When we peruse history, and follow him to sieges and battles, we are perpetually alarmed for his safety and that of his army, and conclude that they are on the point every moment of being destroyed. Here we see a rapid flood, which is ready to draw in and swallow up this conqueror; there we behold a craggy rock, up which he climbs and perceives round him soldiers, either transfixed by the enemy's darts, or thrown headlong by huge stones over precipices. We tremble when we perceive in a battle the axe just ready to cleave his head; and much more, when we behold him alone in a fortress, whither his rashness had drawn him, exposed to all the javelins of the enemy. Alexander was ever persuaded that miracles would be wrought in his favour, than which nothing could be more unreasonable, as Plutarch observes; for miracles do not always happen; and the gods at last are weary of guiding and preserving rash mortals, who abuse the assistance they afford them.

Plutarch, in a treatise, wherein he eulogizes Alexander and exhibits him as an accomplished hero, gives a long detail of the several wounds he received in every part of his body, and pretends that the only design of fortune, in thus piercing him with wounds, was to



make his courage to appear more conspicuous.<sup>1</sup> A renowned warrior, whose eulogy Plutarch has drawn in another part of his writings, did not judge in this manner. Some persons applauding him for a wound he had received in battle, the general himself declared that it was a fault which could be excused only in a young man, and justly deserved censure.<sup>2</sup> It has been observed in Hannibal's praise, and I myself have taken notice of it elsewhere, that he was never wounded in all his battles.<sup>3</sup>

The last observation, which relates in general to all Alexander's expeditions in Asia, must necessarily lessen very much the merit of his victories and the splendour of his reputation; and this is the genius and character of the nations against whom he fought. Livy, in a digression, where he inquires what would have been the fate of Alexander's arms, in case he had turned them toward Italy; and where he shows that Rome would certainly have checked his conquests, insists strongly on the reflection in question. He opposes to this prince, in the article of courage, a great number of illustrious Romans who would have resisted him on all occasions; and in the article of prudence, that august senate, which Cyneas, to give a more noble idea of it to Pyrrhus, his sovereign, said was composed of so many kings. "Had he marched," says Livy, "against the Romans, he would soon have found that he was no longer combating against a Darius, who, encumbered with gold and purple, the vain equipage of his grandeur, and dragging after him a multitude of women and eunuchs, came as a prey, rather than as an enemy; and whom Alexander conquered without shedding much blood, and without wanting any other merit than that of daring to despise what was really contemptible. He would have found Italy very different from India, through which he marched in a riotous manner, his army quite stupefied with wine; particularly when he should have seen the forests of Apulia, the mountains of Lucania, and the still recent footsteps of the defeat of Alexander, his uncle, king of Epirus, who there lost his life."<sup>4</sup> The historian adds, that he speaks of Alexander, not yet depraved and corrupted by prosperity, whose subtle poison worked as strongly upon him as upon any man that ever lived; and he concludes, that being thus transformed, he would have appeared very different in Italy from what he seemed hitherto.

These reflections of Livy show that Alexander partly owed his victories to the weakness of his enemies; and that, had he met with nations as courageous, and as well inured to all the hardships of war as the Romans, and commanded by as able, experienced generals as those of Rome, then his victories would not have been either so rapid, or so uninterrupted. From hence we are to judge of the merits of a

<sup>1</sup> Plut. de Fortun. Alex. Orat. ii. p. 341. (This treatise, if written by Plutarch, seems a juvenile performance, and has very much the air of a declamation.)

<sup>2</sup> Timotheus, Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Mention is made of but one single wound.

<sup>4</sup> Non jam cum Dario rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunæ suæ apparatus, prædam verius quam hostem, nihil aliud quam bene ausus vana contemnere, incruentus devicit. Longe alius Italiæ, quam Indiæ, per quam temulento agmine commessabundus incessit, visus illi habitus esset, saltus Apuliæ ac montes Lucanos cernenti, et vestigia recentia domesticæ cladis, ubi avunculus ejus nuper, Epiri Rex, Alexander absumptus erat.—Liv. l. ix. n. 17.



conqueror. Hannibal and Scipio are considered as two of the greatest generals that ever lived, and, for this reason, both of them not only understood perfectly the military science, but their experience, their abilities, their resolution and courage, were put to the trial and set in the strongest light. Should we give to either of them an unequal antagonist, one whose reputation is not answerable to theirs, we shall no longer have the same idea of them; and their victories, though supposed alike, appear no longer with the same lustre, nor deserve the same applause.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by shining actions and a pompous exterior, and blindly abandon themselves to prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied that Alexander possessed very great qualities; but if we throw into the other scale his errors and vices, the presumptuous idea he entertained of his merit, the high contempt he had for other men, not excepting his own father; his ardent thirst for praise and flattery; his ridiculous notion of fancying himself the son of Jupiter; of ascribing divinity to himself; of requiring a free, victorious people to pay him a servile homage, and prostrate themselves ignominiously before him; his abandoning himself so shamefully to wine; his violent anger, which rises to brutal ferocity; the unjust and barbarous execution of his bravest and most faithful officers, and the murder of his most worthy friends, in the midst of feasts and carousals; can any one, says Livy, believe that all these imperfections do not greatly sully the reputation of a conqueror?<sup>1</sup> But Alexander's frantic ambition, which knew neither law nor limits; the rash intrepidity with which he braved dangers, without the least reason or necessity; the weakness and ignorance of the nations, totally unskilled in war, against whom he fought; do not these enervate the reasons for which he is thought to have merited the surname of Great, and the title of Hero? This, however, I leave to the prudence and equity of my reader.

As to myself, I am surprised to find that all orators who applaud a prince, never fail to compare him to Alexander. They fancy, that when he is once equalled to this king, it is impossible for panegyric to soar higher: they cannot imagine to themselves anything more august; and think they have omitted the stroke which finishes the glory of a hero, should they not exalt him by this comparison. In my opinion, this denotes a false taste, a wrong turn of thinking; and, if I might be allowed to say it, a depravity of judgment, which must naturally shock a reasonable mind. For, as Alexander was invested with supreme power, he ought to have fulfilled the several duties of the sovereignty. We do not find that he possessed the first, the most essential, and most excellent virtues of a great prince, who is to be the father, the guardian, and shepherd of his people; to govern them by good laws; to make their trade, both by sea and land, flourish; to en-

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<sup>1</sup> Referre in tanto Rege piget superbam mutationem vestis, et desideratus humi jacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus; et foeda supplicia, et inter vinum et epulas cædas amicorum, et vanitatem ementiendæ stirpis. Quid si vini amor in dies fieret acrior? quid si trux ac præservida ira? (nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero) nullane hæc damna imperatoris virtutibus ducimus?—Liv. l. ix. 17.

courage and protect arts and sciences; to establish peace and plenty, and not suffer his subjects to be in any manner aggrieved or injured: to maintain an agreeable harmony between all orders of the state, and make them conspire, in due proportion, to the public welfare; to employ himself in doing justice to all his subjects, to hear their disputes, and reconcile them; to consider himself as the father of his people, consequently as obliged to provide for all their necessities, and to procure them the several enjoyments of life. Now, Alexander, who, almost a moment after he ascended the throne, left Macedonia, and never returned back into it, did not endeavour at any of these things, which however are the chief and most substantial duties of a great prince.

He seems to have possessed such qualities only as are of the second rank, I mean those of war, and these are all extravagant; and carried to the rashest and most odious excess, and to the extremes of folly and fury; while his kingdom is left a prey to the rapine and exactions of Antipater; and all the conquered provinces abandoned to the insatiable avarice of the governors, who carried their oppression so far, that Alexander was forced to put them to death. Nor do his soldiers appear in a more advantageous light: for these, after having plundered the wealth of the east, and after the prince had given them the highest marks of his beneficence, grew so licentious, so debauched and abandoned to vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their debts, amounting to fifteen hundred thousand pounds.<sup>1</sup> What strange men were these! how depraved their school! how pernicious the fruit of their victories! Is it doing honour to a prince, is it adorning his panegyric, to compare him with such a model?

The Romans indeed seem to have held Alexander's memory in great veneration; but I very much question, whether, in the virtuous ages of the commonwealth, he would have been considered so great a man. Cæsar, seeing his statue in a temple in Spain, during his government of it, after his prætorship, could not forbear groaning and sighing, when he compared the few glorious actions achieved by himself, to the mighty exploits of this conqueror. It was said that Pompey, in one of his triumphs, appeared dressed in that king's surtout. Augustus pardoned the Alexandrians, for the sake of their founder. Caligula, in a ceremony in which he assumed the character of a mighty conqueror, wore Alexander's coat of mail. But no one carried their veneration for this monarch so far as Caracalla. He used the same kind of arms and goblets as that prince; he had a Macedonian phalanx in his army; he persecuted the Peripatetics, and would have burned all the books of Aristotle their founder, because he was suspected to have conspired with those who poisoned Alexander.<sup>2</sup>

I believe that I may justly assert, that if an impartial person of good sense reads Plutarch's lives of illustrious men with attention, they will leave such a tacit and strong impression on his mind, as will

<sup>1</sup> More than six millions of dollars.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. l. xxxvii. p. 33. App. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 253. Diod. l. li. p. 354. Id. l. lix p. 653. Id. l. lxxvii. p. 673.

make him consider Alexander one of the least valuable among them. But how would the contrast be found, had we the lives of Epaminondas, of Hannibal, and Scipio, the loss of which can never be too much regretted! How little would Alexander appear, set off with all his titles, and surrounded by all his conquests, even if considered in a military light, when compared to those heroes, who were truly great, and worthy their exalted station.

SECTION XX.—REFLECTIONS ON THE PERSIANS, GREEKS, AND, MACEDONIANS, BY M. BOSSUET, BISHOP OF MEAUX.

THE reader will not be displeased with my inserting here part of the admirable reflections<sup>1</sup> of the bishop of Meaux, on the character and government of the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, whose history we have heard.

The Greek nations, several of whom had at first lived under a monarchical form of government, having studied the arts of civil polity, imagined they were able to govern themselves, and most of their cities formed themselves into commonwealths. But the wise legislators who arose in every country, as a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and many others mentioned in history, prevented liberty from degenerating into licentiousness. Laws drawn up with great simplicity, and few in number, awed the people, held them in their duty, and made them all conspire to the general good of the country.

The idea of liberty which such a conduct inspired was wonderful. For the liberty which the Greeks figured to themselves, was subject to the law, that is, to reason itself, acknowledged as such by the whole nation. They would not let men rise to power among them. Magistrates who were feared during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was considered as their sovereign; the law appointed magistrates, prescribed the limits of their power, and punished their mal-administration. The advantage of this government was, the citizens bore so much the greater love to their country, as all shared in the government of it, and as every individual was capable of attaining its highest dignities.

The advantage which accrued to Greece from philosophy, with regard to the preservation of its form of government, was incredible. The greater freedom these nations enjoyed, the greater necessity there was to settle the laws relating to manners and those of society, agreeably to reason and good sense. From Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and many others, the Greeks received their noble precepts.

But why should we mention philosophers only? The writings of even the poets, which were in everybody's hands, diverted them very much, but instructed them still more. The most renowned conquerors considered Homer as a master, who taught him to govern wisely.

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<sup>1</sup> Discourse on Universal History, Part iii. chap. 4

This great poet instructed people no less happily, in obedience, and the duties of a good citizen.

When the Greeks, thus educated, saw the delicacy of the Asiatics, their dress and beauty, emulating that of women, they held them in the utmost contempt. But their form of government, that had no other rule than their prince's will, which took place of all laws, not excepting the most sacred, inspired them with horror; and the barbarians were the most hateful objects to Greece.

The Greeks had imbibed this hatred in the most early times, and it was become almost natural to them.<sup>1</sup> A circumstance which made those nations delight in Homer's poems, was his celebrating the advantages and victories of Greece over Asia. On the side of Asia was Venus, that is to say, the pleasures, the idle loves, and effeminacy; on that of Greece was Juno, or, in other words, gravity with conjugal affection, Mercury with eloquence, and Jupiter with wise policy. With the Asiatics was Mars, an impetuous and brutal deity, that is to say, war carried on with fury; with the Greeks Pallas, or, in other words, the science of war and valour, conducted by reason. The Grecians, from this time, had ever imagined, that understanding and true bravery were natural as well as peculiar to them. They could not bear the thoughts of Asia's design to conquer them; and in bowing to this yoke, they would have thought they had subjected virtue to pleasure, the mind to the body, and true courage to force without reason, which consisted merely in numbers.

The Greeks were strongly inspired with these sentiments, when Darius, son of Hystaspes, and Xerxes invaded them with armies so prodigiously numerous as exceeds all belief. The Persians found often, to their cost, the great advantage which discipline has over multitude and confusion; and how greatly superior courage, when conducted by art, is to a blind impetuosity.

Persia, after having been so often conquered by the Greeks, had nothing to do but to sow divisions among them; and the height to which conquest had raised the latter, facilitated this object. As, on the one hand, fear held them in the bands of union, so on the other, victory and security gave rise to and cherished dissensions among them. Having always been used to fight and conquer, they no sooner believed that the power of the Persians could not distress them, than they turned their arms against each other.<sup>2</sup>

Among the several republics of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the chief. These two great commonwealths, whose manners and conduct were directly opposite, perplexed and incommoded each other, in the common design they had of subjecting all Greece; so that they were eternally at variance, and this more from a contrariety of interests, than an opposition of tempers and dispositions.

The Grecian cities would not subject themselves to either, for besides that every one of them desired to live free and independent, they were not pleased with the government of either of those two

<sup>1</sup> Isocr. in Panegyr.

<sup>2</sup> Plat. de Leg. l. iii.

commonwealths We have shown, in the course of this history, that the Peloponnesian, and other wars, were either owing to, or supported by, the reciprocal jealousy of Lacedæmon and Athens. But at the same time that this jealousy disturbed, it supported Greece in some measure; and kept it from being dependent on either of those republics.

The Persians soon perceived this state and condition of Greece; after which the whole secret of their politics was to keep up these jealousies, and foment these divisions. Lacedæmon, being the most ambitious, was the first that made them engage in the Grecian quarrels. The Persians took part in them, with a view of subjecting the whole nation; and, industrious to make the Greeks weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable instant to crush them altogether. The cities of Greece now considered, in their wars, only the kings of Persia, whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they already thought themselves his subjects. But when Greece was upon the brink of slavery, and ready to fall into the hands of the barbarians, it was impossible for the genius, the ancient spirit of the country, not to rouse and take the alarm. Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and showed that they might be humbled. Their weakness was still more evident by the glorious retreat of the ten thousand Greeks who had followed the younger Cyrus.<sup>1</sup>

It was then that all Greece saw, more plainly than ever, that it possessed an invincible body of soldiery, which was able to subdue all nations; and that nothing but its feuds and divisions could subject it to any enemy who was too weak to resist it when united.

Philip of Macedon, a prince whose abilities were equal to his valour, took so great advantage of the divisions which reigned between the various cities and commonwealths, that though his kingdom was but small, yet, as it was united and his power absolute, he at last, partly by artifice and partly by strength, rose to greater power than any of the Grecian states, and obliged them all to march under his standard against the common enemy. This was the state of Greece when Philip lost his life, and Alexander his son succeeded to his kingdom, and to the designs he had projected.

The Macedonians, at his accession, were not only well disciplined and inured to toils, but triumphant; and become, by so many successes, almost as much superior to the other Greeks in valour and discipline as the rest of the Greeks were superior to the Persians, and to such nations as resembled them.

Darius, who reigned over Persia in Alexander's time, was a just, brave and generous prince; was beloved by his subjects, and wanted neither good sense nor vigour for the execution of his designs. But, if we compare them; if we oppose the genius of Darius, to the sublime penetration of Alexander; the valour of the former, to the mighty invincible courage of the latter; with that boundless desire of Alexander, of augmenting his glory, and his entire belief that all

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<sup>1</sup> Plat. de Leg. l. iii. Isocrat. in Panegyri.



things ought to bow the neck to him, as being formed by Providence superior to the rest of mortals; a belief with which he inspired, not only his generals, but the meanest of his soldiers, who thereby rose above difficulties, and even above themselves; the reader will easily judge which of the monarchs was to be victorious.

If to those considerations we add the advantages which the Greeks and Macedonians had over their enemies, it must be confessed that it was impossible for the Persian empire to subsist any longer, when invaded by so great a hero, and by such invincible armies. And thus we discover, at one and the same time, the circumstance which ruined the empire of the Persians, and raised that of Alexander.

To smooth his way to victory, the Persians happened to lose the only general who was able to make head against the Greeks, and this was Memnon of Rhodes. So long as Alexander fought against this illustrious warrior, he might glory in having vanquished an enemy worthy of himself. But, in the very infancy of a diversion which began already to divide Greece, Memnon died, after which Alexander obliged all things to give way before him.

This prince made his entrance into Babylon, with a splendour and magnificence which had never been seen before; and, after having revenged Greece, after subduing, with incredible celerity, the nations subject to Persia, to secure his new empire on every side, or rather to satiate his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus, he marched into India, and there extended his conquests farther than that celebrated conqueror had done. But the monarch, whose impetuous career neither deserts, rivers nor mountains could stop, was obliged to yield to the murmurs of his soldiers, who called aloud for ease and repose.

Alexander returned to Babylon, dreaded and respected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. Nevertheless, the formidable empire he had acquired, subsisted no longer than his life, which was but short. At thirty-three years of age, in the midst of the grandest designs that ever man formed, and flushed with the surest hopes of success, he died, before he had leisure to settle his affairs on a solid foundation; leaving behind him a weak brother, and children very young, all incapable of supporting the weight of such a power.

But the circumstance which proved most fatal to his family and empire, was his having taught the generals who survived him to breathe nothing but ambition and war. To curb their ambitious views, and for fear of mistaking in his conjectures, he did not dare to name his successor, or the guardian of his children. He only foretold, that his friends would solemnize his obsequies with bloody battles; and he expired in the flower of his age, full of the sad images of the confusion which would follow his death.

Macedon, the kingdom he inherited, which his ancestors had governed during so many ages, was, as he had foreseen, invaded on all sides, as a succession that had become vacant; and after being long exposed a prey, was at last possessed by another family. Thus, this great conqueror, the most renowned the world ever saw, was the last king of his family. Had he lived peaceably in Macedon, the vast



bounds of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals, and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his ancestors. But, rising to too exalted a height of power, he proved the destruction of his prosperity; and such was the glorious fruit of all his conquests.

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## BOOK SIXTEENTH.

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THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

PLAN.

This chapter contains the competition and wars that subsisted between the generals of Alexander, from the death of that prince to the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, which decided their several fates. These events include the space of twenty-three years, which coincide with the first twenty-three years of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, from the year of the world 3681 to the year 3704.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I. — TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER. PETITION OF THE PROVINCES. ARIDÆUS IS DECLARED KING. PERDICCAS IS APPOINTED HIS GUARDIAN.

IN relating the death of Alexander the Great, I mentioned the many troubles and commotions that arose in the army on first receiving the news of that event. All the troops, soldiers as well as officers, had their thoughts entirely taken up, at first, with the loss of a prince whom they loved as a father, and revered almost as a god, and abandoned themselves immoderately to grief and tears. A mournful silence reigned throughout the camp; but this was soon succeeded by dismal sighs and lamentations, which speak the true language of the heart, and never flow from a vain ostentation of sorrow, which is too often paid to custom and decorum on such occasions.¹

When the first impressions of grief had given place to reflection, they began to consider, with the utmost consternation, the state in which the death of Alexander had left them. They found themselves at an infinite distance from their native country, and among a people lately subdued, so little accustomed to their new yoke, that they were hardly acquainted with their present masters, and had not as yet had sufficient time to forget their ancient laws, and that form of government under which they had always lived. What measures could be

¹ *Passim silentia et gemitus; nihil compositum in ostentationem—altius moerebant.—Tacit.*

taken to keep a country of such vast extent in subjection? How could it be possible to suppress those seditions and revolts which would naturally break out on all sides in that decisive moment? What expedients could be formed to restrain those troops within the limits of their duty, who had so long been habituated to complaints and murmurs, and were commanded by chiefs whose views and pretensions were so different?

The only remedy for these various calamities seemed to consist in a speedy nomination of a successor to Alexander; and the troops, as well as the officers, and the whole Macedonian state, seem at first to be very desirous of this expedient; and their common interest and security, with the preservation of their new conquests, amid the barbarous nations which surrounded them, made it, indeed, necessary for them to consider this election as their first and most important care, and to turn their thoughts to the choice of a person, qualified to fill so arduous a station, and sustain the weight of it, in such a manner as to be capable of supporting the general order and tranquillity. But, it had already been written, "that the kingdom of Alexander should be divided and rent asunder after his death," and that it should not be transmitted, in the usual manner, "to his posterity."¹ No efforts of human wisdom could establish a sole successor to that prince. In vain did they deliberate, consult and decide,² nothing could be executed contrary to the pre-ordained event, and nothing short of it could possibly subsist. A superior and invincible power had already disposed of the kingdom, and divided it by an inevitable decree, as will be evident in the sequel. The circumstances of this partition had been denounced nearly three centuries before this time; the portions of it had already been assigned to different possessors, and nothing could frustrate that division which was only to be deferred for a few years. Till the arrival of that period, men might indeed raise commotions, and concert a variety of movements; but all their efforts would only tend to the accomplishment of what had been ordained by the sovereign Master of kingdoms, and of what had been foretold by his prophet.

Alexander had a son by Barsina, and had conferred the name of Hercules upon him. Roxana, another of his wives, was advanced in her pregnancy when that prince died. He had likewise a natural brother, called Aridæus; but he would not on his death-bed dispose of his dominions in favour of any heir, for which reason this vast empire, which no longer had a master to sway it, became a source of competition and wars, as Alexander had plainly foreseen, when he declared that his friends would celebrate his funeral with bloody battles.

The division was augmented by the equality among the generals of the army, none of whom was so superior to his colleagues, either by birth or merit, as to induce them to offer him the empire, and submit to his authority. The cavalry were desirous that Aridæus should succeed Alexander. This prince had discovered but little strength

¹ Dan. xi. 4.

² Non erit, non stabit, non fiet.—Isa.

of mind from the time he had been afflicted in his infancy with a violent indisposition, occasioned, as was pretended, by some particular drink, which had been given him by Olympias, and which had disordered his understanding. This ambitious princess being apprehensive that the engaging qualities she discovered in Aridæus, would be so many obstacles to the greatness of her son Alexander, thought it expedient to have recourse to the criminal precaution already mentioned. The infantry had declared against this prince, and were headed by Ptolemy, and other chiefs of great reputation, who began to think of their own particular establishment. For, a sudden revolution was working in the mind of these officers, and caused them to condemn the rank of private persons, and all dependency and subordination, with a view of aspiring to sovereign power, which had never employed their thoughts till then, and to which they had never thought themselves qualified to pretend, before this conjuncture of affairs.

These disputes, which engaged the minds of all parties, delayed the interment of Alexander for the space of seven days; and, if we may credit some authors, the body continued incorrupted all that time. It was afterwards delivered to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who embalmed it after their manner; and Aridæus, (a different person from him I have already mentioned,) was charged with the care of conveying it to Alexandria.¹

After a variety of troubles and agitations had intervened, the principal officers assembled at a conference, where it was unanimously concluded, that Aridæus should be king, or rather, that he should be invested with the shadow of royalty. The infirmity of mind, which ought to have excluded him from the throne, was the very motive of their advancing him to it, and united all suffrages in his favour. It favoured the hopes and pretensions of all the chiefs, and covered their designs. It was also agreed in this assembly, that if Roxana, who was then in the fifth or sixth month of her pregnancy, should have a son, he should be associated with Aridæus in the throne. Perdicas, to whom Alexander had left his ring, in the last moments of his life, had the person of the prince consigned to his care as guardian, and was constituted regent of the kingdom.

The same assembly, whatever respect they might bear to the memory of Alexander, thought fit to annul some of his regulations, which had been destructive to the state, and had exhausted his treasury. He had given orders for six temples to be erected in particular cities which he had named, and had fixed the expenses of each of these structures at five hundred talents. He had likewise ordered a pyramid to be raised over the tomb of his father Philip, which was to be finished with a grandeur and magnificence equal to that in Egypt, esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world. He had likewise planned other expenses of the like kind, which were prudently revoked by the assembly.

Within a short time after these proceedings, Roxana was delivered of a son, who was named Alexander, and acknowledged king, jointly

¹ Q. Curt. l. x. Justin. l. xiii. Diod. l. xviii.

with Aridaeus. But neither of these princes possessed any thing more than the name of royalty, as all authority was entirely lodged in the great lords and generals, who had divided the provinces among themselves.¹

In Europe, Thrace and the adjoining regions were consigned to Lysinachus; and Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece, were allotted to Antipater and Craterus.

In Africa, Egypt, and the other conquests of Alexander in Libya, and Cyrenaica, were assigned to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. The month of Thoth, in the autumn, is the epoch from whence the years of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt begin to be computed; though Ptolemy did not assume the title of king, in conjunction with the other successors of Alexander, till about seventeen years after this event.

In lesser Asia, Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia, were given to Antigonus; Caria to Cassander; Lydia to Menander; the lesser Phrygia to Leonates; Armenia to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to Eumenes. These two provinces had never been subjected by the Macedonians, and Ariarthes king of Cappadocia continued to govern them as formerly; Alexander having advanced with so much rapidity to his other conquests, as left him no inclination to amuse himself with the entire reduction of that province, and contented himself with a slight submission.

Syria and Phoenicia fell to Laomedon; one of the two Medias to Atropates, and the other to Perdiccas. Persia was assigned to Peucestes; Babylonia to Archon; Mesopotamia to Arcesilaus; Parthia and Hyrcania, to Phrataphernes; Bactria and Sogdiana to Philip: the other regions were divided among generals whose names are now but little known.

Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a post of great importance; and Cassander, the son of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards.

Upper Asia, which extends almost to India, and even India also, were left in the possession of those who had been appointed governors of those countries by Alexander.

The same disposition generally prevailed in the provinces I have already mentioned: and it is in this sense that most interpreters explain that passage in the Maccabees, which declares that Alexander, having assembled the great men of his court who had been bred up with him, divided his kingdom among them in his lifetime. It is very probable, that this prince, when he saw his death approaching, and had no inclination to nominate a successor himself, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the government he had formerly assigned them, which is sufficient to authorize the declaration in the Maccabees, "that he divided his kingdom among them while he was living."²

This partition was only the work of man, and its duration was but

¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 587, 588. Justin. l. xiii. c. 4. Q. Curt. l. x. c. 10.

² Maccab. l. i. n. 6 et 7.

short That Being, who reigns alone, and is the only King of ages, had decreed a different distribution. He assigned to each his portion, and marked out its boundaries and extent, and his disposition alone was to subsist.

The partition calculated on in the assembly, was the source of various divisions and wars, as will be evident in the series of this history; each of these governors claiming the exercise of an independent and sovereign power in his particular province. They, however, paid such veneration to the memory of Alexander, as not to assume the title of king, till all the race of that monarch, who had been placed upon the throne, were extinct.¹

Among the governors of the provinces I have mentioned, some distinguished themselves more than others by their reputation, merit, and cabals; and formed different parties, to which the others adhered, according to their particular views, either of interest or ambition. For it is not to be imagined, that the resolutions which are formed in conjunctures of this nature, are much influenced by a devotion to the public good.

Eumenes must, however, be excepted, for he undoubtedly was the most virtuous man among all the governors, and had no superior in true bravery.² He was always firm in the interest of the two kings, from a principle of true probity. He was a native of Cardia, a city of Thrace, and his birth was but obscure. Philip, who had observed excellent qualities in him in his youth, kept him near his own person in the character of secretary, and reposed good confidence in him. He was equally esteemed by Alexander, who treated him with extraordinary marks of esteem. Barsina, the first lady for whom this prince had entertained a passion, in Asia, and by whom he had a son named Hercules, had a sister of the same name with her own, and the king espoused her to Eumenes.³ We shall see by the event, that this wise favourite conducted himself in such a manner, as justly entitled him to the favour of these two princes, even after their death; and all his sentiments and actions will make it evident that a man may be a plebeian by birth, and yet very noble by nature.

I have already intimated, that Sysigambis, who had patiently supported the death of her father, husband, and son, was incapable of surviving Alexander.⁴ The death of this princess was soon followed by that of her two youngest daughters, Statira, the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis the widow of Hephæstion. Roxana, who was apprehensive that Statira as well as herself should be pregnant by Alexander, and that the birth of a prince would frustrate the measures which had been taken to secure the succession to the son she hoped to have, prevailed upon the two sisters to visit her, and secretly destroyed them in concert with Perdicas, her only confidant in that impious proceeding.⁵

It is now time to enter upon a detail of those actions that were performed by the successors of Alexander. I shall therefore begin with

¹ Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

² Plut. in Eumen. p. 683. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. 1.

³ Arrian declares he had another wife, lib. vii. p. 278

⁴ Q. Curt. l. x. c. 5.

⁵ Plut. in Alex.

the defection of the Greeks in Upper Asia, and in the war which Antipater had to sustain against Greece; because these transactions are most detached, and in a manner distinct from the other events.

SECTION II.—REVOLT OF THE GREEKS IN UPPER ASIA. ANTIPATER GOES INTO GREECE. FLIGHT AND DEATH OF DEMOSTHENES.

THE Greeks, whom Alexander had established in the form of colonies, in the provinces of Upper Asia, continued with reluctance in those settlements, because they did not experience those delights and satisfactions with which they had flattered themselves, and had long cherished an ardent desire of returning into their own country. They, however, dared not discover their uneasiness while Alexander was living, but the moment they received intelligence of his death, they openly declared their intentions. They armed twenty thousand foot, all warlike and experienced soldiers, with three thousand horse; and having placed Philon at their head, they prepared for their departure, without taking counsel, or receiving orders, from any but themselves, as if they had been subject to no authority, and no longer acknowledged any superior.¹

Perdiccas, who foresaw the consequences of such an enterprise, at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops, as well as their officers, breathed nothing but independence, sent Pithon to oppose them. The merit of this officer was acknowledged by all; and he willingly charged himself with this commission, in expectation of gaining over those Greeks, and of procuring himself some considerable establishment in Upper Asia by their means. Perdiccas, being acquainted with his design, gave a very surprising order to the Macedonians whom he sent with that general, which was, to exterminate the revolters entirely. Pithon, on his arrival, brought over, by money, three thousand Greeks, who turned their backs in the battle, and were the occasion of his obtaining a complete victory. The vanquished troops surrendered, but made the preservation of their lives and liberties the condition of their submitting to the conqueror. This was exactly agreeable to Pithon's designs, but he was no longer master of its execution. The Macedonians, thinking it incumbent on them to accomplish the orders of Perdiccas, inhumanly slaughtered all the Greeks, without the least regard to the terms they had granted them. Pithon, being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdiccas.

This expedition was soon succeeded by the Grecian war. The news of Alexander's death being brought to Athens, had excited great rumours, and occasioned a joy that was almost universal. The people, who had long sustained with reluctance the yoke which the Macedonians had imposed on Greece, made liberty the subject of all their discourse; they breathed nothing but war, and abandoned themselves to all the extravagant emotions of a senseless and excessive joy. Phocion, who was a person of wisdom and moderation, and doubted the truth of the intelligence they had received, endeavoured to calm

¹ A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 323. Diod. l. xviii. p. 581, 592.

the turbulence of their minds, which rendered them incapable of counsel and sedate reflection. As the generality of the orators, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, believed the news of Alexander's death, Phocion rose up, and expressed himself in this manner: "If he be really dead to-day, he will likewise be so to-morrow and the next day, so that we shall have time enough to deliberate in a calm manner, and with greater security."¹

Leosthenes, who was the first that published this account at Athens, was continually haranguing the people with excessive arrogance and vanity. Phocion, who was tired with his speeches, said to him, "Young man, your discourse resembles the cypress, which is tall and spreading, but bears no fruit." He gave great offence, by opposing the inclinations of the people in so strenuous a manner, and Hyperides rising up, asked him this question: "When would you advise the Athenians to make war?" "As soon," replied Phocion, "as I see the young men firmly resolved to observe a strict discipline; the rich disposed to contribute, according to their abilities, to the expense of a war; and when the orators no longer rob the public."

All the remonstrances of Phocion were ineffectual; a war was resolved on, and a deputation agreed to be sent to all the states of Greece, to engage their accession to the league. This is the war in which all the Greeks, except the Thebans, united to maintain the liberty of their country, under the conduct of Leosthenes, against Antipater, and it was called the Lamian war, from the name of a city, where the latter was defeated in the first battle.

Demosthenes, who was then an exile at Megara, but who, amid his misfortunes, always retained an ardent zeal for the interest of his country, and the defence of the common liberty, joined himself with the Athenian ambassadors sent into Peloponnesus, and having seconded their remonstrances in a wonderful manner by the force of his eloquence, he engaged Sicyon, Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponnesus, to accede to the league.²

The Athenians were struck with admiration at a zeal so noble and generous, and immediately passed a decree to recall him from banishment. A galley, with three benches of oars, was despatched to him at Ægina; and, when he entered the port of Piræus, all the magistrates and priests advanced out of the city, and all the citizens crowded to meet that illustrious exile, and received him with the utmost demonstrations of affection and joy, blended at the same time with an air of sorrow and repentance, for the injury they had done him. Demosthenes was sensibly affected with the extraordinary honours that were rendered him; and while he returned, as it were in triumph, to his country, amid the acclamations of the people, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, to thank the gods for so illustrious a protection, and congratulated himself on beholding a day more glorious to him, than that proved to Alcibiades, on which he returned from his exile. For, his citizens received him from the pure effect of desire and will; whereas the reception of Alcibiades was involuntary, and his entrance a compulsion upon their inclinations.

¹ Plut. in Phoc. p. 751, 752.

² Plut. in Demost. p. 858. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 5.

The generality of those who were far advanced in years were extremely apprehensive of the event of a war, which had been undertaken with too much precipitation, and without examining into the consequences with all the attention and sedateness that an enterprise of so much importance required. They were sensible also, that there was no necessity for declaring themselves so openly against the Macedonians, whose veteran troops were very formidable; and the example of Thebes, which was destroyed by the same temerity of conduct, added to their consternation. But the orators, who derived their advantages from the distraction of the public affairs, and to whom, according to the observation of Philip, "war was peace, and peace war," would not allow the people time to deliberate maturely on the affairs proposed to their consideration, but drew them into their sentiments by a fallacious eloquence, which presented them with nothing but scenes of future conquests and triumphs.¹

Demosthenes and Phocion, who wanted neither zeal nor prudence, were of different sentiments on this occasion, which was no extraordinary circumstance with respect to them. It is not my province to determine which of them had reason on his side: but, in such a perplexing conjuncture as this, there is nothing surprising in a contrariety of opinions, though the result of good intentions on both sides. Phocion's scheme was perhaps the most prudent, and that of Demosthenes the most glorious.

However that may be, a considerable army was raised, and a very numerous fleet fitted out. All the citizens who were under the age of forty, and capable of bearing arms, were drawn out. Three of the ten tribes which composed the republic were left for the defence of Attica, the others marched out with the rest of the allies, under the command of Leosthenes.

Antipater was far from being indolent during these transactions in Greece, of which he had been apprised, and he had sent to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to solicit their assistance; but, before the arrival of the expected succours, he marched at the head of only thirteen thousand Macedonians and six hundred horse; the frequent recruits which he sent Alexander having left him no more troops in all the country.

It is surprising that Antipater should attempt to give battle to the united forces of all Greece with such a handful of men; but he undoubtedly imagined that the Greeks were no longer actuated by their ancient zeal and ardour for liberty, and that they ceased to consider it such an inestimable advantage as ought to inspire them with a resolution to venture their lives and fortunes for its preservation. He flattered himself that they had begun to familiarize themselves with subjection: and indeed this was the disposition of the Greeks at that time, in whom appeared no longer the descendants of those who had so gallantly sustained all the efforts of the East, and fought a million of men for the preservation of their freedom.

Antipater advanced towards Thessaly, and was followed by his fleet,

¹ Diod. L. xviii. p. 594—599.

which cruised along the sea-coast. It consisted of one hundred and ten triremes, or galleys, of three benches of oars. The Thessalians declared at first in his favour; but having changed their sentiments, they joined the Athenians, and supplied them with a great body of horse.

As the army of the Athenians and their allies was much more numerous than that of the Macedonians, Antipater could not support the charge, and was defeated in the first battle. As he dared not hazard a second, and was in no condition to make a safe retreat into Macedonia, he shut himself up in Lamia, a small city in Thessaly, in order to wait for the succours that were to be transmitted to him from Asia, and he fortified himself in that place, which was soon besieged by the Athenians.

The assault was carried on with great bravery against the town, and the resistance was equally vigorous. Leosthenes, after several attempts, despairing to carry it by force, changed the siege into a blockade, in order to conquer the place by famine. He surrounded it with a wall of circumvallation, and a very deep ditch, and by these means cut off all supplies of provision. The city soon became sensible of the growing scarcity, and the besieged began to be seriously disposed to surrender; when Leosthenes in a sally they made upon him, received a considerable wound, which rendered it necessary for him to be carried to his tent. Upon which the command of the army was consigned to Antiphilus, who was equally esteemed by the troops for his valour and ability.

Leonatus, in the meantime, was marching to the assistance of the Macedonians besieged in Lamia; and was commissioned, as well as Antigonus, by an agreement made between the generals, to establish Eumenes in Cappadocia by force of arms; but they took other measures, in consequence of some particular views. Leonatus, who reposed an entire confidence in Eumenes, declared to him at parting that the engagement to assist Antipater was a mere pretext, and that his real intention was to advance into Greece, in order to make himself master of Macedonia. He, at the same time, showed him letters from Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, who invited him to come to Pella, and promised to espouse him. Leonatus being arrived within a little distance of Lamia, marched directly to the enemy, with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. Prosperity had introduced disorders into the Grecian army; several parties of soldiers drew off, and retired into their own country on various pretexts, which greatly diminished the number of the troops, who were now reduced to twenty-two thousand foot. The cavalry amounted to three thousand five hundred, two thousand of whom were Thessalians; and, as they constituted the main strength of the army, so all hopes of success were founded in them; and, accordingly, when the battle was fought, this body of horse had the greatest share of the victory that was obtained. They were commanded by Menon; Leonatus, covered with wounds, lost his life in the field of battle, and was conveyed into the camp by his troops. The Macedonian phalanx greatly dreaded the shock of the cavalry, and had therefore retreated

to eminences inaccessible to the pursuit of the Thessalians. The Greeks having carried off their dead, erected a trophy and retired.¹

The whole conversation of Athens turned upon the glorious exploits of Leosthenes, who survived his honours but a short time. A universal joy spread through the city, festivals were celebrated and sacrifices offered without intermission, to testify their gratitude to the gods for all the advantages they had obtained. The enemies of Phocion, thinking to mortify him in the most sensible manner, and reduce him to the incapacity of justifying his constant opposition to that war, asked him if he would not have rejoiced to have performed so many glorious actions? "Undoubtedly I would," replied Phocion; "but I would not, at the same time, have neglected to offer the advice I gave."² He did not think that a judgment should be formed of any particular counsel from mere success, but rather from the nature and solidity of the counsel itself; and he did not retract his sentiments, because those of an opposite nature had been successful, which only proved the latter more fortunate, but not more judicious. And as these agreeable advices came thick upon each other, Phocion, who was apprehensive of the sequel, cried out, "When shall we cease to conquer them?"³

Antipater was obliged to surrender by capitulation, but history has not transmitted to us the conditions of the treaty. The event only makes it evident that Leosthenes compelled him to surrender at discretion, and he himself died a few days after of the wounds he had received at the siege. Antipater, having quitted Lamia the day after the battle, for he seems to have been favourably treated, joined the remains of the army of Leonatus, and took upon him the command of those troops. He was extremely cautious of hazarding a second battle, and kept with his troops, like a judicious and experienced general, on eminences inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Antiphalus, the general of the Greeks, remained with his troops in Thessaly, and contented himself observing the motions of Antipater.

Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, obtained, much about the same time, two victories, near the island of Echinades, over Eetion, the admiral of the Athenian navy.

Craterus, who had been long expected, arrived at last in Thessaly, and halted at the river Peneus. He resigned the command to Antipater, and was contented to serve under him. The troops he had brought thither amounted, in conjunction with those of Leonatus, to above forty thousand foot, three thousand archers or slingers, and five thousand horse. The army of the allies was much inferior to those troops in number, and consisted of no more than twenty-five thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse. Military discipline had been much neglected among them, after the victories they had obtained. A considerable battle was fought near Cranon, in which the Greeks were defeated; they, however, lost but few troops, and even that dis-

¹ A. M. 3682. Ant. J. C. 322. Plut. in Eumen. p. 584.

² Non damnavit quod recte viderat, quia, quod alius male consulerat, bene cesserat: feliciter hoc existimans, illud etiam sapientius.—Val. Max. l. iii. c. 8.

³ Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

advantage was occasioned by the licentious conduct of the soldiers, and the small authority of the chiefs, who were incapable of enforcing obedience to their commands.¹

Antiphilus and Menon, the two generals of the Grecian army, assembled a council the next day, to deliberate whether they should wait the return of those troops who had retired into their own country, or propose terms of accommodation to the enemy. The council declared in favour of the latter, upon which deputies were immediately despatched to the enemy's camp in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied that he would enter into a separate treaty with each of the cities, persuading himself that he should facilitate the accomplishment of his designs by this proceeding; and he was not deceived in his opinion. His answer broke off the negotiation; and, the moment he presented himself before the cities of the allies, they disbanded their troops and surrendered up their liberties in the most pusillanimous manner, each city being solely attentive to its separate advantage.

This circumstance is a sufficient confirmation of what I have formerly observed with relation to the present disposition of the people of Greece. They were no longer animated with the noble zeal of those ancient asserters of liberty, who devoted their whole attention to the good of the public and the glory of the nation; who considered the danger of their neighbors and allies as their own, and marched with the utmost expedition to their assistance upon the first signal of their distress. Whereas now, if a formidable enemy appeared at the gates of Athens, all the republics of Greece had neither activity nor vigour: Peloponnesus continued without motion, and Sparta was as little heard of as if she had never existed. Unhappy effects of the mutual jealousy which those people had conceived against each other, and of their disregard to the common liberty, in consequence of a fatal lethargy, into which they were sunk amidst the greatest dangers! These are symptoms which prognosticate and prepare the way for approaching decline and ruin.

Antipater improved this desertion to his own advantage, and marched immediately to Athens, which saw herself abandoned by all her allies; and, consequently, in no condition to defend herself against a potent and victorious enemy. Before he entered the city, Demosthenes, and all those of his party, who may be considered as the last true Greeks, and the defenders of expiring liberty, retired from that place; and the people, in order to transfer unto those great men the reproach resulting from the declaration of war against Antipater, and likewise to obtain his good graces, condemned them to die by a decree which Demades prepared. The reader has not forgot that these are the same people who had lately recalled Demosthenes by a decree so much for his honour, and had received him in triumph.²

The same Demades procured a second decree for sending ambassadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, and that they should be invested with full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace with him.

¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 599—602.

² Plut. in Phoc. p. 752, 754.

Phocion himself was at their head; and the conqueror declared that he expected the Athenians should entirely submit the terms to his regulation, in the manner as he himself had acted, when he was besieged in the city of Lamia, and had conformed to the capitulation imposed upon him by Leosthenes, their general.

Phocion returned to acquaint the Athenians with his answer, and they were compelled to acquiesce in the conditions, rigid as they might appear. He then came back to Thebes with the rest of the ambassadors, with whom Xenocrates had been associated, in hopes that the appearance alone of so celebrated a philosopher would inspire Antipater with respect, and induce him to pay homage to his virtue. But surely they must have been little acquainted with the heart of man, and particularly with the violent and inhuman disposition of Antipater, to be capable of flattering themselves that an enemy, with whom they had been engaged in an open war, would renounce his advantage through any inducement of respect for the virtue of a single man, or in consequence of a harangue uttered by a philosopher, who had declared against him. Antipater would not even condescend to cast his eyes upon him; and when he was preparing to enter upon the conference, for he was commissioned to be speaker on this occasion, he interrupted him in a very abrupt manner; and, perceiving that he continued in his discourse, commanded him to be silent. But he did not treat Phocion in the same manner; for after he had attended to his discourse, he replied, "that he was disposed to contract a friendship and alliance with the Athenians on the following conditions: they should deliver up Demosthenes and Hyperides to him; the government should be restored to its ancient plan, by which all employments in the state were to be conferred upon the rich; that they should receive a garrison into the port of Munychia; that they should defray all the expenses of the war, and also a large sum, the amount of which would be settled." Thus, according to Diodorus, none but those whose yearly income exceeded two thousand drachmas, were to be admitted into any share of the government for the future, or have any right to vote. Antipater intended to make himself absolute master of Athens by this regulation, being very sensible that the rich men, who enjoyed public employments and had large revenues, would become his dependents much more effectually than a poor and despicable populace, who had nothing to lose, and would be only guided by their own caprice.

All the ambassadors but Xenocrates were well contented with these conditions, which they thought were very moderate, considering their present situation; but that philosopher judged otherwise. "They are very moderate for slaves," said he, "but extremely severe for freemen."

The Athenians were, therefore, compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garrison, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and by some of Phocion's particular friends. The troops took possession of the place during the festival of the great mysteries, and the very day on which it was usual to carry the god Iacchus in procession from the city to Eleusina. This was a melancholy conjecture

for the Athenians, and affected them with the most sensible affliction "Alas!" said they, when they compared past times with those they then saw, "the gods, amidst our greatest adversities, would formerly manifest themselves in our favour during this sacred ceremonial, by mystic visions and audible voices, to the great astonishment of our enemies, who were terrified by them. But now, when we are even celebrating the same solemnities, they cast an unpitying eye on the greatest calamities that can happen to Greece: they behold the most sacred of all days in the year, and that which is most agreeable to us, polluted and distinguished by the most dreadful of calamities, which will even transmit its name to this sacred time through all succeeding generations."

The garrison, commanded by Menyllus, did not offer the least injury to any of the inhabitants, but there were more than twelve thousand of them excluded from employments in the state, by one of the stipulations in the treaty, in consequence of their poverty. Some of these unfortunate persons continued in Athens, and lingered out a wretched life, amidst the contemptuous treatment they had justly drawn upon themselves; for the generality of them were seditious and mercenary in their dispositions, had neither virtue nor justice, but flattered themselves with a false idea of liberty, which they were incapable of using aright, and had no knowledge of either its bounds, duties, or end. The other poor citizens departed from the city, in order to avoid that opprobrious condition, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

Demetrius Phalereus was obliged to have recourse to flight, and retired to Nicanor; but Cassander, the son of Antipater, reposed much confidence in him, and made him governor of Munychia after the death of his father, as will appear immediately.¹ This Demetrius had been not only the disciple, but the intimate friend of the celebrated Theophrastus; and, under the conduct of so learned a master, had perfected his natural genius for eloquence, and rendered himself expert in philosophy, politics, and history. He was in great esteem at Athens, and began to enter upon the administration of affairs, when Harpalus arrived there, after he had declared against Alexander. He was obliged to quit that city at the time we have mentioned, and was soon after condemned there, though absent, under a vain pretext of irreligion.²

The whole weight of Antipater's displeasure fell chiefly upon Demosthenes, Hyperides, and some other Athenians who had been their adherents: and when he was informed that they had eluded his vengeance by flight, he despatched a body of men with orders to seize them, and placed one Archias at their head, who had formerly played in tragedies. This man having found at Ægina, the orator Hyperides, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Hymereus the brother of Demetrius Phalereus, who had all three taken refuge in the temple of Ajax; he dragged them from their asylum, and sent them to Antipater, who was then at Cleones, where he condemned them to

¹ Athen. l. xii. p. 542.

² Diog. in Laert. in Demetr.

die. Some authors have even declared, that he caused the tongue of Hyperides to be cut out.¹

The same Archias having received intelligence, that Demosthenes, who had retired into the island of Calauria, was become a suppliant in the temple of Neptune, he sailed thither in a small vessel, and landed with some Thracian soldiers: after which he spared no pains to persuade Demosthenes to accompany him to Antipater, assuring him that he should receive no injury. Demosthenes was too well acquainted with mankind to rely on his promises; and was sensible that venal souls, who have hired themselves into the service of iniquity, those infamous ministers, in the execution of orders equally cruel and unjust, have as little regard to sincerity and truth as their masters. To prevent, therefore, his falling into the hands of a tyrant, who would have satiated his fury upon him, he swallowed poison, which he always carried about him, and which soon produced its effect. When he found his strength declining, he advanced a few steps, by the aid of some domestics who supported him, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The Athenians, soon after this event, erected a statue of brass to his memory, as a testimonial of their gratitude and esteem, and made a decree, that the eldest branch of his family should be brought up in the prytaneum, at the public expense, from generation to generation: and at the foot of the statue they engraved this inscription, which was couched in two elegiac verses: "Demosthenes, if thy power had been equal to thy wisdom, the Macedonian Mars would never have triumphed over Greece." What regard is to be entertained for the judgment of a people, who were capable of being hurried into such opposite extremes, and who one day passed sentence of death on a citizen, and the next loaded him with honours and applause?

What I have already said of Demosthenes, on several occasions, makes it unnecessary to enlarge upon his character in this place. He was not only a great orator, but an accomplished statesman. His views were noble and exalted; his zeal was not to be intimidated by any conjectures, wherein the honour and interest of his country were concerned; he firmly retained an irreconcilable aversion to all measures which had any resemblance to tyranny, and his love for liberty was such as may be imagined in a republican, as implacable an enemy to all servitude and dependency as ever lived. A wonderful sagacity of mind enabled him to penetrate into future events, and presented them to his view with as much perspicuity, though remote, as if they had been actually present. He seemed as much acquainted with all the designs of Philip, as if he had been admitted into a participation of his counsels; and if the Athenians had followed his counsels, that prince would not have attained that height of power, which proved destructive to Greece, as Demosthenes had frequently foretold.

He was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of Philip, and was very far from praising him, like the generality of orators. Two

¹ Plut. in Demosth. p. 859, 860.

colleagues, with whom he was associated in an embassy to that prince, were continually praising the king of Macedon at their return, and saying, that he was a very eloquent and amiable prince, and a most extraordinary drinker. "What strange commendations are these?" replied Demosthenes. "The first is the accomplishment of a rhetorician; the second of a woman; and the third of a sponge; but none of them the praise of a king."¹

With regard to eloquence, nothing can be added to what Quintilian has observed, in the parallel he has drawn between Demosthenes and Cicero. After he has shown, that the great and essential qualities of an orator are common to them both, he marks out the particular difference observable between them with respect to style and elocution. "The one," says he, "is more precise, the other more luxuriant. The one crowds all his forces into a smaller compass when he attacks his adversary, the other chooses a larger field for the assault. The one always endeavours in a manner to transfix him with the vivacity of his style, the other frequently overwhelms him with the weight of his discourse. Nothing can be retrenched from the one, and nothing can be added to the other. In Demosthenes we discover more labour and study, in Cicero more nature and genius."²

I have elsewhere observed another difference between these two great orators, which I beg leave to insert in this place. That which characterises Demosthenes more than any other circumstance, and in which he has never been imitated, is such an absolute oblivion of himself, and so scrupulous and constant a solicitude to suppress all ostentation of wit; in a word, such a perpetual care to confine the attention of the auditor to the cause, and not to the orator, that he never suffers any one turn of thought or expression to escape him from no other view than merely to please and shine. This reserve and moderation in so amiable a genius as Demosthenes, and in matters so susceptible of grace and eloquence, adds perfection to his merit, and renders him superior to all praises.³

Cicero was sensible of all the estimation due to the eloquence of Demosthenes, and experienced all its force and beauty. But as he was persuaded that an orator, when he is engaged in any points that are not strictly essential, ought to form his style by the taste of his audience; and did not believe that the genius of his times was consistent with such a rigid exactness; he therefore judged it necessary to accommodate himself in some measure to the ears and delicacy of his auditors, who required more grace and elegance in his discourse. For which reason he had some regard to the agreeable, but, at the same time, never lost sight of any important point in the cause he pleaded. He even thought that this qualified him for promoting the interest of his country, and was not mistaken, as to please is one of

¹ Plut. in Demosth. p. 858.

² In elequendo est aliqua diversitas. Densior ille, hic copiosior. Ille concludit astrictius, hic latius pugnât. Ille acumine semper, hic frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil destrahi potest, huic nihil adjici. Curæ plus in ille, in hoc naturæ.—Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

³ In the discourse on the eloquence of the bar.

the most certain means of persuading; but at the same time he laboured for his own reputation, and never forgot himself.

The death of Demosthenes and Hyperides caused the Athenians to regret the reigns of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generosity, and clemency, which those two princes retained, even amidst the emotions of their displeasure; and how ready they had always been to pardon offences, and treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the mask of a private man in a bad cloak, with all the appearances of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, discovered himself to be a rigid and imperious master.

Antipater was, however, prevailed upon, by the prayers of Phocion, to recall several persons from banishment, notwithstanding all the severity of his disposition; and there is reason to believe that Demetrius was one of this number; at least, it is certain that he had a considerable share in the administration of the republic from that time. As for those whose recall to Athens Phocion was unable to obtain, he procured for them more commodious situations, that were not so remote as their former settlements; and took his measures so effectually, that they were not banished, according to the first sentence, beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Tenarus; by which means they did not live sequestered from the pleasures of Greece, but obtained a settlement in Peloponnesus. Who can help admiring, on the one hand, the amiable and generous disposition of Phocion, who employed his influence with Antipater, to procure for a number of unfortunate persons some alleviation of their calamities; and, on the other hand, a kind of humanity in a prince, who was not very desirous of distinguishing himself by that quality, but was sensible, however, that it would be extremely rigid in him to add new mortifications to the inconveniences of banishment?

Antipater in other respects exercised his government with great justice and moderation, over those who continued in Athens; he bestowed the principal posts and employments on such persons as he imagined were the most virtuous and honest men; and contented himself with removing from all authority, such as he thought were most likely to excite troubles. He was sensible, that this people could neither support a state of absolute servitude, nor the enjoyment of entire liberty; for which reason he thought it necessary to take from the one, whatever was too rigid; and from the other, all that it had of excessive and licentious.

The conqueror, after so glorious a campaign, set out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus, and the solemnity was performed with all imaginable grandeur. Phila was one of the most accomplished princesses of her age, and her beauty was the least part of her merit. The lustre of her charms was heightened by the sweetness and modesty that softened her aspect, by an air of complacency, and a natural disposition to oblige, which won the hearts of all who beheld her. These engaging qualities were rendered still more amiable by the brightness of a superior genius, and a prudence uncommon in her sex, which made her capable of the

greatest affairs. It is even said, that, young as she then was, her father Antipater, who was one of the most able politicians of his age, never engaged in any affair of importance without consulting her. This princess never made use of the influence she had over her two husbands, (for, after the death of Craterus, she espoused Demetrius the son of Antigonus,) but to procure some favour for the officers, their daughters or sisters. If they were poor, she furnished them with portions for their marriage; and if they were so unhappy as to be calumniated, she herself was very active in their justification. So generous a liberality gave her an absolute power among the troops. All cabals were dissolved by her presence, and all revolts gave way, and were appeased by her management.

SECTION III.—PROCESSION OF ALEXANDER'S FUNERAL. PTOLEMY, CRATERUS, ANTIPATER, AND ANTIGONUS, CONFEDERATE AGAINST EACH OTHER.

ABOUT this time the funeral obsequies of Alexander were performed.¹ Aridæus, having been deputed by all the governors and grandees of the kingdom, to take upon himself the care of that solemnity, had employed two years in preparing everything that could possibly render it the most pompous and august funeral that had ever been seen. When all things were ready for the celebration of this mournful but superb ceremonial, orders were given for the procession to begin. This was preceded by a great number of pioneers and other workmen, whose office was to make all the ways practicable through which the procession was to pass.²

As soon as these were levelled, that magnificent chariot, the invention and design of which raised as much admiration as the immense riches that glittered all over it, set out from Babylon. The body of the chariot rested upon two axle-trees, that were inserted into four wheels, made after the Persian manner; the naves and spokes of which were covered with gold, and the rounds plated over with iron. The extremities of the axle-trees were made of gold, representing the muscles of lions biting a dart. The chariot had four draught beams, or poles, to each of which were harnessed four sets of mules, each set consisting of four of those animals; so that this chariot was drawn by sixty-four mules. The strongest of these creatures, and largest, were chosen on this occasion. They were adorned with crowns of gold, and collars enriched with precious stones and gold bells.

On this chariot was erected a pavilion of entire gold, twelve feet wide, and eighteen in length, supported by columns of the Ionic order, embellished with the leaves of the acanthus. The inside was adorned with a blaze of jewels, disposed in the form of shells. The circumference was beautified with a fringe of gold net-work: the threads that composed the texture were an inch in thickness, and to those were fastened large bells, whose sound was heard at a great distance.

A. M. 3633. Ant. J. C. 321. Diod. l. xviii. p. 608—610.

¹ I could have wished it had been in my power to have explained several passages of this description in a more clear and intelligible manner than I have done; but that was not possible for me to effect, though I had recourse to persons of greater capacity than myself.

The external decorations were disposed in four relievos.

The first represented Alexander seated in a military chariot, with a splendid sceptre in his hand, and surrounded, on one side, with a troop of Macedonians in arms; and on the other, with an equal number of Persians armed in their manner. These were preceded by the king's equeries.

In the second were seen elephants completely harnessed, with a band of Indians seated on the fore part of their bodies; and on the hinder part, a band of Macedonians, armed as in the day of battle.

The third exhibited to the view several squadrons of horse ranged in military array.

The fourth represented ships preparing for a battle.

At the entrance into the pavilion were golden lions, that seemed to guard the passage.

The four corners were adorned with statues of gold representing victories, with trophies of arms in their hands.

Under the pavilion was placed a throne of gold of a square form, adorned with the heads of animals,¹ whose necks were encompassed with golden circles a foot and a half in breadth; to these were hung crowns that glittered with the liveliest colours, and such as were carried in procession at the celebration of sacred solemnities.

At the foot of the throne was placed the coffin of Alexander, formed of beaten gold, and half filled with aromatic spices and perfumes, as well to exhale an agreeable odour, as for the preservation of the corpse. A pall of purple wrought with gold covered the coffin.

Between this and the throne the arms of that monarch were disposed in the manner he wore them while living.

The outside of the pavilion was likewise covered with purple flowered with gold. The top ended in a very large crown of the same metal, which seemed to be a composition of olive branches. The rays of the sun which darted on this diadem, in conjunction with the motion of the chariot, caused it to emit a kind of rays like those of lightning.

It may easily be imagined, that in so long a procession, the motion of a chariot, loaded like this, would be liable to great inconveniences. In order, therefore, that the pavilion, with all its appendages, might, when the chariot moved in any uneven ways, constantly continue in the same situation, notwithstanding the inequality of the ground, and the shocks that would frequently be unavoidable, a cylinder was raised from the middle of each axle-tree, to support the pavilion; by which expedient the whole machine was preserved steady.

The chariot was followed by the royal guards, all in arms, and magnificently arrayed.

The multitude of spectators of this solemnity is scarcely credible; but they were drawn together, as well by their veneration for the memory of Alexander, as by the magnificence of this funeral pomp, which had never been equalled in the world.

¹ The Greek word *ραxyαφες* imports a kind of hart, from whose chin a beard hangs down like that of goats.

There was a current prediction, that the place where Alexander should be interred, would be rendered the most happy and flourishing part of the whole earth. The governors contested with each other, for the disposal of a body that was to be attended with such a glorious prerogative. The affection Perdiccas entertained for his country, made him desirous that the corpse should be conveyed to *Æge* in Macedonia, where the remains of its kings were usually deposited. Other places were likewise proposed, but the preference was given to Egypt. Ptolemy, who was under such extraordinary and recent obligations to the king of Macedon, was determined to signalize his gratitude on this occasion. He accordingly set out with a numerous guard of his best troops, in order to meet the procession, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the funeral, he prevented them from interring the corpse in the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, as they had proposed. It was therefore deposited, first in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to the city of Alexandria. Ptolemy raised a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were usually paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity.

Freinshemius,¹ in his supplement to Livy, relates, after Leo the African, an author who lived in the 15th century, that the tomb of Alexander the Great was still to be seen in his time, and that it was revered by the Mohammedans, (or Mahometans,) as the monument, not only of an illustrious king, but of a great prophet.

Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which border on the Pontic sea, were allotted to Eumenes, in consequence of the partition of the several governments of Alexander's empire; and it was expressly stipulated by the treaty, that Leonatus and Antigonus should march with a great body of troops to establish Eumenes in the government of those dominions, and dispossess king Ariarthes of the sovereignty. This general resolution of sending troops and experienced commanders into the several provinces of the empire, was formed with great judgment; and the intention of it was, that all those conquered territories should continue under the dominion of the Macedonians, and that the inhabitants, being no longer governed by their own sovereigns, should have no farther inclination to recover their former liberty, nor be in a condition to set each other the example of throwing off the new yoke of the Greeks."²

But neither Leonatus nor Antigonus were very solicitous to execute this article of the treaty; and, as they were entirely attentive to their own particular interest and aggrandizement, they took other measures. Eumenes, seeing himself thus abandoned by those who ought to have established him in his government, set out with all his equipage, which consisted of three hundred horse and two hundred of his domestics, well armed; with all his riches, which amounted to about five thousand talents of gold; and retired to Perdiccas, who gave him a favourable reception. As he was much esteemed by that commander, he was admitted into a participation of all his counsels

¹ Lib. cxxxiii.

² Plut. in Eumen. p. 584. Diod. l. xviii. p. 549.

Eumenes was indeed a man of great solidity and resolution, and the most able of all the captains of Alexander.

Within a short time after this event, he was conducted into Cappadocia by a great army, which Perdiccas thought fit to command in person. Ariarthes had made the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence, and had raised twenty thousand foot and a great body of horse; but he was defeated and taken prisoner by Perdiccas, who destroyed his whole family, and invested Eumenes with the government of his dominions. He intended, by this instance of severity, to intimidate the people, and extinguish all seditions. And this conduct was very judicious, and absolutely necessary in the conjuncture of a new government, when the state is in a general ferment, and all things are usually disposed for commotions. Perdiccas, after this transaction, advanced with his troops to chastise Isaura and Laranda, cities of Pisidia, which had massacred their governors, and revolted from the Macedonians. The last of these cities was destroyed in a very surprising manner; for the inhabitants, finding themselves in no condition to defend it, and despairing of any quarter from the conqueror, shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives, children, and parents, and all their gold and silver, set fire to their several habitations, and after they had fought with the fury of lions, threw themselves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder; and the soldiers, after they had extinguished the fire, found a very great booty, for the place was filled with riches.

Perdiccas, after this expedition, marched into Cilicia, where he passed the winter season.¹ During his residence in that country, he formed the resolution to divorce Nicea, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had espoused at a time when he thought that marriage subservient to his interest. But when the regency of the empire had given him a superior credit, and given birth to more exalted hopes, his thoughts took a different turn, and he was desirous of espousing Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great. She had been married to Alexander, king of Epirus; and having lost her husband in the wars of Italy, she had continued in a state of widowhood, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Perdiccas despatched Eumenes thither, to propose his marriage to that princess, and employ his endeavours to render it agreeable to her. This alliance with a lady who was the sister of Alexander by the same father and mother, and exceedingly beloved by the Macedonians, opened him a way to the empire through the favour of that people, which he might naturally expect from his marriage with Cleopatra.

Antigonus penetrated into his design, and evidently foresaw that his own destruction was to be the foundation of the intended success. He therefore passed into Greece with the greatest expedition, in order to find Antipater and Craterus, who were then engaged in a war with the Ætolians, and disclosed to them the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon this intelligence they immediately came to an accommodation with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Helles

¹ A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Diad. p. 606—609.

pont to observe the motions of the new enemy; and, in order to strengthen their own party, they engaged Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, in their interest.

Craterus, one of the greatest of Alexander's captains, had the largest share of the affection and esteem of the Macedonians. Alexander, a short time before his death, had ordered him to conduct into Macedonia the ten thousand veteran troops he intended to send thither, on account of their age, wounds, or other infirmities, which rendered them incapable of service. The king had likewise conferred upon him at the same time, the government of Macedonia, in the room of Antipater, whom he recalled to Babylon. Those provinces having been consigned to Craterus and Antipater after the death of Alexander, they governed them jointly, and Craterus always conducted himself like a good and faithful associate; especially in the operation of this war, in which they were unavoidably engaged by the discovery of the designs which Perdiccas was forming.

Perdiccas sent Eumenes back to his province, not only to regulate the state of affairs in that country, but more particularly to keep a watchful eye on the motions of Neoptolemus, his next neighbour, who was governor of Armenia, and whose conduct was suspected by Perdiccas, but not without sufficient reason, as will be clearly shown.

This Neoptolemus was a man remarkable for his stupid pride, and the insupportable arrogance he had contracted, from the vain hopes with which he fed his imagination. Eumenes endeavoured to reduce him to reason by gentle measures; and when he saw that the troops of the Macedonian phalanx, who were commanded by Neoptolemus, were grown very insolent and audacious, he made it his care to assemble a body of horse strong enough to oppose their designs, and keep them within the bounds of respect and obedience. With this view he granted all sorts of immunities and exemptions from imposts to those of the inhabitants who were in a condition to appear on horseback. He likewise purchased a great number of horses, and bestowed them on those of his court in whom he confided the most; and inflamed their courage by the honours and rewards he conferred upon them. He disciplined and habituated them to labour and fatigue by reviews, exercises, and continual movements. Every body was surprised to see him assemble, in so short a time, a body of six thousand horse, capable of good service in the field.¹

Perdiccas, having caused all his troops to file off the next spring towards Cappadocia, held a council with his friends on the operations of the intended war. The subject of their deliberations was, whether they should march first into Macedonia against Antipater and Craterus, or into Egypt against Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the last; and it was concluded, at the same time, that Eumenes, with part of the army, should guard the Asiatic provinces against Antipater and Craterus; and, in order to engage him more effectually to espouse the common cause, Perdiccas added the province of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, to his government. He likewise de-

¹ Plat. in Eumen. p. 585.

clared him *generalissimo* of all the troops in Cappadocia and Armenia, and ordered all the governors to obey him. Perdiccas, after this, advanced towards Egypt through Damascene and Palestine. He also took the two minor kings with him in this expedition, in order to cover his designs with the royal authority.

Eumenes spared no pains to have a good army on foot, in order to oppose Antipater and Craterus, who had already passed the Hellespont, and were marching against him. They left nothing unattempted to disengage him from the party he had espoused, and promised him the addition of new provinces to those he already possessed; but he was too steady to be shaken by these offers, in breach of his engagements to Perdiccas.¹ They succeeded better with Alcetas and Neoptolemus, for they engaged the former to observe a neutrality, though the brother of Perdiccas, and the other declared in their favour. Eumenes attacked and defeated the latter at a narrow pass, and even took all his baggage. This victory was owing to his cavalry, whom he had formed with so much care. Neoptolemus escaped with three hundred horse, and joined Antipater and Craterus; but the rest of his troops went over to Eumenes.²

Antipater entered Cilicia with an intention to advance into Egypt, in order to assist Ptolemy, if his affairs should require his aid; and he detached Craterus and Neoptolemus with the rest of his army against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. A great battle was fought there, the success of which was to be entirely ascribed to the wise and vigilant precaution of Eumenes, which Plutarch justly considers as the master-piece of a great commander. The reputation of Craterus was very great, and the generality of the Macedonians were desirous of having him for their leader after the death of Alexander, remembering that his affection for them, and his desire to support their interest, had caused him to incur the displeasure of that prince. Neoptolemus had flattered him, that as soon as he should appear in the field, all the Macedonians of the opposite party would range themselves under his banners, and Eumenes himself was very apprehensive that such would be the case. But, in order to avoid this misfortune, which would have occasioned his inevitable ruin, he caused the avenues and narrow passes to be so carefully guarded, that his army were entirely ignorant of the enemy against whom he was leading them, having caused a report to be spread, that it was only Neoptolemus, who was preparing to attack him a second time. In the dispositions he made for the battle, he was careful not to oppose any Macedonian against Craterus; and issued an order, with very severe penalties, that no herald from the enemy should be received on any account whatever.

The first charge was very violent; the lances were soon shivered on both sides, and the two armies attacked sword in hand. Craterus acted nothing to the dishonour of Alexander on this last day of his life, for he killed numbers of the enemy with his own hand, and fre-

¹ Quem (Perdiccam) etsi infirmum videbat, quod unus omnibus resistere cogebatur, amicum non deservit neque salutis quam fidei fuit cupidior.—Corn. Nep. in Eumen. c. 3.

² Plut. in Eumen. p. 585—587. Diod. l. xviii. p. 610—613.

quently bore down all who opposed him; till, at last, a Thracian wounded him in the side, when he fell from his horse. All the enemy's cavalry rode over him without knowing who he was, and did not discover him till he was breathing his last.

As to the other wing, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, who personally hated each other, having met in the battle, and their horses charging with a violent shock, they seized each other; and their horses springing from under them, they both fell on the earth, where they struggled like two implacable wrestlers, and fought for a considerable time with the utmost fury and rage, till at last Neoptolemus received a mortal wound, and immediately expired.

Eumenes then remounted his horse, and pushed his left wing to that part of the field where he believed the enemy's troops still continued unbroken. When he was informed that Craterus was killed, he spurred his horse to the place where he lay, and found him expiring. On beholding this melancholy spectacle, he could not refuse his tears to the death of an ancient friend, whom he had always esteemed; and he caused the last honours to be paid him with all possible magnificence. He likewise ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedon, in order to be given to his wife and children. Eumenes gained this second victory ten days after the first.

In the mean time Perdiccas had advanced into Egypt, and began the war with Ptolemy, though with very different success. Ptolemy, from the time he was constituted governor of that country, had conducted himself with so much justice and humanity, that he had entirely gained the hearts of all the Egyptians. An infinite number of people, charmed with the lenity of so wise an administration, came thither from Greece and other parts to enter into his service. This additional advantage rendered him extremely powerful, and even the army of Perdiccas had so much esteem for Ptolemy, that they marched with reluctance against him, and great numbers of them deserted daily to his troops. All these circumstances were fatal to the views of Perdiccas, and he lost his own life in that country. Having unfortunately taken a resolution to make his army pass an arm of the Nile, which formed an island near Memphis, he lost, in passing, two thousand men, one half of whom were drowned, and the remainder devoured by crocodiles. The Macedonians were exasperated to such a degree of fury when they saw themselves exposed to such unnecessary dangers, that they mutinied against him; in consequence of which, he was abandoned by a hundred of his principal officers, among whom Pithon was the most considerable, and was assassinated in his tent, with most of his intimate friends.¹

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes; and had this account come two days sooner, it would certainly have prevented the mutiny, and consequently the revolution that soon succeeded it, which proved so favourable to Ptolemy and Antipater, and all their adherents.

¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 613—616. Plut. in Eumen. p. 587. Corn. Nep. c. 5.

SECTION IV.—REGENCY TRANSFERRED TO ANTIPATER. POLYSPERCHON SUCCEEDS HIM. THE LATTER RECALLS OLYMPIAS.

PTOLEMY passed the Nile the day after the death of Perdiccas, and entered the Macedonian camp, where he justified his own conduct so effectually, that all the troops declared in his favour. When the death of Craterus was known, he made such an artful improvement of their affliction and resentment, that he induced them to pass a decree, whereby Eumenes, and fifty other persons of the same party, were declared enemies of the Macedonian state; and this decree authorized Antipater and Antigonus to carry on a war against them. But when this prince perceived the troops had a general inclination to offer him the regency of the two kings, which became vacant by the death of Perdiccas, he had the precaution to decline that office, because he was very sensible that the royal pupils had a title without a reality; that they would never be capable of sustaining the weight of that vast empire, nor be in a condition to reunite, under their authority, so many governments accustomed to independency; that there was an inevitable tendency to dismember the whole, as well from the inclinations and interest of the officers, as the situation of affairs; that all his acquisitions in the interim would redound to the advantage of his pupils; that while he appeared to possess the first rank, he should in reality enjoy nothing fixed and solid, or that could any way be considered as his own property; that upon the expiration of the regency, he should be left without any government or real establishments, and that he should neither be master of an army to support him, nor of any retreat for his preservation; whereas all his colleagues would enjoy the richest provinces in perfect tranquillity, and he be the only one who had not derived any advantages from the common conquests. These considerations induced him to prefer the post he already enjoyed to the new title that was offered him, as the former was less hazardous, and rendered him less obnoxious to envy: he therefore caused the choice to fall on Pithon and Aridæus.¹

The first of these persons had commanded with distinction in all the wars of Alexander, and had embraced the party of Perdiccas, till he was a witness of his imprudent conduct in passing the Nile, which induced him to quit his service, and go over to Ptolemy.

With respect to Aridæus, history has taken no notice of him before the death of Alexander, when the funeral solemnities of that prince were committed to his care: and we have already seen in what manner he acquitted himself of that melancholy, but honourable commission, after he had employed two years in the preparations for it.

The honour of this guardianship was of no long continuance to them. Eurydice, the consort of king Aridæus, whom we shall distinguish for the future by the name of Philip, being fond of interfering in all affairs, and being supported in her pretensions by the Macedonians, the two regents were so dissatisfied with their employment, that

¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 616—619.

they voluntarily resigned it, after they had sent the army back to Triparadis in Syria; and it was then conferred upon Antipater.

As soon as he was invested with this authority, he made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, in which he excluded all those who had espoused the interest of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and re-established every person of the other party who had been dispossessed. In this new division of the empire, Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, as we have already intimated, had the government of Babylon, and became afterward the most powerful of all the successors of Alexander. Pithon had the government of Media; but Atropates, who at that time enjoyed the government of that province, supported himself in one part of the country, and assumed the regal dignity, without acknowledging the authority of the Macedonians; and this tract of Media was afterwards called Media Atropatena. Antipater, after this regulation of affairs, sent Antigonus against Eumenes, and then returned into Macedon; but left his son Cassander behind him, in quality of general of the cavalry, with orders to be near the person of Antigonus, that he might be the better informed of his designs.

Jaddus, the high-priest of the Jews, died this year, and was succeeded by his son Onias, whose pontificate continued for the space of twenty-one years. I make this remark, because the history of the Jews will, in the sequel of this work, be very much intermixed with that of Alexander's successors.¹

Antigonus appeared early in the field against Eumenes; and the battle was fought at Orcynium in Cappadocia, in which Eumenes was defeated, and lost eight thousand men, by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal officers of his cavalry, who was corrupted by Antigonus, and marched over to the enemy in the midst of the battle.² The traitor was soon punished for his perfidy, for Eumenes took him and caused him to be hanged on the spot.³

A conjuncture which happened soon after this defeat, would have enabled Eumenes to seize the baggage of Antigonus and all his riches, with a great number of prisoners: and his little troop already cast an eager eye on so considerable a booty. But whether his apprehensions that so rich a prey would enervate the heart of his soldiers, who were then constrained to wander from place to place; or whether his regard to Antigonus, with whom he had formerly contracted a particular friendship, prevented him from improving this opportunity, it is certain that he sent a letter to that commander, to inform him of the danger that threatened him; and when he afterwards made a feint to attack the baggage, it was all removed to a place of better security.⁴

Eumenes, after his overthrow, was obliged, for his preservation, to employ most of his time in changing the place of his retreat: and he was daily admired for the tranquillity and steadiness of mind he discovered, in the wandering life to which he was reduced; for, as

¹ A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8.

² A. M. 3684. Ant. J. C. 320. Diod. xviii. p. 618, 619.

³ Plut. in Eumen. p. 588-590.

⁴ Corn. Nep. in Eumen. c. 8.

Plutarch observes, adversity alone can place greatness of soul in its full point of light, and render the real merit of a man conspicuous; whereas prosperity frequently casts a veil of false grandeur over real meanness and imperfections. Eumenes, having at last disbanded most of his remaining troops, shut himself up, with five hundred men, who were determined to share his fate, in the castle of Nora, a place of extraordinary strength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he sustained a siege of twelve months.

He was soon sensible, that nothing incommoded his garrison so much as the small space they possessed, being shut up in little close houses, and on a tract of ground whose whole circuit did not exceed two hundred fathoms, where they could neither walk nor perform the least exercise; and where their horses, having scarcely any room for motion, became sluggish, and incapable of service. To remedy this inconvenience, he had recourse to the following expedient. He converted the largest house in the place, the extent of which did not exceed twenty-one feet, into a kind of hall for exercise. This he consigned to the men, and ordered them to walk in it very gently at first: they were afterwards to double their pace by degrees, and at last were to exert the most vigorous motions. He then took the following method for the horses. He suspended them, one after another, in strong slings, which were disposed under their breasts and from thence inserted into rings fastened to the roof of the stable; after which he caused them to be raised, by the aid of pulleys, in such a manner, that only their hinder feet rested on the ground, while the extreme parts of the hoofs of their forefeet could hardly touch it. In this condition, the grooms lashed them severely with their whips, which tormented the horses to such a degree, and forced them into such violent agitations, that their bodies were all covered with sweat and foam. After this exercise, which was finely calculated to strengthen and keep them in wind, and likewise to render their limbs supple and pliant, their barley was given to them very clean, and winnowed from all the chaff, that they might eat it the sooner, and with less difficulty. The abilities of a good general extend to everything about him, and are seen in the minutest particulars.

The siege, or more properly the blockade, of Nora, did not prevent Antigonius from undertaking a new expedition into Pisidia, against Alcetas and Attalus; the last of whom was taken prisoner in a battle, and the other slain by treachery in the place to which he retired.¹

During these transactions in Asia, Ptolemy, seeing of what importance Syria, Phoenicia, and Judea were, as well for covering Egypt, as for making proper dispositions on that side for the invasion of Cyprus, which he had then in view, determined to make himself master of those provinces which were governed by Laomedon. With this intention he sent Nicanor into Syria with a body of land forces, while he himself set out with a fleet to attack the coasts. Nicanor defeated Laomedon, and took him prisoner; in consequence of which he soon conquered the inland country. Ptolemy had equal advan-

¹ A. M. 3685. Ant. J. C. 319.

tages on the coast, by which means he became absolute master of those provinces. The princes in alliance with him were alarmed at the rapidity of these conquests ; but Antipater was at too great a distance, being then in Macedonia ; and Antigonus was too much employed against Eumenes, to oppose these great accessions to the power of Ptolemy, who gave them no little jealousy.¹

After the defeat of Laomedon, the Jews were the only people who made any resistance. They were duly sensible of the obligation they were under, by the oath they had taken to their governor, and were determined to continue faithful to him. Ptolemy advanced into Judea, and formed the siege of Jerusalem. This city was so strong by its advantageous situation, in conjunction with the works of art, that it would have sustained a long siege, had it not been for the religious fear the Jews entertained of violating the law, by which they were prohibited to defend themselves on the Sabbath. Ptolemy was not long unacquainted with this particular ; and, in order to improve the great advantage it gave him, he chose that day for the general assault ; and as no individual among the Jews would presume to defend himself, the city was taken without any difficulty.²

Ptolemy at first treated Jerusalem and Judea with great severity, for he carried above one hundred thousand of the inhabitants captive into Egypt ; but when he afterwards considered the steadiness with which they had persisted in the fidelity they had sworn to their governors, on this, and many other occasions, he was convinced that this quality rendered them more worthy of his confidence. He accordingly chose thirty thousand of the most distinguished among them, who were best qualified for serving him, and appointed them to guard the most important places in his dominions.

About this time, Antipater fell sick in Macedonia. The Athenians were greatly dissatisfied with the garrison he had left in their city, and had frequently pressed Phocion to go to the court of that prince, and solicit him to recall those troops ; but he always declined that commission, either through despair of not succeeding, or because he was conscious, that the fear of this garrison was the best expedient for keeping them within the bounds of their duty. Demades, who was not so difficult to be prevailed upon, undertook the commission with pleasure, and immediately set out with his son for Macedonia. But his arrival in that country could not have happened at a more fatal conjuncture for himself. Antipater, as I have already intimated, was seized with a severe illness ; and his son Cassander, who was absolute master of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, pressing him to come as soon as possible, and make himself master of Greece and Macedonia ; “ which,” as he expressed himself, “ were held together only by a thread, and even an old rotten thread,” ridiculing Antipater by those expressions. As soon as Cassander saw them at court, he caused them both to be arrested ; and he himself seizing the son first, stabbed him before the face of his father, and at so short a distance from him,

Diod. p. 621, 622.

¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. vii. c. l.

that he was covered with his blood. After which he reproached him with his perfidy and ingratitude, and when he had loaded him with insults, he also killed him with his own hands on the dead body of his son. It was impossible that such a barbarous proceeding should not be detested; but mankind are not much disposed to pity such a wretch as Demades, who had dictated the decree by which Demosthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die.¹

The indisposition of Antipater proved fatal to him, and his last attention was employed in filling up the two great stations which he enjoyed. His son Cassander was very desirous of them, and expected to have them conferred upon him; notwithstanding which, Antipater bestowed the regency of the kingdom, and the government of Macedonia, on Polysperchon, the most ancient of all the surviving captains of Alexander, and thought it sufficient to associate Cassander with him in these employments.

I am at a loss to determine, whether any instance of human conduct was ever greater, or more to be admired than this which I have now related in a few words; nothing certainly could be more extraordinary, and history affords us few instances of the same nature. It was necessary to appoint a governor over Macedonia, and a regent of the empire. Antipater, who knew the importance of those stations, was persuaded that his own glory and reputation, and what was still more prevalent with him, the interest of the state, and the preservation of the Macedonian monarchy, obliged him to nominate a man of authority, and one respected for his age, experience, and past services. He had a son who was not void of merit; how rare and difficult, therefore, but at the same time how amiable and glorious was it to select, on such an occasion, no man but the most deserving, and best qualified to serve the public effectually; to extinguish the voice of nature, turn a deaf ear to all her remonstrances, and not suffer the judgment to be seduced by the impressions of paternal affection; in a word, to continue so much master of one's penetration, as to render justice to the merit of a stranger, and openly prefer it to that of a son, and sacrifice all the interest of one's own family to the public welfare! History has transmitted to us an expression of the emperor Galba, which will do honour to his memory throughout all ages. "Augustus," said he, "chose a successor out of his own family, but I, one from the whole empire."²

Cassander was extremely enraged at the affront, which, as he pretended, had been offered him by this choice; and though, in that respect, like the generality of men, who are apt to look upon the employments they possess as hereditary, and with this flattering persuasion, that the state is of no consequence in comparison with themselves; never examining what is requisite to the posts they enjoy, or whether they have competent abilities to sustain them, and considering only whether these posts are agreeable to their fortune. Cassander, unable to bear with his father's preferring a stranger before him,

¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 625—626. Plut. in Phoc. p. 755.

² Augustus in domo successorum quæsit; ego in republica.—Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 15.

endeavoured to form a party against the new regent. He also secured to himself all the places he could in the government of that officer, as well in Greece as in Macedonia, and proposed nothing less than to divest him of the whole.

To this effect, he endeavoured to engage Ptolemy and Antigonus in his party; and they readily espoused it with the same views, and from the same motives. It was equally their interest to destroy this new regent, as well as the regency itself, which always kept them in apprehensions, and reminded them of their state of dependency. They likewise imagined, that it secretly reproached them for aspiring at sovereignty, while it cherished the rights of the two pupils; and left the governors in a situation of uncertainty, in consequence of which they were perpetually in fear of being divested of their power. Both believed that it would be easy for them to succeed in their designs, if the Macedonians were once engaged at home in a civil war.¹

The death of Antipater had rendered Antigonus the most powerful of all the captains of Alexander. His authority was absolute in all the provinces of Asia Minor, in conjunction with the title of generalissimo, and an army of seventy thousand men, and thirty elephants, which no power in the empire was at that time capable of resisting. It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising, that this superiority should inspire him with the design of engrossing the whole monarchy of the Macedonians. In order to succeed in that attempt, he began with making a reformation in all the governments of the provinces within his jurisdiction; displacing all those persons whom he suspected, and substituting his creatures in their room. In the conduct of this scheme, he removed Aridæus from the government of Lesser Phrygia and the Hellespont, and Clitus from that of Lydia.

Polysperchon neglected nothing, on his part, that was necessary to strengthen his interest; and thought it advisable to recall Olympias, who had retired into Epirus under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of sharing his authority with her. This princess despatched a courier to Eumenes, to consult him on the proposal she had received; and he advised her to wait some time in order to see what turn affairs would take; adding, that if she determined to return to Macedonia, he would recommend it to her in particular, to forget all the injuries she thought she had received; that it also would be her interest to govern with moderation, and to make others sensible of her authority by benefactions, and not by severity. As to all other particulars, he promised an inviolable attachment to herself and the royal family. Olympias did not conform to these judicious counsels in any respect, but set out as soon as possible for Macedonia; where, upon her arrival, she consulted nothing but her passions, and her insatiable desire of dominion and revenge.²

Polysperchon, who had many enemies upon his hands, endeavoured to secure Greece, as he foresaw that Cassander would attempt to

¹ Diod. p. 639.

² Diod. l. xviii. p. 626, 634. Corn. Nep. in Eumen. c. 6

make himself master of it. He also took measures with relation to other parts of the empire, as will appear by the sequel.

In order to engage the Greeks in his interest, he issued a decree, by which he recalled the exiles, and reinstated all the cities in their ancient privileges. He acquainted the Athenians in particular, by letters, that the king had re-established their democracy and ancient form of government, by which the Athenians were admitted, without distinction, into public offices. This was a strain of policy calculated to ensnare Phocion; for Polysperchon intending to make himself master of Athens, as was evident in a short time, he despaired of succeeding in that design, unless he could find some expedient to procure the banishment of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater; and he was therefore certain of accomplishing this scheme, as soon as those who had been excluded from the government should be reinstated in their ancient rights.¹

SECTION V. — PHOCION'S DEATH. OLYMPIAS CAUSES ARIDÆUS TO BE SLAIN. SHE IS MURDERED. EUMENES PUT TO DEATH.

CASSANDER, before the death of Antipater was known at Athens, had sent Nicanor thither, to succeed Menyllus in the government of the fortress of Munychia, soon after which he had made himself master of Piræus. Phocion, who placed too much confidence in the probity and fidelity of Nicanor, had contracted a strict intimacy, and conversed frequently with him, which caused the people to suspect him more than ever.²

In this conjuncture, Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, arrived with a great body of troops, under pretext of succouring the city against Nicanor, but, in reality, to seize it for himself, if possible, in consequence of the divisions which then reigned within it. He there held a tumultuous assembly, in which Phocion was divested of his command as general; while Demetrius Phalereus, with several other citizens, who were apprehensive of the same fate, immediately retired from the city. Phocion, who had the grief to see himself accused of treason, took refuge with Polysperchon, who sent him back to be tried by the people. An assembly was immediately convoked on that occasion, from which neither slaves, strangers, nor any infamous persons whatever, were excluded. This proceeding was contrary to all the established rules, notwithstanding which, Phocion and the other prisoners were presented to the people. Most persons of any merit in the assembly, cast down their eyes to the earth at this spectacle, and, covering their heads, wept bitterly. One among them having the courage to propose that the slaves and strangers might be ordered to withdraw, was immediately opposed by the populace, who cried out, that they ought rather to stone those advocates for oligarchy and enemies of the people. Phocion frequently attempted to plead his own cause, and vindicate his conduct, but was always interrupted. It was customary at Athens, for the person accused to declare, before sentence passed against him, what punishment he ought to suffer.

¹ Diod. p. 631, 632.

² Diod. l. xviii. p. 638—642.

Phocion answered aloud, that he condemned himself to die, but desired the assembly to spare the rest. Upon this the suffrages were demanded, and they were unanimously sentenced to suffer death, previous to which they were conveyed to the dungeon. Demetrius Phalereus, and some others, though absent, were included in the same condemnation. The companions of Phocion were so affected by the sorrows of their relations and friends, who came to embrace them in the streets, with the melancholy tender of the last farewell, that they proceeded on their way, lamenting their unhappy fate in a flood of tears; but Phocion still retained the same air and countenance as he had formerly shown, when he quitted the assembly to take upon him the command of armies, and when the Athenians attended him in crowds to his own house, with praises and acclamations.

One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, advanced to him, and spit in his face. Phocion only turned to the magistrates, and said, "Will nobody hinder this man from acting so unworthily?" When he arrived at the prison, one of his friends having asked him if he had any message to send to his son? "Yes, certainly," replied he, "it is to desire that he would never remember the injustice of the Athenians." When he had uttered these words, he took the hemlock, and died.

On that day there was also a public procession, and as it passed before the prison, some of the persons who composed it, took the crowns from their heads; others turned their eyes to the gates of the prison, and burst into tears; and all who had any remains of humanity and religion, and whose souls were not entirely depraved and blinded by rage or envy, acknowledged it to be an instance of unnatural barbarity, as well as a great impiety, with regard to the city, not to have abstained, on such a solemn day, from the infliction of death on a citizen so universally esteemed, and whose admirable virtues had procured him the appellation of "The Good."¹

To punish the greatest virtues as the most flagitious crimes, and repay the best services with the most inhuman treatment, is a guilt condemned in all places, but especially in Athens, where ingratitude was punishable by the law.² The regulations of her sage legislator still subsisted at that time, but they were wrested by the condemnation of her citizens, and only became an evidence, how much that people were degenerated in their manners.

The enemies of Phocion, not satisfied with the punishment they had caused him to suffer, and believing some particulars were still wanting to complete their triumph, obtained an order from the people, that his body should be carried out of the dominions of Attica, and that none of the Athenians should contribute the least quantity of wood to honour his funeral pile; these last offices were therefore rendered to him in the territories of Megara. A lady of the country, who acci-

¹ Ob integritatem vitæ, bonus est appellatus!—Corn. Nep.

Quid obest, quin publica dementia sit existimanda, summo consensu maximas virtutes quasi gravissima delicta punire, beneficiaque injuriis rependere? Quod cum ubique, tum præcipue Athenis intolerabile videri debet, in qua urbe adversus ingratos actio constituta est.—Quantum ergo reprehensionem merentur, qui cum æquissima jura sed iniquissima habebant ingenia, moribus suis, quam legibus uti maluerint?—Val. Max. l. v. c. 8.

dentally assisted at his funeral with her servants, caused a cenotaph, or vacant tomb, to be erected to his memory on the same spot; and collecting into her robe the bones of that great man, which she had carefully gathered up, she conveyed them into her house by night, and buried them under her hearth, with these expressions: "Dear and sacred hearth, I here confide to thee, and deposit in thy bosom, these precious remains of a worthy man. Preserve them with fidelity, in order to restore them hereafter to the monument of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall become wiser than they are at present."

Though it may possibly be thought, that a variety of irregular, tumultuous, unjust, and cruel sentences, denounced in Athens against virtuous citizens at different times, might have prepared us for this last, it will, however, be always thought surprising, that a whole people, of whom one naturally conceives a noble idea, after such a series of great actions, should be capable of such a strange perversity. But it ought to be remembered, that the dregs of a vile populace, entirely void of honour, probity, and morals, reigned then at Athens. And there is sufficient foundation for the sentiments of Plato and Plutarch, who declare that the people, when they are either destitute of guides, or no longer listen to their admonitions, and when they have thrown off the reins by which they once were checked, and entirely abandoned to their impetuosity and caprice, ought to be considered as a blind, untractable, and cruel monster, ready to launch, in a moment, into the most fatal and opposite extremes, and infinitely more formidable than the most inhuman tyrants. What can be expected from such a tribunal? When people resolve to be guided by nothing but mere passion, to have no regard to decorum, and to run headlong into an open violation of all laws, the best, the most just and innocent of mankind, will sink under an implacable and prevailing cabal. Socrates experienced this almost a hundred years before Phocion perished by a like fate.

The latter was one of the greatest men whom Greece had ever produced, in whose person every kind of merit was united. He had been educated in the school of Plato and Xenocrates, and formed his manners upon the most perfect plan of pagan virtue, to which his conduct was always conformable.

It would be difficult for any person to carry disinterestedness higher than this extraordinary man, as appeared from the extreme poverty in which he died, after the many great offices he had filled. How many opportunities of acquiring riches are presented to a general, always at the head of armies, who acts against rich and opulent enemies, sometimes in countries abounding with all things, and which seem to invite the plunderer! But Phocion would have thought it infamous, had he returned from his campaigns laden with any acquisition, but the glory of his exalted actions, and the grateful benedictions of the people whom he had spared.

This excellent person, amidst all the severity which rendered him in some measure intractable when the interests of the republic were concerned, had so much natural softness and humanity, that his enemies themselves always found him disposed to assist them. It

might even have been said, that he was a composition of two natures, whose qualities were entirely opposite to each other in appearance. When he acted as a public man, he armed himself with fortitude, steadiness, and zeal; he could sometimes assume the air of a rigid indignation, and was inflexible in supporting discipline in its utmost strictness. If, on the other hand, he appeared in a private capacity, his conduct was a perpetual display of mildness and affability, condescension and patience, and was graced with all the virtues that can render the intercourse of life agreeable. It was no inconsiderable merit, and especially in a military man, to be capable of uniting two such different characters in such a manner, that as the severity which was necessary for the preservation of good order, was never seen to degenerate into the rigour that creates aversion in others, so the gentleness and complacency of his disposition never sunk into that softness and indifference which occasion contempt.

He has been greatly applauded for reforming the modern custom of his country, which made war and policy two different professions; and also for restoring the manner of governing of Pericles and Aristides, by uniting each of those talents in himself.

As he was persuaded, that eloquence was essential to a statesman, and especially in a republican government, he applied himself to the attainment of it with great assiduity and success. His was concise, solid, full of force and sense, and close to the point in question. He thought it beneath a statesman to use a poignant and satiric style, and his only answer to those who employed such language against him, was silence and patience. An orator having once interrupted him with many injurious expressions, he suffered him to continue in that strain as long as he pleased, and then resumed his discourse with as much coolness as if he had heard nothing.¹

It was highly glorious for Phocion, that he was forty-five times elected a general, by a people to whose caprice he was so little inclined to accommodate his conduct; and it is remarkable that these elections always happened when he was absent, without any previous solicitations on his part. His wife was sufficiently sensible how much this was for his glory: and one day, when an Ionian lady of considerable rank, who lodged in her house, showed her, with an air of ostentation and pleasure, her ornaments of gold, with a variety of jewels and bracelets, she answered her with a modest tone, "For my part I have no ornament but Phocion, who, for these twenty years, has always been elected general of the Athenians."

His regular and frugal life contributed not a little to the vigorous and healthy old age he enjoyed. When he was in his eightieth year, he commanded the forces, and sustained all the fatigues of war with the vivacity of a young officer.

One of the great principles in the politics of Phocion was, that peace ought always to be the aim of every wise government; and with this view, he was a constant opposer of all wars that were either imprudent or unnecessary. He was even apprehensive of those that were

¹ Plat. de Ger. Rep. p. 310.

most just and expedient; because he was sensible, that every war weakened and impoverished a state, even amidst a series of the greatest victories, and that wherever the advantage might be at the commencement of it, there was never any certainty of terminating it, without experiencing the most tragical vicissitudes of fortune. The interest of the public never gave way with him to any domestic views; he constantly refused to solicit or act in favour of his son-in-law Charricles, who was summoned before the republic to account for the sums he had received from Harpalus; and he then addressed himself to him with this admirable expression, "I have made you my son-in-law, but only for what is honest and honourable." It must indeed be acknowledged, that men of this character seem very incommodious and insupportable in the common transactions of life; they are always starting difficulties, when any affair is proposed to them; and never perform any good offices with entire ease and grace.¹ We must always deliberate, whether what we request of such persons be just or not. Their friends and relations have as little ascendant over them as utter strangers; and they always oppose, either their conscience, or some particular duties, to ancient friendship, affinity, or the advantage of their families. To this height of delicacy did Phocion carry the pagan probity.

One may justly apply to him what Tacitus said of a celebrated Roman, Helvidius Priscus.² Phocion, who had as solid a genius as that person, applied himself at first to philosophy, not to cover his indolence with the pompous title of sage, but to qualify himself for entering upon the conduct of affairs with more vigour and resolution against all unexpected accidents. He concurred in opinion with those who acknowledged no other good or evil than virtue and vice, and who ranked all externals, as fortune, power, nobility, in the class of indifferent things. He was a firm friend, a tender husband, a good senator, a worthy citizen, and discharged all the offices of civil life with equal merit. He preserved a steadiness of mind in prosperity that resembled stiffness and severity, and despised death as much as riches.

These are part of the great qualities of Phocion, who merited a happier end, and they were placed in their most amiable light by his death. The constancy of mind, the mildness of disposition, and the forgetfulness of wrongs, conspicuous in his conduct on that occasion, are above all his other praises, and infinitely enhance their lustre, especially as we shall see nothing comparable to him from henceforth in the Grecian history.

His infatuated and ungrateful country was not sensible of their unworthy proceeding till some time after his death. The Athenians

¹ Hæc prima lex in amicitia sancitur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est, et minime accipienda, cum in cæteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rempublicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur.—Cic. de Amicit. n. 40.

² Ingenium illustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut nomine magnifico segne otium valeret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita rempublicam espesseret. Doctores sapientiæ secutus est, qui sola bone quæ honesta, mala tantum quæ turpia, potentiam, nobilitatem, cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis annumerant.—Civis, senator, maritus, amicus, cunctis vitæ officiis sequabilis; opum contemptor, recti pervicacem constantem adversus metus.—Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 5.

then erected a statue of brass to his memory, and honourably interred his bones at the public expense. His accusers also suffered a punishment suitable to their desert: but did not his judges themselves deserve to be treated with greater severity than they? The punished their own crime in others, and thought themselves acquitted by a brazen statue. They were even ready to relapse into the same injustice against others who were equally innocent, whom they condemned during their lives, and had never the equity to acquit till after their death.

Cassander was careful to improve the disorder that reigned in Athens, and entered the Piræus with a fleet of thirty-five vessels which he had received from Antigonus. The Athenians, when they beheld themselves destitute of all succours, unanimously resolved to send deputies to Cassander, in order to know the conditions on which they might treat for peace; and it was mutually agreed, that the Athenians should continue masters of the city, with its territories, and likewise of the revenues and ships. But they stipulated that the citadel should remain in the power of Cassander, till he had ended the war with the kings. And as to what related to the affairs of the republic, it was agreed, that those whose income amounted to ten minæ, or a thousand drachmas, should have a share in the government, which was only half the sum designated as the qualification for public employments when Antipater made himself master of Athens. In a word, the inhabitants of that city permitted Cassander to choose what citizen he pleased to govern the republic, and Demetrius Phalereus was elected to that dignity about the close of the third year of the 105th Olympiad. The ten years government, therefore, which Diodorus and Diogenes have assigned Demetrius, is to be computed from the beginning of the following year.¹

He governed the republic in peace; he constantly treated his fellow-citizens with all imaginable mildness and humanity; and historians acknowledge that the government was never better regulated than under Cassander. This prince seemed inclined to tyranny, but the Athenians were not sensible of its effects. And though Demetrius, whom he had constituted chief of the republic, was invested with a kind of sovereign power, yet, instead of abolishing the democracy, he may rather be said to have re-established it. He acted in such a manner that the people scarcely perceived that he was master. As he united in his person the politician and the man of letters, his soft and persuasive eloquence demonstrated the truth of an expression he frequently used; that discourse had as much power in a government as arms in war. His abilities in political affairs were equally conspicuous: for he produced speculative philosophy from the shade and inactivity of the schools, exhibited her in full light, and knew how to familiarize her precepts with the most tumultuous affairs. It would have been difficult, therefore, to have found a person capable of excelling like him in the art of government, and the study of the sciences.²

¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 642.

² Mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque, non modo in solem atque pulve-

He acquired, during these ten years of his government, that reputation which caused him to be considered as one of the greatest men Athens had produced. He augmented the revenues of the republic, and adorned the city with noble structures; he was likewise industrious to diminish luxury, and all expenses which tended to the promotion of pride. For which reason he disapproved of those that were laid out in theatres, porticoes, and new temples; and openly censured Pericles for having bestowed such a prodigious sum of money on the magnificent porticoes of the temple of Pallas, called Propylæ.¹ But in all public feasts which had been consecrated by antiquity, or when the people were inclined to be expensive in the celebration of any sacred solemnities, he permitted them to use their riches as they pleased.

The expense was excessive at the death of great persons, and their sepulchres were as sumptuous and magnificent as those of the Romans in the age of Cicero. Demetrius made a law to abolish this abuse which had passed into a custom, and inflicted penalties on those who disobeyed it. He also ordered the ceremonies of funerals to be performed by night, and none were permitted to place any other ornament on tombs, than a column, three cubits high, or plain table, "mensam;" and appointed a particular magistrate to enforce the observation of this law.²

He likewise made laws for the regulation of manners; and commanded young persons to testify respect for their parents at home, to those whom they met in the city, and to themselves when they were alone.³

The poor citizens were likewise the objects of his attention. There were at that time in Athens, some of the descendants of Aristides, that Athenian general, who, after he had possessed the greatest offices in the state, and governed the affairs of the treasury for a considerable time, died so poor, that the public was obliged to defray the charges of his funeral. Demetrius took care of those descendants who were poor, and assigned them a daily sum for their subsistence.⁴

Such, says Ælian, was the government of Demetrius Phalereus, till the spirit of envy, so natural to the Athenians, obliged him to quit the city, in the manner we shall soon relate.⁵

The favourable testimonials given by ancient authors of the greatest repute, not only of his extraordinary talents and ability in the art of government, but likewise of his virtue, and the wisdom of his conduct, is a plain refutation of all that has been advanced by Athenæus, on the authority of the historian Duris, with relation to the irregularity of his deportment; and strengthens the conjectures of M. Bonamy,

rem, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque perduxit. — Qui utraque re excelleret, ut et doctrinæ studiis, et regenda civitate princeps esset, quis facile præter hunc inveniri potest? — Cic. l. iii. de Leg. n. 15.

¹ Theatra, porticus, nova templa, verecundius reprehendo propter Pompeium; sed doctissimi improbant — ut Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem, principem Græciæ vituperabat quod tantam pecuniam in præclara, illa Propylæ conjeceret. — Cic. l. ii. de offic. n. 60. — Plut. in Præcept. Reip. Græc. p. 818.

² Cic. de Leg. l. ii. n. 63—66.

³ Plut. in Vit. Arist. p. 535.

⁴ Diog. Laert.

⁵ Ælian. l. iii. c. 17.

who supposes that Duris, or Athenæus, have imputed that to Demetrius Phalereus, which related only to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, to whom Ælian ascribes the very particulars which Athenæus had cited from Duris. The reader may have recourse to the dissertation of M. Bonamy, which has been very useful to me in the course of this work.¹

During the 105th Olympiad, Demetrius Phalereus caused the inhabitants of Attica to be numbered, and they amounted to twenty-one thousand citizens, ten thousand strangers, and forty thousand² domestics.³

We now return to Polysperchon. When he had received intelligence, that Cassander had made himself master of Athens, he immediately hastened to besiege him in the city; but as the siege took up a great length of time, he left part of his troops before the place, and advanced with the rest into Peloponnesus, to force the city of Megara to surrender. The inhabitants made a long and vigorous defence, which compelled Polysperchon to employ his attention and forces on those quarters to which he was called by more pressing necessities. He despatched Clitus to the Hellespont, with orders to prevent the enemy's troops from passing out of Asia into Europe. Nicanor set sail, at the same time, from the port of Athens, in order to attack him, but was himself defeated near Byzantium. Antigonus having advanced in a very seasonable juncture, made himself amends for this loss, beat Clitus, and took all his fleet, except his own vessel, which escaped with great difficulty.⁴

Antigonus was most embarrassed in his endeavours to reduce Eumenes, whose valour, wisdom, and great ability in the art of war, were more formidable to him than all the rest, though he had besieged and blocked him up for twelve months in the castle of Nora. He therefore made a second attempt to engage him in his interest, for he had taken measures to that effect before he formed that siege. He accordingly consigned this commission to Jerom of Cardia, his countryman, and a famous historian of that time,⁵ who was authorized by him to make overtures of accommodation to his adversary. Eumenes conducted this negotiation with so much dexterity and address, that he extricated himself from the siege, at the very moment in which he was reduced to the last extremities, and without entering into any particular engagements with Antigonus. For the latter having inserted in the oath, which Eumenes was to swear in consequence of this accommodation, that he would consider all those as his friends and enemies, who should prove such to Antigonus; Eumenes changed that article, and swore that he would regard all those as his friends and enemies, who should be such to Olympias and the kings, as well as to Antigonus. He then desired the Macedonians who assisted at the siege, to

¹ Vol. VIII. des Memoires de l' Acad. des Belles Lettres.

² The words in the original are *μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα*, forty myriads, which are equal to four hundred thousand, which is an evident mistake, and it undoubtedly ought to be read *τέσσαρες*, four myriads, which amount to forty thousand.

³ Athen. l. vi. p. 272.

⁴ Diod. l. xviii. p. 642—646.

⁵ He completed the history of those who divided the dominions of Alexander among themselves, and it likewise comprehended the history of their successors.

determine which of these two forms was best; and as they were guided by their affection to the royal family, they declared without the least hesitation, for the form drawn up by Eumenes; upon which he swore to it, and the siege was immediately raised.¹

When Antigonus was informed of the manner in which this affair was concluded, he was so dissatisfied with it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and gave orders for the siege to be instantly renewed. These orders, however, came too late, for as soon as Eumenes saw the enemy's forces were withdrawn from before the place, he quitted it without delay, with the remains of his troops, which amounted to five hundred men, and saved himself in Cappadocia, where he immediately assembled two thousand of his veteran soldiers, and made all the necessary preparations for sustaining the war, which he foresaw would soon be revived against him.

The revolt of Antigonus from the kings having occasioned a great alarm, Polysperchon the regent despatched to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, a commission, by which he was constituted captain-general of Asia Minor; others were likewise sent to Teutames and Antigenes, colonels of the argyraspides, to join and serve under him against Antigonus. The necessary orders were also transmitted to those who had the care of the king's treasures, to pay him five hundred talents for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and likewise to furnish him with all the sums that would be necessary to defray the expense of the war. All these were accompanied with letters from Olympias.

Eumenes was very sensible that the accumulation of all these honours on the head of a stranger, would infallibly excite a violent envy against him, and render him odious to the Macedonians; but as he was incapable of acting to any effect without them, and since the good of the service itself made it necessary for him to employ all his efforts to gain them, he began by refusing the sums that were granted him for his own use, declaring that he had no occasion for them, because he was not intent on any particular advantage of his own, nor on any enterprise of that tendency. He was studious to treat every person about him, the officers, and even the soldiers, with an obliging civility, in order to distinguish as much as possible, or at least to weaken, by an engaging conduct, the jealousy to which his condition, as a stranger, afforded a plausible pretext, though he endeavoured not to draw it upon him by any conduct of his own.

But an impediment, still more invincible in appearance, threw him under a restraint, and created him very great inquietudes. Antigenes and Teutames, who commanded the argyraspides, thought it dishonourable to their nation to submit to a stranger, and refused to attend him in council. On the other hand, he could not, without derogating from the prerogatives of his post, comply with them in that point, and consent to such a degradation. An ingenious fiction disengaged him in this perplexity, and he had recourse to the aids of religion, or rather superstition, which has always a powerful influence over the minds of

¹ Plut. in Eumen. p. 590.

men, and seldom fails of accomplishing its effect. He assured them, "that Alexander, arrayed in his royal robes, had appeared to him in his slumber, and shown him a magnificent tent, in which a throne was erected, and that the monarch declared to him, that while they held their councils in that tent to deliberate on their affairs, he himself would always be present, seated on that throne; from whence he would issue his orders to his captains, and that he would conduct them in the execution of all their designs and enterprises, provided they would always address themselves to him." This discourse was sufficient, and the minds of all who heard it were wrought upon by the profound respect they entertained for the memory of that prince, in consequence of which, they immediately ordered a splendid tent to be erected, and a throne placed in it, which was to be called the throne of Alexander; and on this were to be laid his diadem and crown, with his sceptre and arms; that all the chiefs should resort thither every morning to offer sacrifices; that their consultations should be held near the throne, and that all orders should be received in the name of the king, as if he were still living, and taking care of his kingdom. Eumenes calmed the dispute by this expedient, which met with unanimous approbation. No one raised himself above the others; but each competitor continued in the enjoyment of his privileges, till new events decided them in a more positive manner.¹

As Eumenes was sufficiently supplied with money, he soon raised a very considerable body of troops, and by the spring had an army of twenty thousand men. These forces, with Eumenes at their head, were sufficient to spread terror among his enemies. Ptolemy sailed to the coasts of Cilicia, and employed all expedients to corrupt the argyraspides. Antigonus, on his part, made the same attempts by the emissaries he had in his camp; but neither the one nor the other could succeed in them, so much had Eumenes gained upon the minds of his soldiers, and so great was the confidence they reposed in him.²

He advanced, with these affectionate troops, into Syria and Phœnicia to recover those provinces, which Ptolemy had seized with the greatest injustice. The maritime force of Phœnicia, in conjunction with the fleet which the regent had already procured, would have rendered them absolute masters by sea, and they might likewise have been capable of transmitting all necessary succours to each other. Could Eumenes have succeeded in this design, it would have been a decisive blow; but the fleet of Polysperchon having been entirely destroyed by the misconduct of Clitus, who commanded it, that misfortune rendered his project ineffectual. Antigonus, who had defeated him, marched by land, immediately after that victory, against Eumenes, with an army much more numerous than his own. Eumenes made a prudent retreat through Cœlosyria, after which he passed the Euphrates, and took up his winter-quarters at Carres in Mesopotamia.

During his continuance in those parts, he sent to Pithon, governor of Media, and to Seleucus, governor of Babylon, to press them to join him with their forces against Antigonus, and caused the orders of the

¹ A. M. 3686. Ant. J. C. 318. Diod. l. xviii. p. 635, 636, et 668. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591-593. Corn. Nep. c. 7.

² Diod. l. xviii. p. 634-638.

kings to be shown to them, by which they were enjoined to comply with this demand. They answered, that they were ready to assist those monarchs; but that, as to him in particular, they would have no transactions with a man who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. This was only a pretext, and they were actuated by a much more powerful motive. If they had acknowledged the authority of Eumenes, and had obeyed him by advancing to him, and subjecting their troops to his command, they must also have acknowledged the sovereign power of the regent, as well as those who were masters of the royal pupils, and made use of their names to render their own power more extensive. Pithon and Seleucus must, therefore, by inevitable consequence, have owned that they held their governments only from those kings, and might be divested of them at their pleasure, and by virtue of the first order to that effect, which would have destroyed all their ambitious pretences with a single stroke.¹

Most of the officers of Alexander, who had shared the governments of the empire among themselves after his death, were solicitous to secure to themselves the supreme power in their several provinces; for which reason they had chosen a person of a mean capacity, and an infant, on whom they conferred the title of sovereign, in order to have sufficient time to establish their usurpations under a weak government. But all these measures would have been disconcerted, if they had allowed Eumenes an ascendant over them, with such an air of superiority, as subjected them to his orders. He issued them, indeed, in the name of the kings; but this was a circumstance they were desirous of evading, and at the same time it created him so many enemies and obstructions. They were also apprehensive of the merit and superior genius of Eumenes, who was capable of the greatest and most difficult enterprises. It is certain, that of all the captains of Alexander, he had the greatest share of wisdom and bravery, and was also the most steady in his resolutions; for he never broke his engagement with any of those commanders, though they did not observe the same fidelity with respect to him.

Eumenes marched from Babylon the following spring, and was in danger of losing his army by a stratagem of Seleucus. The troops were encamped in a plain near the Euphrates, and Seleucus, by cutting the bank from that river, laid all the neighbouring country under water. Eumenes, however, was so expeditious as to gain an eminence with his troops, and found means, the next day, to drain off the inundation so effectually, that he pursued his march almost without sustaining any loss.

Seleucus was then reduced to the necessity of making a truce with him, and of granting him a peaceable passage through the territories of his province, in order to arrive at Susa, where he disposed his troops into quarters of refreshment, while he solicited all the governors of the provinces in Upper Asia for succours. He had before notified to them the order of the kings, and those whom he had charged with the commission found them all assembled, at the close

¹ Diod. l. xix., p. 660, 661.

of a war they had undertaken, in concert, against Pithon, the governor of Media. This Pithon having pursued the very same measures in Upper Asia, which Antigonus had formed in Lower Asia, had caused Philotas to suffer death, and made himself master of his government. He would likewise have attempted to treat the rest in the same manner, if they had not opposed him by this confederacy, which the common interest had formed against him. Peucestes, governor of the province of Persia, had the command in chief conferred upon him, and defeated Pithon, drove him out of Media, and obliged him to go to Babylon to implore the protection of Seleucus. All the confederates were still in the camp after this victory, when the deputies from Eumenes arrived, and they immediately marched from Susa to join him; not that they were really devoted to the royal party, but because they were more apprehensive than ever of being subjected to the victorious Antigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and either divested of their employments all such governors as he suspected, or reduced them to the state of mere officers, liable to be removed and punished at his pleasure.¹

They joined Eumenes, therefore, with all their forces, which composed an army of above twenty thousand men. With this reinforcement, he saw himself not only in a condition to oppose Antigonus, who was then advancing to him, but superior in the number of his troops. The season was far advanced when Antigonus arrived at the banks of the Tigris, and was obliged to take winter quarters in Mesopotamia, where, with Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, he concerted measures for the operations of the next campaign.²

During these transactions, Macedon was the scene of a great revolution. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, whom Ptolemy had recalled, had made herself absolute mistress of affairs, and caused Aridæus, or Philip, who had enjoyed the title of king for six years and four months, to be put to death. Euridice, his consort, sustained the same fate; for Olympias sent her a dagger, a cord, and a bowl of poison, and only allowed her the liberty of choosing her death. She accordingly gave the preference to the cord, and then strangled herself, after she had uttered a thousand imprecations against her enemy and murderess. Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and one hundred of the principal friends of the latter, likewise suffered death.³

These repeated barbarities did not long remain unpunished. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young king Alexander and his mother, Roxana, with Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, and Decidamia, the daughter of Æacides, king of Epirus, and sister of Pyrrhus. Cassander did not lose any time, but advanced thither, and besieged them by sea and land. Æacides prepared to assist the princesses, and was already upon his march, but the greatest part of his forces, who were averse to that expedition;

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 662—664. Plut. in Eumen.

² A. M. 3687. Ant. J. C. 317.

³ Diod. l. xix. p. 659, 660.

revolted from the king, and condemned him to banishment, when they returned to Epirus. They likewise massacred all his friends; and Pyrrhus, the son of Æacides, who was then but an infant, would have suffered the same fate, if a set of faithful domestics had not happily withdrawn him from their rage. Epirus then declared in favour of Cassander, who sent Lyciscus thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olympias had then no hope but from Polysperchon, who was at that time in Perrhœbia, a small province on the confines of Ætolia, and was preparing to succour her; but Cassander sent Callas, one of his generals, against him, who corrupted the greatest part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he besieged him. Olympias, who had supported all the miseries of famine with an invincible courage, having now lost all hopes of relief, was compelled to surrender at discretion.

Cassander, in order to destroy her in a manner that might give the least offence, prompted the relations of the principal officers whom Olympias had caused to be slain during her regency, to accuse her in the assembly of the Macedonians, and to sue for vengeance for the cruelties she had committed. The request of these persons was granted; and when they had all been heard, she was condemned to die, though absent, and no one interposed his good offices in her defence. After sentence of death had passed, Cassander proposed to her, by some friends, to retire to Athens, promising to accommodate her with a galley to convey her thither, whenever she should be so disposed. His intention was to destroy her in her passage by sea, and to publish through all Macedonia, that the gods, displeased with her horrible cruelties, had abandoned her to the mercy of the waves; for he was apprehensive of a retaliation from the Macedonians, and was therefore desirous of casting upon Providence all the odious circumstances of his own perfidy.

Whether Olympias had been informed of Cassander's design, or was actuated by sentiments of grandeur, so natural to persons of her rank, she imagined that her presence alone could calm the storm, and answered, with an imperious air, that she was not a woman who would have recourse to flight, and insisted on pleading her own cause in the public assembly; adding, this was the least favour that could be granted a queen, or, rather, that it was an act of justice which could not be refused to persons of the lowest rank. Cassander had no inclination to consent to this demand, having reason to be apprehensive that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmost veneration, would create a sudden change in their resolutions. He therefore sent two hundred soldiers, entirely devoted to his will, with orders to destroy her; but, resolute as they were in themselves, they were incapable of supporting the air of majesty which appeared in the eyes and aspect of that princess, and retired without executing their commission. It became necessary, therefore, to employ in this murder the relations of those whom she had caused to suffer death; and they were transported at the opportunity of gratifying their vengeance in making their court

to Cassander. Thus perished the famous Olympias, the daughter, the sister, the wife, and the mother of kings, who really merited a tragical termination of her existence, in consequence of all her crimes and cruelties; but it is impossible to see her perish in this manner, without detesting the wickedness of a prince who deprived her of life in so unworthy a manner.

Cassander already beheld an assured passage to the Macedonian throne opened to his ambition; but he thought it incumbent on him to have recourse to other measures, in order to secure himself against the vicissitudes of time, the inconstancy of the Macedonians, and the jealousy of his competitors. Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, being qualified, by her illustrious birth and authority in Macedonia, to conciliate to him the friendship of the grandes and people of that kingdom, he hoped, by espousing her, to attach them in a peculiar manner to himself, in consequence of the esteem and respect they testified for the royal family.¹

There was still one obstacle more to be surmounted, without which Cassander would have always been deemed a usurper, and a tyrant. The young prince Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great, by Roxana, was still living, and had been acknowledged king, and the lawful heir to the throne. It became necessary, therefore, to remove this prince and his mother out of the way. Cassander, emboldened by the success of his former crime, was determined to commit a second, from whence he expected to derive all the fruit of his hopes.² Prudence, however, made it necessary for him to sound the disposition of the Macedonians, with respect to the death of Olympias; for if they showed themselves insensible at the loss of that princess, he might be certain that the death of the young king and his mother would affect them as little. He therefore judged it expedient to proceed with caution, and advance by moderate steps to the execution of his scheme. In order to which, he began with causing Alexander and Roxana to be conducted to the castle of Amphipolis, by a good escort commanded by Glaucius, an officer entirely devoted to his interest. When they arrived at that fortress, they were divested of all regal honours, and treated rather like private persons, whom important motives of state made it necessary to secure.

He intended, by his next step, to make it evident, that he claimed sovereign power in Macedonia. With this view, and in order to render the memory of Olympias still more odious, he gave orders for performing with great magnificence the funeral obsequies of king Philip, or Aridaës, and queen Eurydice his wife, who had been murdered by the directions of Olympias. He commanded the usage of such mourning as was customary in solemnities of that nature, and caused the royal remains to be deposited in the tombs appropriated to the sepulture of the Macedonian kings; affecting, by these exteriors of dissembled sorrow, to manifest his zeal for the royal family, at the same time that he was meditating the destruction of the young king.

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 696—697.

² *Haud ignarus summa scelera incepti cum periculo, petagi præmio.*—Tacit.

Polysperchon, in consequence of the information he received of the death of Olympias, and the exaltation of Cassander to the throne of Macedonia, had sheltered himself in Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he had sustained a siege, and from whence he retreated with a very inconsiderable body of troops, to pass into Thessaly, in order to join some forces of Æacides: after which he advanced into Ætolia, where he was greatly respected. Cassander followed him closely, and marched his army into Bœotia, where the ancient inhabitants of Thebes were seen wandering from place to place, without any fixed habitation or retreat. He was touched with the calamitous condition of that city, which was once so powerful, and had been razed to its very foundations by the command of Alexander. After a period of twenty years, he endeavoured to reinstate it in its primitive splendour; the Athenians offered to rebuild part of the walls at their own expense, and several towns and cities of Italy, Sicily, and Greece, bestowed considerable sums on that occasion by voluntary contributions. By which means Thebes, in a short space of time, recovered its ancient opulence, and became even richer than ever, by the care and magnificence of Cassander, who was justly considered as the father and restorer of that city.

When he had given proper orders for the re-establishment of Thebes, he advanced into Peloponnesus, against Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, and marched directly to Argos, which surrendered without resistance; upon which, all the cities of the Messenians, except Ithome, followed that example. Alexander, terrified at the rapidity of his conquests, endeavoured to check them by a battle; but Cassander, who was much inferior to him in troops, was unwilling to hazard a battle, and thought it more advisable to retire into Macedonia, after he had left good garrisons in the places he had taken.

As he knew the merit of Alexander, he endeavoured to disengage him from the party of Antigonus, and attach him to his own, by offering him the government of all Peloponnesus, with the command of the troops stationed in that country. An offer so advantageous was accepted by Alexander, without any hesitation; but he did not long enjoy it, having been unfortunately slain soon after, by some citizens of Sicyone, where he then resided, who had combined to destroy him. This conspiracy, however, did not produce the effects expected from it; for Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander, whose heart was a composition of grandeur and fortitude, instead of manifesting any consternation at the sight of this fatal accident, and as she was beloved by the soldiers, and honoured by the officers, whom she had always obliged and served, repressed the insolence of the Sicyonians, and defeated them in a battle; after which she caused thirty of the most mutinous among them to be hung up; appeased all the troubles which had been excited by the seditions in the city, re-entered it in a victorious manner, and governed it with a wisdom that acquired her the admiration of all those who heard any mention of her conduct.¹

While Cassander was employing all his efforts to establish himself

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 795—708.

on the throne of Macedonia, Antigonus was concerting measures to rid himself of a dangerous enemy; and, having taken the field the ensuing spring, he advanced to Babylon, where he augmented his army with the troops he received from Pithon and Seleucus, and then passed the Tigris to attack Eumenes, who had neglected nothing on his part to give him a warm reception. He was much superior to Antigonus in the number of troops, and yet more in the abilities of a great commander; though the other was far from being defective in those qualifications; for, next to Eumenes, he was undoubtedly the best general and ablest statesman of his time.¹

Eumenes had this misfortune, that his army being composed of different bodies of troops, with the governors of provinces at their head, each of them pretended to the command in chief. Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, every one of the governors thought himself, for that reason, his superior. We may add to this, that the pomp, splendour, and magnificence affected by them, seemed to leave an infinite distance between him and them, who assumed the air of real satraps. They imagined, in consequence of a mistaken and ill-timed ambition, very common with great men, that to give sumptuous repasts, and add to them whatever may exalt pleasure and gratify sense, were part of the duties of a soldier of rank;² and estimating their own merit by the largeness of their revenues and expenses, they flattered themselves that they had acquired, by these means, an extraordinary influence, and a great authority over the troops, and that the army had all the consideration and esteem for them imaginable.³

A circumstance happened at this time, which ought to have undeceived them. As the soldiers were marching in quest of the enemy, Eumenes, who was seized with a dangerous indisposition, was carried in a litter, at a considerable distance from the army, to be more remote from the noise, and that he might enjoy the refreshment of slumber, of which he had long been deprived. When they had made some advance, and began to perceive the enemy appear on the rising grounds, they halted on a sudden, and began to call for Eumenes. At the same time, they cast their bucklers on the ground, and declared to their officers, that they would not proceed on their march, till Eumenes came to command them. He accordingly came with all expedition, hastening the slaves who carried him, and opening the curtains on each side of his litter; he then stretched out his hands to the soldiers, and made them a declaration of his joy and gratitude. When the troops beheld him, they immediately saluted him in the Macedonian language, resumed the bucklers, clashed upon them with their pikes, and broke forth into loud acclamations of victory and defiance to their enemies, as if they desired only to see their general at their head.⁴

When Antigonus received intelligence that Eumenes was ill, and

¹ A. M. 3688. Ant. J. C. 316.

² Non deerant qui ambitione stolidi — luxuriosus apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta abidinum ut instrumenta belli mercarentur. — Tacit.

³ Diod. l. xix. p. 669—672. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591, 592. ⁴ A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

caused himself to be carried in a litter, in the rear of the army, he advanced, in hopes that his distemper would deliver his enemies into his hands: but when he came near enough to take a view of them, and beheld their cheerful aspects, the disposition of their army, and particularly the litter, which was carried from rank to rank, he burst into a loud laugh, in his usual manner, and addressing himself to one of his officers, "Take notice," said he, "of yonder litter; it is that which has drawn up those troops against us, and is now preparing to attack us." And then, without losing a moment's time, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and returned to his camp.

Plutarch remarks, that the Macedonians made it very evident, on this occasion, that they judged all the other satraps exceedingly well qualified to give splendid entertainments, and dispose great feasts, but that they esteemed Eumenes alone capable of commanding an army with ability. This is a solid and sensible reflection, and affords room for a variety of applications; and points out the false taste for glory, and the injudiciousness of those officers and commanders, who are only studious to distinguish themselves in the army by magnificent collations, and place their principal merit in surpassing others in luxury, and frequently in ruining themselves, without thanks, by those ridiculous expenses. I say, without thanks, because nobody thinks himself obliged to them for their profusion, and they are always the worst servants of the state.

The two armies having separated without any previous engagement, encamped at the distance of three furlongs from each other, with a river and several large pools of water between them; and as they sustained great inconveniences, because the whole country was eaten up, Antigonus sent ambassadors to the satraps and Macedonians of the army of Eumenes, to prevail upon them to quit that general and join him, making them, at the same time, the most magnificent promises to induce their compliance. The Macedonians rejected his proposals, and dismissed the ambassadors with severe menaces, in case they should presume to make any such for the future. Eumenes, after having commended them for their fidelity, related to them this very ancient fable. "A lion entertaining a passion for a young virgin, demanded her one day in marriage of her father, whose answer was, that he esteemed this alliance a great honour to him, and was ready to present his daughter to him, but that his large nails and teeth made him apprehensive lest he should employ them a little too rudely upon her, if the least difference should arise between them with relation to their household affairs. The lion, who was passionately fond of the maid, immediately suffered his claws to be pared off, and his teeth to be drawn out. After which the father caught up a strong cudgel, and soon drove away his pretended son-in-law. This, continued Eumenes, is the aim of Antigonus. He amuses you with mighty promises, in order to make himself master of your forces; but when he has accomplished that design, he will soon make you sensible of his teeth and claws."

A few days after this event, some deserters from the army of

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 672.

Antigonus, having acquainted Eumenes that that general was preparing to decamp the next night, about the hour of nine or ten, Eumenes at first suspected that his intention was to advance into the province of Gabene, which was a fertile country, capable of subsisting numerous armies, and very commodious and secure for the troops, by reason of the inundations and rivers with which it abounded. and therefore he resolved to prevent his execution of that design. With this view he prevailed, by sums of money, upon some foreign soldiers, to go like deserters into the camp of Antigonus, and acquaint him, that Eumenes intended to attack him the ensuing night. In the mean time he caused the baggage to be conveyed away, and ordered the troops to take some refreshment, and then march. Antigonus, upon this false intelligence, caused his troops to continue under arms, while Eumenes in the mean time advanced on his way. Antigonus was soon informed by couriers that he had decamped, and finding that he had been over-reached by his enemy, he still persisted in his first intention; and having his troops to strike their tents, he proceeded with so much expedition, that his march resembled a pursuit. But when he saw that it was impossible to advance with his whole army upon Eumenes, who had gained upon him at least six hours in his march, he left his infantry under the command of Pithon, and proceeded with the cavalry, on a full gallop, and came up by break of day with the rear-guard of the enemy, who were descending a hill. He then halted upon the top, and Eumenes, who discovered this body of cavalry, imagined it to be the whole army; upon which he discontinued his march, and formed his troops in order of battle. By these means Antigonus played off a retaliation upon Eumenes, and amused him in his turn; for he prevented the continuance of his march, and gave his own infantry sufficient time to come up.¹

The two armies were then drawn up; that of Eumenes consisted of thirty-five thousand foot, with above six thousand horse, and one hundred and fourteen elephants. That of Antigonus was composed of twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants. The battle was fought with great obstinacy till the night was far advanced, for the moon was then in the full, but the slaughter was not very considerable on either side. Antigonus lost three thousand seven hundred of his infantry, and fifty-four of his horse, and above four thousand of his men were wounded. Eumenes lost five hundred and forty of his infantry, and a very inconsiderable number of his cavalry, and had above nine hundred wounded. The victory was really on his side: but as his troops, notwithstanding all his entreaties, would not return to the field of battle to carry off the dead bodies, which among the ancients was an evidence of victory, it was in consequence attributed to Antigonus, whose army appeared again in the field, and buried the dead. Eumenes sent a herald the next day, to desire leave to inter his slain; this was granted him, and he rendered them funeral honours with all possible magnificence.²

A very singular dispute arose at the performance of this ceremony.

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 672, 673.

² Diod. l. xix. p. 673—678.

The men happened to find among the slain, the body of an Indian officer, who had brought his two wives with him, one of whom he had but lately married. The law of the country, which is said to be still subsisting, would not allow a wife to survive her husband; and if she refused to be burned with him on the funeral pile, her character was for ever branded with infamy, and she was obliged to continue in a state of widowhood for the remainder of her days. She was even condemned to a kind of excommunication, as she was rendered incapable of assisting at any sacrifice, or other religious ceremony. This law, however, extended only to one wife; but, in the present instance, there were two; each of whom insisted on being preferred to the other. The eldest pleaded her superiority of years; to which the youngest replied, that the law excluded her rival because she was then pregnant; and the contest was accordingly determined in that manner. The first of them retired with a very dejected air, her eyes bathed in tears, and tearing her hair and habit, as if she had sustained some great calamity. The other, on the contrary, with a mien of joy and triumph, amidst a numerous retinue of her relations and friends, and arrayed in her richest ornaments, as on the day of her nuptials, advanced with a solemn pace, where the funeral ceremonies were to be performed. She there distributed all her jewels among her friends and relations; and, having taken her last farewell, she placed herself on the funeral pile, by the assistance of her own brother, and expired amidst the praises and acclamations of most of the spectators; but some of them, according to the historian, disapproved of this strange custom, as barbarous and inhuman. The action of this woman was undoubtedly a real murder, and might justly be considered as a violation of the most express law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a person's own life; and commands us not to dispose of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, or forget that it is only a trust, which ought to be resigned to none but that being from whom we received it. Such a sacrifice is so far from deserving to be enumerated among the instances of respect and amity due to her husband, that he is rather treated as an unrelenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of such precious victims.¹

During the course of this campaign, the war was maintained with obstinacy on both sides, and Persia and Media were the theatre of its operations. The armies traversed these two great provinces by marches and countermarches, and each party had recourse to all the art and stratagems that the greatest capacity, in conjunction with a long series of experience in the profession of war, could supply. Eumenes, though he had a mutinous and untractable army to govern, obtained, however, several advantages over his enemies in this campaign, and when his troops grew impatient for winter-quarters, he had still the dexterity to secure the best in all the province of Gabene, which obliged Antigonus to seek his to the north in Media, where he was incapable of arriving till after a march of twenty-five days.²

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 673—680.

² Diod. l. xix. p. 680—684

The troops of Eumenes were so ungovernable that he could not prevail upon them to post themselves near enough to each other to be assembled on any emergency. They absolutely insisted on very distant quarters, which took in the whole extent of the province, under pretence of being more commodiously stationed, and of having every thing in greater abundance. In a word, they were dispersed to such a distance from each other, that it required several days for reassembling them in a body. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumstance, marched from a very remote quarter, in the depth of winter, in hopes to surprise these different bodies so dispersed.

Eumenes, however, was not a man to be surprised in such a manner, but had the precaution to despatch to various parts spies mounted on dromedaries, the swiftest of all animals, to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions; and he had posted them so judiciously, that he received information of this march before Antigonus could arrive at any of his quarters: this furnished him with an expedient to preserve his army by a stratagem, when all the other generals looked upon it as lost. He posted the troops who were nearest to him on the mountains that rose toward the quarter from whence the enemies were advancing, and ordered them the following night to kindle as many fires as might cause it to be imagined all the army were encamped in that situation. Antigonus was soon informed by his advance guard that those fires were seen at a great distance, upon which he concluded that Eumenes was there encamped with all his forces, and in a condition to receive him. In order, therefore, not to expose his men, who were fatigued by long marches, to an engagement with fresh troops, he caused them to halt, that they might have time to recover themselves a little; by which means Eumenes had all the opportunity that was necessary for assembling his forces before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus, finding his scheme defeated, and extremely mortified at being thus over-reached, determined to come to an engagement.

The troops of Eumenes being all assembled about him, were struck with admiration at his extraordinary prudence and ability, and resolved that he should exercise the sole command. Antigenes and Teutames, the two captains who led the argyraspides, were so exceedingly mortified at a distinction so glorious for Eumenes, that they formed a resolution to destroy him, and drew most of the satraps and principal officers into their conspiracy. Envy is a malady that seldom admits of a cure, and is generally heightened by the remedies administered to it. All the precautions of prudence, moderation, and condescension, which Eumenes employed, were incapable of mollifying the hearts of those barbarians and extinguishing their jealousy, and he must have renounced his merit and virtue, which occasioned it, to have been capable of appeasing them. He frequently lamented to himself his unhappiness in being fated to associate, not with men, as his expression was, but with brute beasts. Several conspiracies had already been formed against him, and he daily beheld himself exposed to the same danger. In order to frustrate their effects, if possible, he had borrowed, on various pretexts of pressing necessity,

many considerable sums of those who appeared most inveterate against him, that he, at least, might restrain them by the consideration of their own interest, and an apprehension of losing the money they had lent him, should he happen to perish.

His enemies, however, being now determined to destroy him, held a council, in order to deliberate on the time, place, and means of accomplishing their intentions. They all agreed to protract this fall till after the decision of the impending battle, and then to destroy him near the spot where it was fought. Eudemus, who commanded the elephants, went immediately, with Phædimus, to acquaint Eumenes with this resolution, not from any affection to his person, but only from their apprehensions of losing the money he had borrowed of them. Eumenes returned them his thanks, and highly applauded their affection and fidelity.

When he returned to his tent, he immediately made his will, and then burned all his papers, with the letters that had been written to him, because he was unwilling that those who had favoured him with any secret intelligence should be exposed to any accusation or prejudice after his death. When he had thus disposed of his affairs, and found himself alone, he deliberated on the conduct he ought to pursue. It was then a thousand contrary thoughts agitated his mind. Could it possibly be prudent in him to repose any confidence in those officers and generals who had sworn his destruction? Might he not lawfully arm against them the zeal and affection of the soldiers, who were inviolably devoted to him? On the other hand, would it not be his best expedient to pass through Media and Armenia, and retire to Cappadocia, the place of his residence, where he might hope for a sure asylum from danger? Or, in order to avenge himself on those traitors, would it not be better for him to abandon them in the crisis of the battle, and resign the victory to his enemies? For, in a situation so desperate as his own, what thoughts will not rise up in the mind of a man reduced to the last extremity by a set of perfidious traitors! This last thought, however, infused a horror into his soul, and as he was determined to discharge his duty to his latest breath, and to combat, to the close of his life, for the prince who had armed him in his cause, he resigned his destiny, says Plutarch, to the will of the gods, and thought only of preparing his troops for the battle.

He had thirty-six thousand seven hundred foot, and above six thousand horse, with four hundred elephants. The army of Antigonus was composed of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse, with a body of Median cavalry, and sixty-five elephants. This general posted his cavalry on the two wings, his infantry he disposed in the centre, and formed his elephants into a first line, which extended along the front of the army, and he filled up the intervals between the elephants with light-armed troops. He gave the command of the left wing to Pithon; that of the right he assigned to his son Demetrius, where he was to act in person, at the head of a body of chosen troops. Eumenes drew up his army almost in the same manner; his best troops he disposed into the left wing, and placed

himself in their front, in order to oppose Antigonus, and gave the command of the right to Philip.

Before the armies began the charge, he exhorted the Greeks and barbarians to perform their duty well; for as to his phalanx and the argyraspides, they so little needed any animating expressions, that they were the first to encourage him with assurances that the enemy should not wait a moment for them. They were the oldest troops that had served under Philip and Alexander, and were all veteran champions, whom victory had crowned in a hundred combats. They had hitherto been reputed invincible, and had never been foiled in any action; for which reason, they advanced to the troops of Antigonus, and charged them fiercely, with this exclamation, "Villains! you now fight with your fathers!" They then broke in upon the infantry with irresistible fury. Not one of the battalions could sustain the shock, and most of them were cut to pieces.

The event was different with respect to the cavalry; for as the engagement between them began on a sandy soil, the motion of the men and horses raised such a thick cloud of dust, as made it difficult to see to the distance of three paces. Antigonus, befriended by this darkness, detached from his cavalry a body of troops superior to that of the enemy, and carried off all their baggage, without their perceiving it, and at the same time broke in upon their horse. Peucestes, who commanded them, and, till then, had given a thousand proofs of true bravery, fell back, and drew all the rest after him. Eumenes employed all his efforts to rally them, but in vain; the confusion was as universal in that quarter, as the advantage had been complete in the other. The capture of the baggage was of more importance to Antigonus, than the victory could be to Eumenes; for the soldiers of the latter, finding at their return all their baggage carried off, with their wives and children, instead of employing their swords against the enemy, in order to recover them, which would have been very practicable at that time, and was what Eumenes had promised to accomplish, they turned all their fury against their own general.

Having chosen their time, they fell upon him, forced his sword out of his hand, and bound his hands behind him with his own belt. In this condition they led him through the Macedonian phalanx, then drawn up in lines, under arms, in order to deliver him up to Antigonus, who had promised to restore them all their baggage on that condition. "Kill me, O soldiers!" said Eumenes, as he passed by them, "kill me yourselves, I conjure you in the name of all the gods! for though I perish by the command of Antigonus, my death will however be as much your act as if I had fallen by your swords. If you are unwilling to do me that office with your own hands, permit me at least to discharge it with one of mine; that shall render me the service which you refuse me. On this condition, I absolve you from all the severities you have reason to apprehend from the vengeance of the gods, for the crime you are preparing to perpetrate on me."

Upon this they hastened him along, to prevent the repetition of such pathetic addresses, which might awaken the affection of the troops for their general.

Most of the soldiers of Antigonus went out to meet him, and left scarcely a single man in his camp. When that illustrious prisoner arrived there, Antigonus had not the courage to see him, because his presence alone would have reproached him in the highest degree. As those who guarded him asked Antigonus, in what manner he would have him kept: "As you would an elephant," replied he, "or a lion," which are two animals most to be dreaded. But within a few days he was touched with compassion, and ordered him to be eased of the weightiest of his chains; he likewise appointed one of his own domestics to serve him, and permitted his friends to see him, and pass whole days in his company. They were also allowed to furnish him with all necessary refreshments.

Antigonus deliberated with himself for some time, in what manner he should treat his prisoner. They had been intimate friends when they served under Alexander, and the remembrance of that amity rekindled some tender sentiments in his favour, and combated for awhile his interest. His son Demetrius also solicited strongly in his favour; passionately desiring, in mere generosity, that the life of so great a man might be saved. But Antigonus, who was well acquainted with his inflexible fidelity for the family of Alexander, and knew what a dangerous enemy he had in him, and how capable he was of disconcerting all his measures, should he escape from his hands, was too much afraid of him to grant him his life, and, therefore, ordered him to be destroyed in prison.¹

Such was the end of the most accomplished man of his age, in every particular, and the worthiest to succeed Alexander the Great. He had not, indeed, the fortune of that monarch, but he, perhaps, was not his inferior in merit. He was truly brave without temerity, and prudent without weakness. His descent was but mean, though he was not ashamed of it, and he gradually rose to the highest stations, and might even have aspired to the throne, if he had either had more ambition or less probity. At a time when intrigues and cabals, spirited by a motive most capable of affecting a human heart, I mean the thirst of empire, knew neither sincerity nor fidelity, nor had any respect to the ties of blood or the rights of friendship, but trampled on the most sacred laws; Eumenes always retained an inviolable fidelity and attachment to the royal family, which no hopes or fears, no vicissitudes of fortune, nor any elevation, had power to shake. This very character of probity rendered him insupportable to his colleagues; for it frequently happens, that virtue creates enmities and aversions, because it seems to reproach those who think in a different manner, and places their defects in too near a view.²

He possessed all the military virtues in a supreme degree; or, in other words, he was a complete master in the art of war, as well as of fortitude, foresight, a wonderful fertility of invention for stratagems and resources, in the most unexpected dangers and most desperate conjunctures; but I place in a much nobler light, that character of

¹ Diod. p. 684—688. Plut. in Eumen. p. 562. Corn. Nep. c. viii—xii.

² *Industrie innocentisque quasi malis artibus infensi — etiam gloriæ ac virtutis inferum habet, ut simis ex propinquo diversa arguent.*—Tacit.

probity, and those sentiments of honour, which prevailed in him, and were always inseparable from the other shining qualities I have mentioned.

A merit so illustrious and universal, and at the same time so modest, which ought to have excited the esteem and admiration of the other commanders, only gave them offence, and inflamed their envy; a defect too frequently visible in persons of high rank. These satraps, full of themselves, saw with jealousy and indignation, that an officer of no birth, but much better qualified, and more brave and experienced than themselves, had ascended by degrees to the most exalted stations, which they imagined due only to those who were dignified with great names, and descended from ancient and illustrious families; as if true nobility did not consist in merit and virtue.

Antigonus and the whole army celebrated the funeral obsequies of Eumenes with great magnificence, and consented to render him the highest honours, his death having extinguished all their envy and fear. They deposited his bones and ashes in a silver urn, and sent it to his wife and children in Cappadocia; poor consolation for a desolate widow and her helpless orphans!

SECTION VI.—THE DEATH OF YOUNG ALEXANDER, ROXANA, HERCULES, BARSINA, AND CLEOPATRA.

ANTIGONUS, concluding that he should be master of the empire of Asia for the future, made a new regulation in the eastern provinces, for his better security. He discarded all the governors whom he suspected, and advanced to their places those persons in whom he thought he might confide. He even destroyed several who had rendered themselves formidable to him by too much merit. Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the argyraspides, were among the latter. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was likewise marked down in the list of proscriptions; but he found means to escape the danger, and threw himself under the protection of Ptolemy king of Egypt. As for the argyraspides, who had betrayed Eumenes, he sent them into Arachosia, the remotest province in the empire, and ordered Syburtius, who governed there, to take such measures as might destroy them all, and that not one of them might ever return to Greece. The just horror he conceived at the infamous manner in which they betrayed their general, contributed not a little to this resolution, though he enjoyed the fruit of their treason without the least scruple or remorse; but a motive still more prevalent, determined him chiefly to this preceding. These soldiers were mutinous, untractable, licentious, and averse to all obedience; their example, therefore, was capable of corrupting the other troops, and even of destroying him, by a new instance of treachery; he therefore was resolved to exterminate them without hesitation.¹

Seleucus knew how to represent the formidable power of Antigonus so effectually to Ptolemy, that he engaged him in a league with Lysimachus and Cassander, whom he had also convinced, by an express,

¹ A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315. Diod. l. xix. p. 689—692, et 697, 698.

of the danger they had reason to apprehend from the power of that prince. Antigonus was very sensible that Seleucus would not fail to solicit them into measures against his interest, for which reason, he sent an embassy to each of the three, to renew the good understanding between them, by new assurances of his friendship. But what confidence could be reposed in such assurances from a perfidious man, who had lately destroyed so many governors, from no inducement but the ambition of reigning alone, at the expense of all his colleagues? The answers which he received, made him sufficiently sensible, that it was incumbent on him to prepare for war. He therefore quitted the east, and advanced into Cilicia with very considerable treasures, which he had drawn from Babylon and Susa. He there raised new levies, regulated several affairs in the provinces of Asia Minor, and then marched into Syria and Phœnicia.¹

His design was to divest Ptolemy of those two provinces, and make himself master of their maritime forces, which were absolutely necessary for him in the war he was preparing to undertake against the confederates. For unless he could be master at sea, and have at least the ports and vessels of the Phœnicians at his disposal, he could never expect any success against them. He, however, arrived too late to surprise the ships; for Ptolemy had already sent to Egypt all that could be found in Phœnicia, and it was with difficulty that Antigonus made himself master of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, opposed him with all their forces. The two last, indeed, were soon taken; but a considerable length of time was necessary for the reduction of Tyre.²

As he was already master of all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia, he immediately gave orders for building vessels; and a vast number of trees were cut down for that purpose, on Mount Libanus, which was covered with cedar and cypress trees of extraordinary beauty and height, and they were conveyed to the different ports where the ships were to be built; in which work he employed several thousand men. In a word, with these ships, and others that joined him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and some particular cities with which he had contracted an alliance, he formed a considerable fleet, and rendered himself master of the sea.

His ardour for this work was redoubled by an affront he had received from Seleucus, who, with a hundred ships that Ptolemy had sent him, sailed up to Tyre, in sight of all the forces of Antigonus, with an intention to brave him while he was engaged in the siege of that city. And in reality, this insult had greatly discouraged his troops, and given his allies such an impression of his weakness, as was very injurious to him. In order, therefore, to prevent the effect of those disadvantageous opinions, he sent for the principal allies, and assured them, he would have such a fleet at sea that summer, as should be superior to the naval force of all his enemies; and he was punctual to his promise before the expiration of the year.

But when he perceived, that while he was thus employed in Phœ-

¹ A. M. 3690. Ant. J. O. 314. Diod. l. xix. p. 698—700. ² Diod. l. xix. p. 700—702.

nicia, Cassander gained upon him by land in Asia Minor, he marched thither with part of his troops, and left the rest with his son Demetrius, who was then but twenty-two years of age, to defend Syria and Phoenicia against Ptolemy. This Demetrius will be much celebrated in the sequel of this history, and I shall soon point out his particular character.¹

Tyre was then reduced to the last extremities; the fleet of Antigonus cut off all communication of provisions, and the city was soon obliged to capitulate. The garrison which Ptolemy had there, obtained permission to march out with all their effects, and the inhabitants were promised the enjoyment of theirs without molestation. Andronicus, who commanded at the siege, was transported with having gained a place of such importance on any conditions whatever; and especially after a siege, which had harassed his troops so exceedingly for fifteen months.²

It was no longer than nineteen years before this event, that Alexander had destroyed this city, in such a manner as made it natural to believe it would require many ages to re-establish it; and yet in so short a time it became capable of sustaining this new siege, which lasted more than as long again as that of Alexander. This circumstance discovers the great resources derived from commerce; for this was the only expedient by which Tyre rose out of its ruins, and recovered most of its former splendour. This city was then the centre of all the traffic of the east and west.

Demetrius, who now began to be known, and will for the future be surnamed Poliorcetes,³ which signifies Taker of Cities, was the son of Antigonus. He was finely made, and of uncommon beauty. A pleasing sweetness, blended with gravity, was visible in his countenance, and he had an air of serenity, intermixed with something which carried awe along with it. Vivacity of youth was tempered with a majestic mien, and an air truly royal and heroic. The same mixture was likewise observable in his manners, which were equally qualified to charm and astonish. When he had no affairs to transact, his intercourse with his friends was enchanting. Nothing could equal the sumptuousness inseparable from his feasts, luxury, and his whole manner of living; and it may be justly said, that he was the most voluptuous and delicate of all princes. On the other hand, as alluring as all these soft pleasures might appear to him, when he had any enterprise to undertake, he was the most active and vigilant of mankind; nothing but his patience and assiduity in fatigue were equal to his vivacity and courage. Such is the character of the young prince who now begins to appear upon the stage of action.⁴

Plutarch remarks in him, as a peculiarity which distinguished him from the other princes of his time, his profound respect for his parents, which neither flowed from affectation or ceremony, but was sincere and real, and sprung from the heart itself. Antigonus, on his part,

¹ A. M. 3691. Ant. J. C. 313.

² Diod. l. xix. p. 703.

³ The word is derived from *πολιορκειν*, to besiege a city, whose root is, *πολις*, a city, and *ορμη* a fence, a trench, a bulwark.

⁴ Plut. in Demet. p. 889. 890.

had a tenderness and affection for his son, that was truly paternal, and extended even to familiarity, though without any diminution of the authority of the sovereign and the father; and this created a confidence and union between them, entirely free from all fear and suspicion. Plutarch relates an instance of it to this effect. One day, when Antigonus was engaged in giving audience to some ambassadors, Demetrius, returning from the chace, advanced into the great hall, where he saluted his father with a kiss, and then seated himself at his side, with his darts in his hand. Antigonus had just given the ambassadors their answer, but he ordered them to be introduced a second time. "You may likewise inform your masters," said he, "of the manner in which my son and I live together." Intimating thereby, that he was not afraid to let his son approach him with arms,¹ and that this confidence, which subsisted between him and his son, constituted the greatest strength of his dominions, while at the same time that it affected him with the most sensible pleasure. But to return to our subject.

Antigonus having passed into Asia, soon stopped the progress of Cassander's arms, and pressed him so vigorously, that he obliged him to come to an accommodation on very honourable terms; but the treaty was hardly concluded before he repented of his accession to it, and broke it, by demanding succours of Ptolemy and Seleucus, and renewing the war. The violation of treaties was considered as nothing, by the generality of those princes whose history I am now writing. These unworthy expedients, which are justly thought dishonourable in private persons, appeared to those as so many circumstances essential to their glory. They applauded themselves for their perfidious measures, as if they had been instances of their abilities in government, and were never sensible that such proceedings would teach their troops to be wanting in their fidelity to them, and leave them destitute of any pretext of complaint against their own subjects, who, by revolting from their authority, only trod in the same paths which they themselves had already marked out. By such contagious examples, a whole age is soon corrupted, and learns to renounce, without a blush, all sentiments of honour and probity, because that which is once become common, no longer appears shameful.²

The renewal of this war detained Antigonus in those parts longer than he intended, and afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of obtaining considerable advantages over him in another quarter.

He first sailed with his fleet to the isle of Cyprus, and reduced the greatest part of it to his obedience. Nicocles, king of Paphos, one of the cities of that island, submitted to him like the rest, but made a secret alliance with Antigonus, a year or two after. Ptolemy received intelligence of this proceeding, and, in order to prevent the other princes from imitating his example, ordered some of his officers in Cyprus to destroy him; but they being unwilling to execute that commission themselves, earnestly entreated Nicocles to prevent it by a

¹ Neither the Greeks nor Romans ever wore arms but in time of war, or when they hunted

² Diod. l. xix. p. 10.

voluntary death. The unhappy prince consented to the proposal, and seeing himself utterly destitute of defence, became his own executioner. But though Ptolemy had commanded those officers to treat the queen, Axithea, and the other princesses, whom they found in the palace of Nicocles, with the respect due to their rank, yet they could not prevent them from following the example of the unfortunate king. The queen, after she had slain her daughters with her own hands, and exhorted the other princesses not to survive the calamity by which their unhappy brother fell, plunged her dagger into her own bosom. The death of these princesses was succeeded by that of their husbands, who, before they slew themselves, set fire to the four corners of the palace. Such was the dreadful and bloody scene which was acted at Cyprus.¹

Ptolemy, after he once became master of that island, made a descent in Syria, and from thence proceeded to Cilicia, where he acquired great spoils, and took a great number of prisoners, whom he carried with him into Egypt. Seleucus imparted to him, at his return, a project for regaining Syria and Phœnicia, and the execution of it was agreed to be undertaken. Ptolemy accordingly marched thither in person with a fine army, after he had happily suppressed a revolt which had been kindled among the Cyreneans, and found Demetrius at Gaza, who opposed his entrance into that place. This occasioned a sharp engagement, in which Ptolemy was at last victorious. Demetrius had five thousand of his men killed, and eight thousand more made prisoners; he likewise lost his tents, his treasure, and all his equipage, and was obliged to retreat as far as Azotus, and from thence to Tripoli, a city of Phœnicia on the frontiers of Upper Syria, and to abandon all Phœnicia, Palestine, and Coelosyria, to Ptolemy.

Before his departure from Azotus, he desired leave to bury the dead, which Ptolemy not only granted, but also sent back all his equipage, tents, furniture, friends, and domestics, without any ransom, and caused it to be declared to him, "that they ought not to make war against each other for riches, but for glory;" and it was impossible for a pagan to think better. May we not likewise say, that he uttered his real sentiments? Demetrius, touched with so obliging an instance of generosity, immediately begged of the gods not to leave him long indebted to Ptolemy for so great a benefaction, but to furnish him with an opportunity of returning him one of a like nature.

Ptolemy sent the rest of the prisoners into Egypt, to serve him in his fleet, and then pursued his conquests. All the coast of Phœnicia submitted to him, except the city of Tyre; upon which he sent a secret message to Andronicus, the governor of that place, and one of the bravest officers of Antigonus, and the most attached to the service of his master, to induce him to abandon the city with a good grace, and not oblige him to besiege it in form. Andronicus, who depended on the Tyrians' fidelity to Antigonus, returned a haughty, and even an insulting and contemptuous answer to Ptolemy; but he was deceived in his expectations, for the garrison and inhabitants compelled

¹ Diœd. l. xx. p. 761.

him to surrender. He then imagined himself inevitably lost, and that nothing could make a conqueror forget the insolence with which he had treated him; but he was again deceived. The king of Egypt, instead of any reprisals upon an officer who had insulted him with so much indignity, made it a kind of duty to engage him in his service by the regard he professed for him, when he was introduced, to salute him.

Demetrius was not discouraged with the loss of the battle, as a young prince who had been so unfortunate in his first enterprise might naturally have been; but he employed all his attention to raising fresh troops, and making new preparations, with all the steadiness and resolution of a consummate general, habituated to the art of war, and to the inconstancy and vicissitudes of arms; in a word, he fortified the cities, and was constantly exercising his soldiers.

Antigonus received intelligence of the loss of that battle, without any visible emotion, and he coldly said, "Ptolemy has defeated boys, but he soon shall have men to deal with;" and as he was unwilling to abate the courage and ardour of his son, he complied with his request of making a second trial of his forces against Ptolemy.

Some time after this event, Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, arrived with a numerous army, fully persuaded that he should drive Demetrius out of Syria; for he had entertained a very contemptible opinion of him from his defeat; but Demetrius, who had known how to derive advantages from his misfortune, and was now become more circumspect and attentive, fell upon him when he least expected it, and made himself master of his camp and all his baggage, took seven thousand of his men prisoners, even seized him with his own hands, and carried off a great booty. The glory and riches Demetrius had acquired by this victory affected him less than the pleasure of being in a condition to acquit himself with respect to his enemy, and return the obligation he had received from him. He would not, however, act in this manner by his own authority, but wrote an account of the whole affair to his father, who permitted him to act as he should judge proper. Upon which he immediately sent back Cilles, with all his friends, laden with magnificent presents, and all the baggage he had taken. There is certainly something very noble in contending with an enemy in this generous manner; and it was a disposition still more estimable, especially in a young and victorious prince, to make it a point of glory, to depend entirely upon his father, and to take no measures in such a conjuncture without consulting him.¹

Seleucus, after the victory over Demetrius at Gaza, had obtained a thousand foot and three hundred horse from Ptolemy, and proceeded with this small escort to the east, with an intention to re-enter Babylon. When he arrived at Carræ, in Mesopotamia, he made the Macedonian garrison join his troops, partly by consent, and partly by compulsion. As soon as his approach to Babylon was known, his ancient subjects came in great numbers to range themselves under his ensigns, for the moderation of his government had made him greatly beloved.

¹ A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. Dioc. L. xix. p. 739.

in that province; while the severity of Antigonus was universally detested. The people were charmed at his return, and the hopes of his re-establishment. When he arrived at Babylon, he found the gates open, and was received with the general acclamations of the people. Those who favoured the party of Antigonus, retired into the castle; but as Seleucus was master of the city and the affections of the people, he soon made himself master of that fortress, and there found his children, friends, and domestics, whom Antigonus had detained prisoners in that place from the retreat of Seleucus into Egypt.¹

It was immediately judged necessary to raise a good army to defend these acquisitions, and he was hardly reinstated in Babylon before Nicanor, the governor of Media under Antigonus, was upon his march to dislodge him. Seleucus, having received intelligence of his motion, passed the Tigris, in order to confront him, and he had the good fortune to surprise him in a disadvantageous post, where he assaulted his camp by night, and entirely defeated his army. Nicanor was compelled to fly, with a small number of his friends, and to cross the deserts before he could arrive at the place where Antigonus then was. All the troops who had escaped from the defeat declared for Seleucus, either through a dissatisfaction in the service of Antigonus, or else from the apprehension of the conqueror. Seleucus was now master of a fine army, which he employed in the conquest of Media and Susiana, with the other adjacent provinces, by which means he rendered himself very powerful. The lenity of his government, his justice, equity, and humanity to all his subjects, contributed principally to the establishment of his power; and he was then sensible how advantageous it is for a prince to treat his people in that manner, and to possess their affections. He arrived in his own territories with a handful of men, but the love of his people was equivalent to an army, and he not only assembled a vast body of them about him in a short time, but they were likewise rendered invincible by their affection for him.

With this entry into Babylon commences the famous era of the Seleucides, received by all the people of the East, as well pagans as Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans (or Mahometans). The Jews call it the era of contracts, because, when they were subjected to the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were obliged to insert it into the dates of their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians style it the era of Bicornus, intimating thereby Seleucus, according to some authors, who declare that the sculptures represented him with two horns of an ox on his head, because this prince was so strong that he could seize that animal by the horns and stop him short in his full career. The two books of the Maccabees call it the era of the Greeks, and use it in their dates; with this difference, however, that the first of these books represents it as beginning in the spring, the other in the autumn of the same year. The thirty-one years of the reign ascribed to Seleucus begin at this period.²

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 726—728.

² A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311.

Antigonus was at Celænæ when he received intelligence of the victory obtained by his son Demetrius over the troops of Ptolemy, and immediately advanced to Syria, in order to secure all the advantages that were presented to him by that event. . He crossed Mount Taurus, and joined his son, whom he tenderly embraced at the first interview, shedding at the same time tears of joy. Ptolemy, being sensible that he was not strong enough to oppose the united forces of the father and son, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Aca, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza; after which he retired into Egypt, with the greatest part of the riches of the country and a numerous train of the inhabitants. In this manner was all Phœnicia, Judea, and Cœlosyria, subjected a second time to the power of Antigonus.¹

The inhabitants of these provinces, who were carried off by Ptolemy, followed him more from inclination than from restraint, and the moderation and humanity with which he always treated those who submitted to his government, had gained their hearts so effectually, that they were more desirous of living under him in a foreign country, than to continue subject in their own to Antigonus, from whom they had no expectations of so gentle a treatment. They were likewise strengthened in this resolution by the advantageous proposals of Ptolemy, for, as he then intended to make Alexandria the capital of Egypt, it was very easy to draw the inhabitants thither, where he offered them extraordinary privileges and immunities. He, therefore, settled in that city most of those who followed him on this occasion, among whom was a numerous body of Jews. Alexander had formerly placed many of that nation there; but Ptolemy, in his return from one of his first expeditions, planted a much greater number in that city than Alexander had, and they there found a fine country and a powerful protection. The rumour of these advantages being propagated through all Judea, rendered many more of the inhabitants desirous of establishing themselves at Alexandria, and they accomplished that design upon this occasion. Alexander had granted the Jews who settled there under his government the same privileges as were enjoyed by the Macedonians, and Ptolemy pursued the same conduct with respect to this new colony. In a word, he settled such a number of them there, that the quarter inhabited by the Jews almost formed an entire city of itself. A large body of Samaritans also established themselves there, on the same footing with the Jews, and increased exceedingly in numbers.²

Antigonus, after he had repossessed himself of Syria and Judea, sent Athenæus, one of his generals, against the Nabathæan Arabs, a nation of robbers, who made several inroads into the country which he had lately conquered, and had recently carried off a very large booty. Their capital city was Petra, so called by the Greeks, because it is situated on a high rock in the middle of a desert country. Athenæus made himself master of this place, and likewise of the spoils deposited in it; but the Arabs attacked him by surprise in his retreat, and defeated the greatest part of his troops. They likewise

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 729.

² Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. et contra Appian, l. i. et v.

killed him on the spot, regained all the booty, and carried it back to Petra, from whence they wrote a letter to Antigonus, who was then in Syria, complaining of the injustice with which they had been treated by Athenæus. Antigonus pretended at first to disapprove his proceedings, but as soon as he had assembled his troops, he gave the command of them to his son Demetrius, with orders to chastise the insolence of those robbers; but as this prince found it impracticable to force them in their retreat, or retake Petra, he contented himself with making the best treaty he could with this people, and then marched back with his troops.¹

Antigonus, upon the intelligence he received of the success of Seleucus in the East, sent his son Demetrius thither, at the head of an army, to drive him out of Babylon, and dispossess him of that province, while he himself advanced to the coast of Asia Minor, to oppose the operations of the confederate princes, whose power daily increased. He likewise ordered his son to join him after he had executed his commission in the East. Demetrius, in conformity to his father's directions, assembled the army at Damascus, and marched to Babylon, and as Seleucus was then in Media, he entered the city without any opposition. Patrocles, who had been intrusted with the government of that city by Seleucus, finding himself not strong enough to resist Demetrius, retired with his troops into the marshes, where the rivers, canals, and fens that covered him made the approach impracticable. He had the precaution, when he left Babylon, to cause the inhabitants also to retire from thence, who all saved themselves — some on the other side of the Tigris, others in the deserts, and the rest in other places of security.²

Demetrius caused the two castles at Babylon to be attacked, which were very large, and strengthened with good garrisons, on the two opposite banks of the Euphrates. One of these he took, and placed in it a garrison of seven thousand men. The other sustained the siege till Antigonus ordered his son to join him. This prince, therefore, left Archelaus, one of the principal officers of the army, with a thousand horse and five thousand foot, to continue the siege, and marched with the rest of the troops into Asia Minor, to reinforce his father.

Before his departure, he caused Babylon to be plundered; but this action proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and attached the inhabitants more than ever to Seleucus: even those who, till then, had espoused the interest of Antigonus, never imagined that the city would be treated in that manner, and looked upon this pillage as an act of desertion, and a formal declaration of his having entirely abandoned them. This induced them to turn their thoughts to an accommodation with Seleucus, and they accordingly went over to his party; by which means Seleucus, upon his return, which immediately followed the departure of Demetrius, had no difficulty to drive out the few troops that Demetrius had left in the city, and he retook the

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 730—733.

² A. M. 3692. Ant. J. C. 311. Diod. l. xix. p. 735, 736. Plut. in Demet. p. 891.

castle they had possessed. When this event was accomplished, he established his authority in such a solid manner that nothing was capable of shaking it. This, therefore, is the epoch to which the Babylonians refer the foundation of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Asia placed it six months sooner, and in the preceding year.

Demetrius, upon his arrival in Asia Minor, obliged Ptolemy to raise the siege of Halicarnassus, and this event was succeeded by a treaty of peace between the confederate princes and Antigonus, by which it was stipulated that Cassander should have the management of the Macedonian affairs till Alexander, the son of Roxana, was of age to reign. Lysimachus was to have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt; and the frontiers of Libya, with Arabia and all Asia, were allotted to Antigonus. All the cities of Greece were likewise to enjoy their liberty. But this accommodation was of no long duration; and it is indeed surprising that princes, so well acquainted with each other, and sensible that the sacred solemnity of oaths was only employed for their mutual delusion, should expect any success from an expedient that had been practised so frequently in vain, and was then so much in disgrace. This treaty was hardly concluded before each party complained of infractions, and hostilities were renewed. The true reason was the extraordinary power of Antigonus, which daily increased, and became so formidable to the other three, that they were incapable of enjoying any satisfaction till they had reduced him.¹

It was manifest that they were only solicitous for their own interest, and had no regard for the family of Alexander. The Macedonians began to be impatient, and declared aloud that it was time for them to cause the young Alexander to appear upon the stage of action, as he was then fourteen years of age, and to bring him out of prison, in order to make him acquainted with the state of his affairs. Cassander, who foresaw in this proceeding the destruction of his own measures, caused the young king and his mother, Roxana, to be secretly put to death in the castle of Amphipolis, where he had confined them for some years.

Polysperchon, who governed in Peloponnesus, took this opportunity to declare openly against the conduct of Cassander, and make the people sensible of the enormous wickedness of this action, with the view of rendering him odious to the Macedonians, and entirely supplanting him in their affections. As he had then no thoughts of re-entering Macedonia, from whence he had been driven by Cassander, he affected an air of great zeal for the house of Alexander, and, in order to render it apparent, he caused Hercules, another son of Alexander, by Barsina, the widow of Memnon, who was then about seventeen years of age, to be brought from Pergamus; upon which he himself advanced with an army, and proposed to the Macedonians to place him upon the throne. Cassander was terrified at this proceeding, and represented to him, at an interview between them, that

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 739. Plut. in Demet. p. 892.

he was preparing to raise himself a master, but that it would be more for his interest to remove Hercules out of the way, and secure the sovereignty of Greece to himself, offering, at the same time, his own assistance for that purpose. This discourse easily prevailed upon him to sacrifice the young prince to Cassander, as he was now persuaded that he should derive great advantage from his death. Hercules, therefore, and his mother, suffered the same fate from him the next year as Roxana and her son had before from Cassander, and each of these wretches sacrificed, in his turn, an heir of the crown, in order to share it between themselves.¹

As there was now no prince of Alexander's house left, they severally retained their governments, with the authority of sovereigns, and were persuaded that they had effectually secured their acquisitions by the murder of those princes who alone had a lawful title to them — even congratulating themselves for having extinguished in their own minds all remains of respect for the memory of Alexander, their master and benefactor, which, till then, had in some degree checked them. Who can, without horror, behold an action so perfidious, and at the same time so shameful and base! But such was the insensibility of both, that they were equally forward to felicitate themselves on the success of an impious confederacy which ended in the effusion of their master's blood. The blackest of all crimes never cost the ambitious any remorse, provided they conduce to their ends.

Ptolemy, having recommenced the war, took several cities from Antigonus, in Cilicia and other parts; but Demetrius soon regained what his father had lost in Cilicia, and the other generals of Antigonus had equal success against those of Ptolemy, who did not command this expedition in person. Cyprus was now the only territory where Ptolemy preserved his conquests; for when he had caused Nicocles, king of Paphos, to suffer death, he entirely crushed the party of Antigonus in that island.²

In order to obtain some compensation for what he had lost in Cilicia, he invaded Pamphylia, Lycia, and some other provinces of Asia Minor, where he took several places from Antigonus.³

He then sailed to the Ægean sea, and made himself master of the isle of Andros; after which he took Sicyon, Corinth, and some other cities.⁴

During his continuance in those parts, he formed an intimate correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, who had espoused Alexander, king of Epirus, and at whose nuptials Philip had been assassinated. This princess, after the death of her consort, who was slain in the wars of Italy, had continued in a state of widowhood, and, for several years, had resided in Sardis, in Lydia; but, as Antigonus, who was master of that city, did not treat her with any extraordinary respect, Ptolemy made an artful improvement of her discontent, in order to gain her over to his interest. With this intention, he invited her to an interview, in hopes of deriving from her presence

¹ A. M. 3694. Ant. J. C. 310. Diod. l. xx. p. 760, 761, et 766, 767.

² Diod. l. xx. p. 760.

³ Diod. l. xx. p. 769.

⁴ A. M. 3696. Ant. J. C. 308. Diod. l. xx. p. 774, 776

some advantages against Antigonus. The princess had already set out, but the governor of Sardis caused her to be stopped, and immediately brought back, by the command of Antigonus, and then secretly destroyed her. Antigonus, soon after this event, came to Sardis, where he ordered all the women who had been instrumental in her murder to be brought to trial.

We may here behold with admiration how heavily the arm of the Almighty fell upon the race of Alexander, and with what severity it pursued the small remains of his family, and all those who had the misfortune to be any way related to that famous conqueror, whose favour was ardently courted by all the world a few years before. A fatal curse consumed his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. God even used the ministration of his courtiers, officers, and domestics, to render the severity of his judgments visible to all mankind, who, by these means, received some kind of reparation for the calamities they had suffered from Alexander.

Antigonus, though he was the minister of the Deity in the execution of His just decrees, was not the less criminal on that account, because he only acted from motives of ambition and cruelty, which, in the event, filled him with all imaginable horror, and which he wished he could be capable of concealing from the observation of mankind. He celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra with extraordinary magnificence, hoping, by this plausible exterior, to dazzle the eyes of the public, and avoid the hatred due to so black a crime. But so deep a stain of hypocrisy as this usually discovers the crime it labours to conceal, and only increases the just horror the world generally entertains for those who have committed it.

This barbarous and unmanly action was not the only one that Antigonus committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy raised the superstructure of their power on the clemency and justice with which they governed their people; and, by these expedients, established lasting empires, which continued in their families for several generations: but the character of Antigonus was of a different cast. It was a maxim with him, to remove all obstacles to his designs, without the least regard to justice or humanity; in consequence of which, when that brutal and tyrannical force, by which alone he had supported himself, failed him, he lost both life and empire.

Ptolemy, with all the wisdom and moderation of his government, was not secure from revolts. The treachery of Ophellas, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, who formed an insurrection about this time, gave him a just inquietude, but it happened very fortunately to be attended with no serious effect. This officer had served, first under Alexander, and after the death of that prince, had embraced the interest of Ptolemy, whom he followed into Egypt. Ptolemy intrusted him with the command of the army which was intended for the reduction of Libya and Cyrenaica, provinces that had been allotted to him, as well as Egypt and Arabia, in the partition of the empire. When these two provinces were subdued, Ptolemy conferred the government of them upon Ophellas, who, when he was sensible that this

prince was too much engaged with Antigonus and Demetrius, to give him any apprehensions, had rendered himself independent, and continued, for that year, in the peaceable enjoyment of his usurpation.

Agathocles, king of Sicily, having marched into Africa to attack the Carthaginians, endeavoured to engage Ophellas in his interest, and promised to assist him in the conquest of all Africa for himself. Ophellas, won by so grateful a proposal, joined Agathocles with an army of twenty thousand men in the Carthaginian territories; but he had scarcely arrived there, before the perfidious wretch who had drawn him thither caused him to be slain, and kept his army in his own service. The history of the Carthaginians will inform the reader, in what manner this instance of treachery succeeded. Ptolemy, upon the death of Ophellas, recovered Libya and Cyrenaica. The wife of the latter was an Athenian lady of uncommon beauty, named Eurydice, and descended from Miltiades. After the death of her husband, she returned to Athens, where Demetrius saw her the following year, and espoused her.

SECTION VII.—DEMETRIUS, THE SON OF ANTIGONUS, BESIEGES AND TAKES ATHENS. THE CONSEQUENCES WHICH FOLLOW.

ANTIGONUS and Demetrius had formed a design to restore liberty to all Greece, which was kept in a kind of slavery by Cassander, Ptolemy, and Polysperchon. These confederate princes, in order to subject the Greeks, had judged it expedient to establish aristocracy in all the cities they conquered. Antigonus, to engage the people in his interest, had recourse to a contrary method, by substituting a democracy, which more effectually soothed the inclination of the Greeks, by lodging the power in the hands of the people. This conduct was a renovation of the policy which had been so frequently employed with success against the Lacedæmonians, by the Athenians and Persians, and it was impossible for it to be ineffectual in this conjuncture, if supported by a good army. Antigonus could not enter upon his measures in a better manner than by opening the scene with the signal of democratic liberty in Athens, which was not only the most jealous, but was likewise at the head of all the other republics.¹

When the siege of Athens had been resolved upon, Antigonus was told by one of his friends, that if he should happen to take that city, he ought to keep it for himself, as the key of all Greece; but he entirely rejected that proposal, and replied, "That the best and strongest key which he knew, was the friendship of the people: and that Athens being in a manner the light by which all the world steered, would not fail to spread universally the glory of his actions." It is very surprising to see in what manner princes, who are very unjust and self-interested, can sometimes borrow the language of equity and generosity, and are solicitous of doing themselves honour, by assuming the appearance of virtues to which, in reality, they are utter strangers.

Demetrius set out for Athens, with five thousand talents, and a

¹ A. M. 3698. Ant. J. C. 306. Plut. in Demet. p. 892—894.

fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. Demetrius Phalereus had commanded in that city, for the space of ten years, in the name and under the authority of Cassander; and the republic, as I have already observed, never experienced a more just government, or enjoyed a series of greater tranquillity and happiness. The citizens, in gratitude to his administration, had erected as many statues to his honour as there are days in the year, namely, three hundred and sixty; for at that time, the year, according to Pliny, was limited to this number of days.¹ An honour like this had never been accorded to any citizen.

When the fleet of Demetrius approached, all the inhabitants prepared for its reception, believing that the ships belonged to Ptolemy, but when the captains and principal officers, were at last undeceived, they immediately had recourse to arms for their defence; every place was filled with tumult and confusion; the Athenians being reduced to a sudden and unexpected necessity of repelling an enemy, who advanced upon them without being discovered, and had already made a descent; for Demetrius had entered the port, which he found entirely open, and might easily be distinguished on the deck of his galley, where, with his hand, he made signal to the people, to keep themselves quiet, and afford him an audience. The tumult being then calmed, he caused them to be informed aloud by a herald, who placed himself at his side, "That his father Antigonus had sent him, under happy auspices, to reinstate the Athenians in the possession of their liberty, to drive the garrison out of their citadel, and to re-establish their laws and ancient form of government."

The Athenians, at this proclamation, cast their bucklers down at their feet, and clapping their hands with loud acclamations of joy, pressed Demetrius to descend from his galley, and called him their preserver and benefactor. Those who were then with Demetrius Phalereus, were unanimously of opinion, that as the son of Antigonus was already master of the city, it would be better to receive him, though they should even be certain, that he would not perform any one article of what he had promised; upon which they immediately despatched ambassadors to him with an offer of their submissions.

Demetrius received them in a gracious manner, and gave them a very favourable audience; and, in order to convince them of his good dispositions toward them, he gave them at their dismissal Aristodemus of Miletus, one of his father's most intimate friends, as a hostage. He was likewise careful to provide for the safety of Demetrius Phalereus, who, in consequence of this revolution, had more reason to be apprehensive of his citizens, than even of the enemies themselves. The reputation and virtue of this great man had inspired the young prince with the utmost respect for his person; and he sent him with a sufficient guard to Thebes, in compliance with his own request. He then told the Athenians, that he was determined not to see their city; and that, as desirous as he was to visit it, he would not so much as enter within their walls, till he had entirely freed the inhabitants from subjection, by driving out the garrison that encroached upon

¹ Nondum anno hunc numerum dierum excedente.—Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

their liberties. At the same time, he ordered a large ditch to be opened, and raised good intrenchments before the fortress of Munychia, to deprive it of all communication with the city; after which he embarked for Megara, where Cassander had placed a strong garrison.

When he arrived at that city, he was informed that Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander, and daughter of Polysperchon, who was greatly celebrated for her beauty, then resided at Patræ, and was extremely desirous to see him, and be at his devotion. He therefore left his army in the territories of Megara, and having selected a small number of persons most disposed to attend him, he set out for Patræ; and, when he had arrived within a short distance of that city, he secretly withdrew himself from his people, and caused a pavilion to be erected in a private place, that Cratesipolis might not be seen when she came to him. A party of the enemy happening to be apprised of this imprudent proceeding, marched against him when he least expected such a visit, and he had but just time to disguise himself in a mean habit, and elude the danger by a precipitate flight; so that he was on the very point of being taken in the most ignominious manner, on account of his incontinence. The enemy seized his tent, with the riches that were in it.

The city of Megara being taken, the soldiers demanded leave to plunder the inhabitants; but the Athenians interceded for them so effectually, that the city was saved. Demetrius drove out the garrison of Cassander, and reinstated Megara in its liberties. Stilpon, a celebrated philosopher, lived in that city, and was visited by Demetrius, who asked him if he had lost any thing? "Nothing at all," replied Stilpon, "for I carry all my effects about me;" meaning by that expression, his justice, probity, temperance, and wisdom; with the advantage of not ranking any thing in the class of blessings, that could be taken from him.¹ What could all the kings of the earth do in conjunction against such a man as this, who neither desires nor dreads any thing, and who has been taught by philosophy, not to consider death itself as a calamity?

Though the city was saved from pillage, yet all the slaves were taken and carried off by the conquerors. Demetrius, on the day of his return from thence, caressed Stilpon very warmly, and told him that he left the city to him in an entire state of freedom. "What you say, my lord, is certainly true," replied the philosopher, "for you have not left so much as one slave in it."

Demetrius, when he returned to Athens, posted his troops before the port of Munychia, and carried on the siege with so much vigour, that he soon drove out the garrison, and razed the fort. The Athenians, after this event, intreated him with great importunity, to come and refresh himself in the city; upon which he accordingly entered,

¹ Megara Demetrius cepit, cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. Ab hoc Stilpon philosophus interrogatus, num quid perdidisset: nihil inquit; omnia namque mea mecum sunt.—Habebat enim secum vera bona, in quæ non est manus injectio.—Hæc sunt, justitia, virtus, temperantia, prudentia; et hoc ipsum, nihil bonum putare quod eripi possit.—Cogita nunc, an huic quisquam facere injuriam possit, cui bellum, et hostis ille egregiam artem quassandarum urbium professus eripere nihil potuit.—Senec. de Const. Sap. c. v. et Ep. 9.

and then assembled the people, to whom he restored their ancient form of government, promising at the same time, that his father should send them one hundred and fifty thousand measures of corn, and all necessary materials for building one hundred galleys, of three benches of oars. In this manner did the Athenians recover their democracy, about fourteen years after its abolition.

The gratitude to their benefactors extended even to impiety and irreligion, by the excessive honours they decreed them. They first conferred the title of king on Antigonus and Demetrius, which neither these, nor any of the other princes, had ever the presumption to take till then, though they had assumed to themselves all the power and prerogatives of royalty. The Athenians likewise honoured them with the appellation of "Tutelar Deities," and instead of the magistracy of the archon, which gave the year its denomination, they elected a priest of these tutelar deities, in whose name all the public acts and decrees were passed. They also ordered their pictures to be painted on the veil, which was carried in procession at their solemn festivals in honour of Minerva, called panathenæa; and, by an excess of adulation scarcely credible, they consecrated the spot of ground on which Demetrius descended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called the "altar of Demetrius descending from his chariot;" and they added to the ten ancient tribes two more, which they styled "the tribe of Demetrius" and "the tribe of Antigonus." They likewise changed the names of two months in their favour, and published an order that those who should be sent to Antigonus and Demetrius, by any decree of the people, instead of being distinguished by the common title of ambassadors, should be called theoroi, which was an appellation reserved for those who were chosen to go and offer sacrifices to the gods at Delphos, or Olympia, in the name of the cities. But even all these honours were not so strange and extravagant as the decree obtained by Democlide, who proposed, "that in order to the more effectual consecration of the bucklers that were to be dedicated in the temple of Apollo, at Delphos, proper persons should be despatched to Demetrius, the tutelar deity; and that after they had offered sacrifices to him, they should inquire of this tutelar deity, in what manner they ought to conduct themselves, so as to celebrate, with the greatest promptitude, and the utmost devotion and magnificence, the dedication of those offerings, and that the people would comply with all the directions of the oracle on that occasion."

The extreme ingratitude the Athenians discovered, in respect to Demetrius Phalereus, was no less criminal and extravagant, than the immoderate acknowledgment they had rendered to their new master. They had always considered the former as too much devoted to oligarchy, and were offended at his suffering the Macedonian garrison to continue in their citadel, for the space of ten years, without making the least application to Cassander for their removal. In this, however, he had only pursued the conduct of Phocion, and undoubtedly considered those troops as a necessary restraint on the turbulent disposition of the Athenians. They might possibly imagine likewise, that by declaring against him, they should ingratiate themselves more

effectually with the conqueror. But whatever their motives might be, they first condemned him to suffer death, for contumacy; and as they were incapable of executing their resentment upon his person, because he had retired from their city, they threw down the numerous statues they had raised in honour of Demetrius Phalereus; who, when he had received intelligence of their proceedings, exclaimed, "it will not, however, be in their power to destroy that virtue in me by which these statues were deserved."¹

What estimation is to be made of those honours, which, at one time, are bestowed with so much profusion, and as suddenly revoked at another; honours that have been denied to virtue, and prostituted to vicious princes, with a constant disposition to divest them of those favours, upon the first impressions of discontent, and degrade them from their divinity with as much precipitation as they conferred it upon them! What weakness and stupidity do those discover, who are either touched with strong impressions of joy when they receive such honours, or appear dejected when they happen to lose them!

The Athenians still proceeded to greater extremities. Demetrius Phalereus was accused of having acted contrary to their laws, in many instances during his administration, and they omitted no endeavours to render him odious. It was necessary for them to have recourse to this injustice and calumny, as infamous as such expedients were in their own nature, to escape, if possible, the just reproach of having condemned that merit and virtue which had been universally known and experienced. The statues, while they subsisted, were so many public testimonials, continually declaring in favour of the innocence of Demetrius, and against the injustice of the Athenians. Their own evidence then turned against them, and that they could not invalidate. The reputation of Demetrius was not obliterated by the destruction of his statues; and therefore it was absolutely necessary that he should appear criminal, that the Athenians might be able to represent themselves as innocent and just; and they imagined that a solemn and authentic condemnation would supply the defect of proofs, and the regularity of forms. They did not even spare his friends; and all those who had maintained a strict intimacy with him were exposed to insults. Menander, that celebrated poet, from whom Terence has transcribed the greatest part of his comedies, was on the point of being prosecuted, for no other reason than his having contracted a friendship with Demetrius.

There is some reason to believe that Demetrius, after he had passed some time at Thebes, retired for refuge to Cassander, who was sensible of his merit, and testified a particular esteem for him, and that he continued under his protection as long as that prince lived. But as he had reason, after the death of Cassander, to be apprehensive, of all things, from the brutality of his son, Antipater, who had caused his own mother to be destroyed, he retired into Egypt, to Ptolemy Soter, who had rendered himself illustrious by his liberali-

¹ Diog. Laert.

ties and regard to men of letters, and whose court was then the asylum of all persons in distress.

His reception at that court was as favourable as possible, and the king, according to *Ælian*, gave him the office of superintending the observation of the laws of the state. He held the first rank among the friends of that prince, lived in affluence, and was in a condition to transmit presents to his friends at Athens. These were undoubtedly some of those real friends of whom *Demetrius* himself declared, that they never came to him in his prosperity till he first had sent for them, but that they always visited him in his adversity, without waiting for any invitation.¹

During his exile, he composed several treatises on government, the duties of civil life, and other subjects of the like nature. This employment was a kind of sustenance to his mind, and cherished in it those sentiments of humanity with which it was so largely replenished.² How grateful a consolation and resource is this, either in solitude or a state of exile, to a man solicitous of improving his hours of leisure to the advantage of himself and the public!

The reader, when he considers the surprising number of statues erected in honour of one man, will undoubtedly bestow some reflections on the strange difference he discovers between the glorious ages of Athens and that we are now describing. A very judicious author has a fine remark on this occasion. "All the recompense," says he, "which the Athenians formerly granted *Miltiades* for preserving the state, was the privilege of being represented in a picture as the principal figure, and at the head of nine other generals, animating the troops for the battle; but the same people, being afterwards softened and corrupted by the flattery of their orators, decreed above three hundred statues to *Demetrius Phalereus*."³ Such a prodigality of honours are no proofs of real merit, but the effects of servile adulation; and *Demetrius Phalereus* was culpable to a considerable degree in not opposing them to the utmost of his power, if he really were in a condition to prevent their taking place. The conduct of *Cato* was much more prudent, when he declined several marks of distinction which the people were desirous of granting him; and when he was asked, one day, why no statues had been erected to him, when Rome was crowded with those of so many others, "I had much rather," said he, "people should inquire why I have none, than why I have any."⁴

True honour and distinction, says *Plutarch*, in the place I last cited, consist in the sincere esteem and affection of the people, founded on real merit and effectual services. These are sentiments which are so far from being extinguished by death, that they are perpetuated from age to age; whereas, a profusion of honours through flattery, or the apprehensions entertained of bad princes and tyrants,

¹ *Ælian*. l. iii. c. 17. *Plut.* de Exil. p. 601.

² Multa præclara in illo calamitoso exilio scripsit, non ad usum aliquem suum, quo erat orbatus; sed animi cultus ille erat ei quasi quidam humanitatis eibus.—*Cic.* de Finib. Bon. et Mal. l. v. n. 54.

³ *Corn. Nep.* in *Miltiad.* c. vi.

⁴ *Plut.* in *Præc. Reip.* Ger. p. 820.

are never known to survive them, and frequently die away before them. The same Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom we have lately seen consulted and adored as an oracle and a god, will soon have the mortification to behold the Athenians shutting their gates against him, for no other reason than the change of his fortune.

Demetrius, while he continued at Athens, espoused Eurydice, the widow of Ophellus. He had already had several wives, and, among the rest, Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom his father compelled him to marry against his inclination, citing to him a verse out of Euripides, which he changed into a parody by the alteration of one word. "Wherever fortune is, a person ought to marry, even against his inclination."¹ Ancient as this maxim is, it has never grown obsolete hitherto, but retains its full force, however contrary it may be to the sentiments of nature. Demetrius was severely censured at Athens for infamous excesses.²

Shortly after his marriage, his father ordered him to quit Greece, and sent him with a strong fleet and a numerous army to conquer the isle of Cyprus from Ptolemy. Before he undertook this expedition, he sent ambassadors to the Rhodians, to invite them to an alliance with him against Ptolemy; but this attempt proved ineffectual, and they constantly insisted on the liberty of persevering in the neutrality they had embraced. Demetrius, sensible that the intelligence Ptolemy maintained in Rhodes had defeated his design, advanced to Cyprus, where he made a descent, and marched to Salamina, the capital of that island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who had shut himself up there with most of his troops, marched out to give him battle, but was defeated and compelled to re-enter the place, after he had lost a thousand of his men, who were slain upon the spot, and three thousand more, who were taken prisoners.³

Menelaus, not doubting that the prince, elated with this success, would undertake the siege of Salamina, made all the necessary preparations, on his part, for a vigorous defence; and while he was directing all his attention to that object, he sent three couriers to Ptolemy, to inform him of his defeat and the siege with which he was threatened: they were also to solicit him to hasten the succours he demanded, and, if possible, to lead them in person.

Demetrius, after he had obtained an exact account of the situation of the place, as also of its forces, and those of the garrison, was sensible that he had not a sufficient number of battering-rams and other military machines for its reduction. He, therefore, sent to Syria for a great number of expert workmen and large quantities of iron and wood, in order to make all the necessary preparations for assaulting a city of that importance; and he then built the famous engine called helepolis, of which I shall give an exact description.

When all the necessary dispositions were made, Demetrius carried on his approaches to the city, and began to batter the walls with his

¹ Ὅπου το κέρδος, παρα φύσιν γαμητέον. It was δυνεύτος, a man must serve.

² Plut. in Demet. p. 894.

³ Diod. l. xx. p. 783—789. Plut. in Demet. p. 895, 896. Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

engines, and as they were judiciously worked, they had all the effect that could be expected. The besiegers, after various attacks, opened several large breaches in the wall, by which means the besieged were rendered incapable of sustaining the assault much longer, unless they could resolve on some bold attempt to prevent the attack which Demetrius intended to make the next day. During the night, which had suspended hostilities on both sides, the inhabitants of Salamina piled a vast quantity of dry wood on their walls, with an intermixture of other combustible materials, and, about midnight, threw them all down at the foot of the helepolis, battering-rams, and other engines, and kindled them with long flaming poles. The fire immediately seized them with so much violence, that they were all in flames in a very short time. The enemy ran from all quarters to extinguish the fire, but it required a considerable time to effect this, and most of the machines were greatly damaged. Demetrius, however, was not discouraged at this disaster.

Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill success in the action against Demetrius, caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out with all expedition, and advanced, as soon as possible, to his assistance. The event of the battle, for which both parties prepared after some ineffectual overtures of accommodation, was looked to with great anxiety, not only by the generals who were present, but by all princes and commanders who were absent. The success appeared to be uncertain, but it was very certain that it would eventually give one of the contending parties an entire superiority over the rest. Ptolemy, who arrived with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, had ordered Menelaus, who was then at Salamina, to come up with the sixty vessels under his command, in order to charge the rear-guard of Demetrius, and throw them into disorder, in the early part of the battle. But Demetrius had the precaution to leave ten of his ships to oppose the sixty of Menelaus; for this small number was sufficient to guard the entrance into the port, which was very narrow, and prevent Menelaus from coming out. When this preliminary to the engagement was settled, Demetrius drew out his land forces, and extended them along the points of land which projected into the sea, that he might be in a condition, in case any misfortune happened, to assist those who might be obliged to save themselves by swimming; after which he sailed into the open sea, with one hundred and eighty galleys, and charged the fleet of Ptolemy with so much impetuosity, that he broke the lines of battle. Ptolemy, finding his defeat inevitable, immediately took to flight with eight galleys, which were all that escaped, for, of the remaining vessels which composed his fleet, some were either shattered or sunk in battle, and the others, to the number of seventy, were taken, with their whole complements. All the residue, therefore, of Ptolemy's train and baggage, with his domestics, friends, and wives, provisions, arms, money, and machines of war, on board the store-ships that lay at anchor, were seized by Demetrius, who caused them to be carried to his camp.

Menelaus no longer made any opposition after this battle at sea, but surrendered himself to Demetrius, with the city, and all his ships

and land forces, which last consisted of twelve hundred horse, and twelve thousand foot.

Demetrius exalted the glory of this victory, by his humanity and generous conduct after it. He caused the slain to be interred in a magnificent manner, and generously restored liberty to Menelaus and Lentiscus, one the brother, and the other son of Ptolemy, who were found among the prisoners; he also dismissed them, with their friends and domestics, and all their baggage, without any ransom; that he might once more return the civilities he had experienced from Ptolemy, on a like occasion, after the battle of Gaza. With so much more generosity, disinterestedness, and politeness, did enemies make war against each other in those days, than we now find between friends in the ordinary intercourse of life.¹ He likewise selected from the spoils, one thousand two hundred complete suits of armour, and gave them to the Athenians. The rest of the prisoners, whose number amounted to seventeen thousand men, without including the marines taken with the fleet, were incorporated by him into his troops; by which means he greatly reinforced his army.

Antigonus, who continued in Syria, waited with the utmost anxiety and impatience for an account of the battle, by the event of which, the fate of himself and his son was to be decided. When the courier brought him intelligence that Demetrius had obtained a complete victory, his joy rose in proportion; and all the people at the same instant proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus immediately transmitted to his son the diadem which had glittered on his own brows, and gave him the regal title in the letter he wrote to him. The Egyptians, when they were informed of this proceeding, were also no less industrious in proclaiming Ptolemy king, that they might not seem to be dejected at their defeat, or be thought to entertain the less esteem and affection for their prince. Lysimachus and Seleucus soon followed their example, the one in Thrace, and the other in Babylon and the provinces of the east; and assumed the title of king, in their several dominions, after they had for so many years usurped the supreme authority there, without presuming to take this title upon them till that time, which was about eighteen years after the death of Alexander. Cassander alone, though he was treated as a king by the others, in their discourse and letters to him, continued to write his in his usual manner, and without affixing any addition to his name.

Plutarch observes, that this new title not only occasioned these princes to augment their train and pompous appearance, but also caused them to assume a loftiness, and inspired them with such haughty impressions as they had never manifested till then; as if this appellation had suddenly exalted them into a species of beings different from the rest of mankind.

Seleucus had greatly increased his power in the oriental provinces, during the transactions we have been describing; for, after he had killed in battle Nicanor, whom Antigonus had sent against him, he

¹ Tanto honestius tunc bella gerebantur, animum nunc amicitiae coluntur. -- Justin.

not only established himself in the possession of Media, Assyria, and Babylon, but reduced Persia, Bactriana, Hyrcania, and all the provinces on this side the Indus, which had formerly been conquered by Alexander.¹

Antigonus, on his side, to improve the victory his son had obtained in Cyprus, assembled an army of one hundred thousand men in Syria, with an intention to invade Egypt. He flattered himself that conquest would infallibly attend his arms, and that he should divest Ptolemy of that kingdom with as much ease as he had taken Cyprus from him. While he was conducting this great army by land, Demetrius followed him with his fleet, which coasted along the shores to Gaza, where the father and son concerted the measures each of them were to pursue. The pilots advised them to wait till the setting of the pleiades, and defer their departure only for eight days, because the sea was then very tempestuous; but the impatience of Antigonus to surprise Ptolemy before his preparations were completed, caused him to disregard that salutary advice. Demetrius was ordered to make a descent in one of the mouths of the Nile, while Antigonus was to endeavour to open a passage by land into the heart of the country; but neither the one nor the other succeeded in his expedition. The fleet of Demetrius sustained great damage by violent storms; and Ptolemy had taken such effectual precautions to secure the mouths of the Nile, as rendered it impracticable to Demetrius to land his troops. Antigonus, on the other hand, having employed all his efforts to cross the deserts which lie between Palestine and Egypt, had much greater difficulties still to surmount, and found it impossible to pass the first arm of the Nile in his march, such judicious orders had been given by Ptolemy, and so advantageously were his troops posted at all the passes and avenues; but what was still more afflictive to Antigonus than all the rest, his soldiers daily deserted from him in great numbers.²

Ptolemy had sent out boats on several parts of the river where the enemy resorted for water, and caused it to be proclaimed on his part, from those vessels, that every private soldier who deserted from their troops should receive from him two minæ, and every officer a talent. So considerable a recompense soon allured great numbers to receive it, especially the troops in the pay of Antigonus; nor were they prevailed upon by money alone, as their inclinations to serve Ptolemy were much stronger than their motives to continue under Antigonus, whom they considered as an old man, difficult to be pleased, imperious, morose and severe; whereas Ptolemy rendered himself amiable, by his gentle disposition and engaging behaviour to all who approached him.

Antigonus, after he had hovered to no effect on the frontiers of Egypt, and even till his provisions began to fail him, became sensible of his inability to enter into Egypt; that his army decreased every day by sickness and desertion; and that it was impossible for him to subsist his remaining troops any longer in that country; was

¹ A. M. 3699. Ant. J. C. 306. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

² Diod. l. xx. p. 394—396. Plut. in Demet. p. 396, 397.

obliged to return into Syria, in a very shameful manner, after having lost in this unfortunate expedition a great number of his land forces, and many of his ships.

Ptolemy having offered a sacrifice to the gods, in gratitude for the protection they had granted him, sent to acquaint Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, with the happy event of that campaign, and to renew the alliance between them against the common enemy. This was the last attack he had to sustain for the crown of Egypt, and it greatly contributed to fix it upon his head, in consequence of the prudent measures he pursued. Ptolemy, the astronomer, therefore fixed the commencement of his reign at this period, and afterwards pointed out the several years of its duration, in his chronological canon. He begins the epoch on the seventh of November, and nineteen years after the death of Alexander the Great.

SECTION VIII.—DEMETRIUS BESIEGES RHODES. PROTOGENES
SPARED DURING THE SIEGE.

ANTIGONUS was nearly eighty years of age at that time, and as he had then contracted a gross habit of body, and consequently was but very unfit for the activity of a military life, he made use of his son's services, who, by the experience he had already acquired, and the success which attended him, transacted the most important affairs with great ability. The father, for this reason, was not offended at his expensive luxury and intemperance; for Demetrius, during peace, abandoned himself to the greatest excesses of all kinds, without the least regard to decorum. In times of war, indeed, he acted a very different part: he was then a quite different man, vigilant, active, laborious, and invincible to fatigues. Whether he yielded to pleasure, or applied to serious affairs, he entirely devoted himself to the one or the other, and, for the time he engaged in either, was incapable of moderation. He had an inventive genius, and it may be justly said, that curiosity and a fine turn of mind for the sciences were inseparable from him. He never employed his natural industry in frivolous and insignificant amusements, like many other kings—some of whom, as Plutarch observes, valued themselves for their expertness in playing on instruments, others in painting, and some in their dexterity in the turner's art, with a hundred other qualities of private men, but not one of a prince. His application to the mechanic arts had something great and truly royal in it; his galleys, with five benches of oars, were the admiration of his enemies, who beheld them sailing along their coasts; and his engines, called helepoles, were a surprising object to those whom he besieged. They were exceedingly useful to him in the war with Rhodes, with the conduct of which his father had charged him at the time we are now speaking of.¹

Among the islands called Sporades, Rhodes held the first rank, as well for the fertility of its soil as the safety of its ports and roads, which, on that account, were resorted to by great numbers of trading ships from all parts. It then formed a small, but very powerful state,

¹ A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. Diod. l. xx. p. 809—815 et 817—825. Plut. in Demet. p. 897, 898.

whose friendship was courted by all princes, and which was studious, on its own part, to oblige them, by observing an exact neutrality, and carefully declining any declaration in favour of one against another, in the wars that arose in those times. As the inhabitants were limited to a small island, all their power flowed from their riches, and their riches from their commerce, which it was their chief interest to preserve as free as possible with the Mediterranean states, which all contributed to their prosperity. The Rhodians, by persisting in so prudent a conduct, had rendered their city very flourishing, and as they enjoyed continual peace, they became extremely opulent. Notwithstanding the seeming neutrality they maintained, their inclination, as well as their interest, secretly attached them to Ptolemy, because the principal and most advantageous branches of their commerce flowed from Egypt. When Antigonus, therefore, demanded succours of them in his war with Cyprus, they entreated him not to compel them to declare against Ptolemy, their ancient friend and ally; but this answer, although prudent and well concerted, drew upon them the displeasure of Antigonus, which he expressed in the severest menaces; and when he returned from his expedition to Egypt, he sent his son Demetrius with a fleet and army to chastise their insolent temerity, as he termed it, and likewise to reduce them to obedience.

The Rhodians, who foresaw the impending storm, had sent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, to implore their assistance, and caused it to be represented to the latter, that their attachment to his interest had drawn upon them the danger to which they were then exposed.

The preparations on both sides were immense. Demetrius arrived before Rhodes with a very numerous fleet, for he had two hundred ships of war of different dimensions, and more than one hundred and seventy transports, which carried about forty thousand men, without including the cavalry and the succours he received from pirates. He had likewise nearly a thousand small vessels, laden with provisions, and all other necessary accommodations for an army. The expectation of the vast booty to be acquired by the capture of so rich a city as Rhodes, had allured great numbers of soldiers to join Demetrius in this expedition. This prince, who possessed the most fertile and inventive genius for attacking places and forming machines of war, had brought with him an infinite number of the latter. He was sensible that he had to deal with a brave people and very able commanders, who had acquired great experience in maritime affairs, and that the besieged had above one hundred military machines, almost as formidable as his own.

Demetrius, upon his arrival at the island, landed, in order to take a view of the most commodious situation for assaulting the place. He likewise sent out parties to lay the country waste on all sides, and, at the same time, caused another body of his troops to cut down the trees, and demolish the houses in the parts adjacent to Rhodes, and then employed them as materials to fortify his camp with a triple palisade.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. All persons of merit, and reputation for military affairs, in the countries in alliance with the Rhodians, threw themselves into the city, as much for the honour of serving a republic, equally celebrated for its gratitude and the courage of its citizens, as to manifest their own fortitude and abilities in the defence of that place against one of the greatest captains, and the most expert in the conduct of sieges, that antiquity ever produced.

They began with dismissing from the city all such persons as were useless; and the number of those who were capable of bearing arms amounted to six thousand citizens and a thousand strangers. Liberty, and the right of denizens, were promised to such slaves as should distinguish themselves by their bravery, and the public engaged to pay the masters the full price of each of them. It was likewise publicly declared, that the citizens should bestow an honourable interment on those who should lose their lives in any engagement, and would also provide for the subsistence of their parents, wives, and children, and portion the daughters in marriage; and that, when the sons should be of age capable of bearing arms, they should be presented with a complete suit of armour, on the public theatre, at the great solemnity of the bacchanalians.

This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds, with money, to defray the expense of the siege, and the soldiers' pay. The workmen redoubled their industry in making arms, that were excellent, as well for the promptitude of execution as the beauty of the work. Some were employed in making catapultas and balistas; others formed different machines equally necessary; a third class repaired the breaches of the walls; while several others supplied them with stone. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout the city, each striving with emulation to distinguish himself on that occasion, so that a zeal so ardent and universal was never known before.

The besieged first sent out three good sailers against a small fleet of sutlers and merchants, who supplied the enemy with provisions; they sunk a great number of their vessels, burned several, and carried into the city such of the prisoners as were in a condition to pay their ransom. The Rhodians gained a considerable sum of money by this expedition, for it was mutually agreed that one thousand drachmas should be paid for every person that was a freeman, and half the sum for a slave.

The siege of Rhodes has been represented as the master-piece of Demetrius, and the greatest instance of the fertility of his genius in resources and inventions. He began the attack from the sea, in order to make himself master of the port, and the towers which defended the entrance.

In order to accomplish this design, he caused two tortoises to be erected in two flat phrams or barks joined together, to facilitate his approach to the place he intended to batter. One of these was stronger and more solid than the other, in order to cover the men from those enormous masses which the besieged discharged from the

towers and walls, with the catapultas planted upon them; the other was of a lighter structure, and designed to shelter the soldiers from darts and arrows. Two towers, of four stories, were erected at the same time, which exceeded in height the towers that defended the entrance into the port; and which were intended to be used in battering the latter with volleys of stones and darts. Each of these towers was placed upon two ships, strongly bound together.

Demetrius, besides these tortoises and towers, caused a kind of floating barricado to be erected on a long beam of timber, four feet thick, through which were driven stakes armed at the end with large points of iron. These stakes were disposed horizontally, with their spikes projecting forward, in order to prevent the vessels of the port from shattering the work with their beaks.

He likewise selected out of his fleet the largest vessels, on the sides of which he erected ramparts of planks with little windows easy to be opened. He there placed the best Cretan archers and slingers in all his army, and furnished them with an infinite number of bows, small balistas, or cross-bows, and catapultas, with other engines for shooting, in order to gall the workmen of the city, employed in raising and repairing the walls of the port.

The Rhodians, seeing the besiegers turn all their efforts against that quarter, were no less industrious to defend it. In order to accomplish that design, they raised two machines upon an adjoining eminence, and formed three others, which they placed on large ships of burden, at the mouth of the little haven. A body of archers and slingers was likewise posted on each of these situations, with a great quantity of stones, darts, and arrows of all kinds. The same orders were also given with respect to the ships of burden in the great port.

When Demetrius advanced with his ships and all their armament, to begin the attack on the ports, such a violent tempest arose, as rendered it impossible for him to accomplish any of his operations that day; but the sea growing calm about night, he took advantage of the darkness, and advanced, without being perceived by the enemy, to the grand port, where he made himself master of a neighbouring eminence, about five hundred paces from the wall, on which he posted four hundred soldiers, who fortified themselves immediately with good palisades.

The next morning, Demetrius caused his batteries to advance with the sound of trumpets, and the shouts of his whole army; and they at first produced all the effect he proposed from them. A great number of the besieged were slain in this attack, and several breaches were opened in the mole which covered the port: but they were not very advantageous to the besiegers, who were always repulsed by the Rhodians; and the loss being almost equal on both sides, Demetrius was obliged to retire from the port with his ships and machines, to be out of the reach of the enemy's arrows.

The besieged, who had been instructed at their own expense in what manner the night was capable of being improved, caused several fire-ships to sail out of the port, during the darkness, in order to burn the tortoises and wooden towers which the enemy had erected; but

as they had the misfortune to be incapable of forcing the floating barricado, they were obliged to return into the port. The Rhodians lost some of their fire-ships in this expedition, but the mariners saved themselves by swimming.

The next day the prince ordered a general attack to be made against the port, and the walls of the place, with the sound of trumpets, and the shouts of his whole army, thinking by these means to spread terror among the besieged; but they were so far from being intimidated, that they sustained the attack with incredible vigour, and discovered the same intrepidity for the space of eight days that it continued; and actions of astonishing bravery were performed on both sides during that long period.

Demetrius, taking advantage of the eminence which his troops had seized, gave orders for erecting upon it a battery of several engines, which discharged great stones of one hundred and fifty pounds in weight, against the walls and towers, the latter of which tottered with the repeated shocks, and several breaches were soon made in the walls. The besiegers then made a furious advance to seize the moles which defended the entrance into the port; but as this post was of the greatest importance to the Rhodians, they spared no pains to repulse the besiegers, who had already made a considerable progress. This they at last effected, by a shower of stones and arrows, which they discharged upon their enemies, with so much rapidity, and for such a length of time, that they were obliged to retire in confusion, after losing a great number of their men.

The ardour of the besiegers was not diminished by this repulse, and they appeared rather more animated than ever against the Rhodians. They began the escalade by land and sea at the same time, and employed the besieged so effectually, that they scarcely knew whither to run for the defence of the place. The attack was carried on with the utmost fury on all sides, and the besieged defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. Great numbers were thrown from the ladders to the earth, and miserably bruised; several, even of the principal officers, got to the top of the wall, where they were covered with wounds and taken prisoners by the enemy; so that Demetrius, notwithstanding all his valour, thought it necessary to retreat, in order to repair his engines, which were almost entirely destroyed by so many attacks, as well as the vessels that carried them.

After the prince had retreated from Rhodes, immediate care was taken to bury the dead; the beaks also of the ships, with the other spoils that had been taken from the enemy, were carried to the temple, and the workmen were indefatigable in repairing the breaches of the walls.

Demetrius having employed seven days in refitting his ships and repairing his engines, set sail again with a fleet as formidable as the former, and steered, with a fair wind, directly for the port which employed his attention most, as he conceived it impracticable to reduce the place till he had first made himself master of that. Upon his arrival, he caused a vast quantity of lighted torches, flaming straw, and arrows, to be discharged, in order to set fire to the vessels that

were riding there, while his engines battered the mole without intermission. The besieged, who expected attacks of this nature, exerted themselves with so much vigour and activity, that they soon extinguished the flames, which had seized the vessels of the port.

At the same time, they caused three of their largest ships to sail out of the port, under the command of Exacestes, one of their bravest officers, with orders to attack the enemy, and use all possible means to join the vessels that carried the tortoises and wooden towers, and to charge them in such a manner with the beaks of theirs, as might either sink them, or render them entirely useless. These orders were executed with surprising expedition and address, and the three galleys, after they had shattered and broken through the floating barricado already mentioned, drove their beaks with such violence into the sides of the enemy's barks, on which the machines were erected, that the water was immediately seen to flow into them through several openings. Two of them were already sunk, but the third was towed along by the galleys, and joined the main fleet; and though it was dangerous to attack them in that situation, the Rhodians, through a blind and precipitate ardour, had the courage to attempt it. But as the inequality was too great to admit them to come off with success, Exacestes, with the officer who commanded under him, and some others, who, having fought with all the bravery imaginable, were taken with the galley in which they were: the other two regained the port, after sustaining many dangers, and most of the men also arrived there by swimming.

Although this last attack had proved unfortunate to Demetrius, he determined to undertake another himself; and, in order to succeed in that design, he ordered a machine of a new construction to be built, of thrice the height and breadth of those he had lately lost. When this was completed, he caused it to be placed near the port, which he was resolved to force; but at the instant they were preparing to work it, a dreadful tempest arose at sea, and sunk it to the bottom, with the vessels on which it had been raised.

The besieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, employed the time afforded them by the continuance of the tempest, in regaining the eminence near the port which the enemy had carried in the first assault, and where they afterwards fortified themselves. The Rhodians attacked it, and were repulsed several times; but the forces of Demetrius, who defended it, perceiving fresh troops continually pouring upon them, and that it was in vain for them to expect any relief, were obliged, at last, to surrender themselves prisoners, to the number of four hundred men.

This series of fortunate events was succeeded by the arrival of five hundred men from Cnosus, a city of Crete, to the assistance of the Rhodians, and also of five hundred more from Ptolemy, sent from Egypt, most of them being Rhodians, who had enlisted themselves among the troops of that prince.

Demetrius, extremely mortified to see all his batteries at the port rendered ineffectual, resolved to employ them by land, in order to carry the place by assault, or reduce it to the necessity of capitulat-

ing. He, therefore, prepared materials of every kind, and formed them into a machine called helepolis, which was larger than any that had ever been constructed before. The basis on which it stood was square, each side being seventy-five feet. The machine itself consisted of large square beams, joined together with iron, and the whole mass rested upon eight wheels that were made proportionable to the superstructure. The joints of these wheels were three feet thick, and strengthened with large iron plates.

In order to facilitate and change the movements of the helepolis, care had been taken to place casters¹ under it, which rendered the machine moveable in any direction.

From each of the four angles a large column of wood was carried up to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet, and mutually inclining to each other. The machine was composed of nine stories, the dimensions of which gradually lessened in the ascent. The first story was supported by forty-three beams, and the last by no more than nine.

Three sides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fires that were thrown from the city.

In the front of each story were little windows, whose form and dimensions corresponded with the nature of the arrows that were to be shot from the machine. Over each window was a kind of curtain made with leather, stuffed with wool: this was let down by a machine for that purpose, and was intended to break the force of whatever should be discharged against it by the enemy.

Each story had two large staircases, one for the ascent of the men, and the other for their descent.

This machine was moved forward by three thousand of the strongest and most vigorous men in the whole army, but the art with which it was built greatly facilitated the motion.

Demetrius also gave directions for building a great number of other machines, of different magnitudes and for various uses; he also employed his seamen in levelling the ground over which the machines were to move, to the extent of one hundred fathoms. The number of artizans and others employed on those works amounted to near thirty thousand men, by which means they were finished with incredible expedition.

The Rhodians were not indolent during these formidable preparations, but employed their time in raising a counter-wall on the ground where Demetrius intended to batter the walls of the city with the helepolis; and in order to accomplish this work, they demolished the wall which surrounded the theatre, as also several neighbouring houses, and even some temples, having solemnly promised the gods to build more magnificent structures for the celebration of their worship after the siege should be raised.

¹ Mons. Rollin informs us in a note that he was obliged to retain the Greek term (*Antistrepta*) for want of a proper French word to render it by; but as the English language is not so defective in that particular, the translator has expressed the Greek by the word *caster*, which, as well as the original word, signifies a wheel placed under a piece of work in such a manner as to render it convertible on all sides, like those little wheels affixed under the feet of beds, by which they move with ease to any part of a room.

When they knew that the enemy had quitted the sea, they sent out nine of their best ships of war, divided into three squadrons, the command of which they gave to three of their bravest sea-officers, who returned with a very rich booty, some galleys, and several smaller vessels, which they had taken, as also a great number of prisoners. They had likewise seized a galley richly laden, and in which were large quantities of tapestry, with other furniture, and a variety of rich robes, intended by Phila as a present to her husband Demetrius, and accompanied with letters which she herself had written to him. The Rhodians sent the whole, and even the letters, to Ptolemy, which exceedingly exasperated Demetrius. In this proceeding, says Plutarch, they did not imitate the polite conduct of the Athenians, who, having seized some of the couriers of Philip, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but those of Olympia, which they sent to Philip, sealed as they were. There are some rules of decency and honour which ought to be inviolably observed, even with enemies.

While the ships of the republic were employed in taking the prizes already mentioned, a great commotion happened at Rhodes, with respect to the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius, which had been erected in honour of them, and till then were held in the utmost veneration. Some of the principal citizens were solicitous, in a public assembly, for an order to destroy the statues of those princes who then harassed them with such a cruel war; but the people, who were more discreet and moderate on this occasion than their chiefs, would not suffer that proposal to be executed. So wise and equitable a conduct, exclusive of all events, did the Rhodians no small honour; but should their city have been taken, it could not have failed to inspire the conqueror with impressions in their favour.

Demetrius, having tried several mines without success, from their being all discovered and rendered ineffectual by the vigilant conduct and activity of the besieged, gave orders and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault, preparatory to which, the helepolis was moved to a situation from whence the city might be battered with the best effect. Each story of this formidable engine was furnished with catapultas and balistas, proportioned in their size to the dimensions of the place. It was likewise supported and fortified, on two of its sides, by four small machines, called tortoises, each of which had a covered gallery, to secure those who should either enter the helepolis or issue out of it, to execute different orders. On each side was a battering-ram of a prodigious size, consisting of a piece of timber thirty fathoms in length, armed with an iron terminating in a point, and as strong as the beak of a galley. These engines were mounted on wheels, and were made to batter the walls, during the attack, with incredible force, by near a thousand men.

When every thing was ready, Demetrius ordered the trumpets to sound, and the general assault to be given on all sides, both by sea and land. In the heat of the attack, and when the walls were already shaken by the battering-rams, ambassadors arrived from the Cnidians, and earnestly solicited Demetrius to suspend the assault, giving him hopes, at the same time, that they should prevail upon the besieged

to submit to an honourable capitulation. A suspension of arms was accordingly granted; but the Rhodians refusing to capitulate on the conditions proposed to them, the attack was renewed with so much fury, and all the machines co-operated so effectually, that a large tower, built with square stones, and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. The besieged fought like lions in the breach, and repulsed their enemies.

In this conjuncture, the vessels which Ptolemy had freighted with three hundred thousand measures of corn, and different kinds of pulse, for the Rhodians, arrived very seasonably in the port, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy's ships, which cruised in the neighbourhood, to intercept them. A few days after this relief, two other small fleets sailed into the port: one was sent by Cassander, with one hundred thousand bushels of barley; the other came from Lysimachus, with four hundred thousand bushels of corn, and as much barley. This seasonable and abundant supply, which was received when the city began to be in want of provisions, inspired the besieged with new courage, and they resolved not to surrender till the last extremity.

While they were animated in this manner, they attempted to fire the enemy's machines, and with this view ordered a body of soldiers to march out of the city the ensuing night with torches and all kinds of kindled wood. These troops advanced to the batteries and set them on fire, and at the same time innumerable arrows were shot from the walls, to support the detachment against those who should endeavour to extinguish the flames. The besiegers lost great numbers of their men on this occasion, because they were unable, in the obscurity of the night, either to see or avoid the volleys of arrows discharged against them. Several plates of iron happening to fall from the helepolis during the conflagration, the Rhodians advanced with impetuosity, in order to set it on fire; but as the troops within that moving tower quenched it with water as fast as the flames were kindled, they could not effect their design. Demetrius, however, was apprehensive that all his machines would be consumed — to prevent which, he caused them to be removed with all possible expedition.

Demetrius being curious to know what number of machines the besieged had employed in throwing arrows, caused all those which had been shot from the place, in the attack that night, to be gathered up; and when these were counted, and proper computation made, he became sensible that the inhabitants must have had more than eight hundred engines, of different dimensions, for discharging fires, and about one thousand five hundred for arrows. The prince was struck with consternation at this number, as he did not imagine the city could have made such formidable preparations. He caused his dead to be interred, gave directions for curing those who were wounded, and was as expeditious as possible in repairing the machines which had been dismounted and rendered useless.

The besieged, in order to improve the relaxation they enjoyed by the removal of the machines, were industrious to fortify themselves against a new assault, for which their enemies were then preparing.

To this purpose they began with opening a large and deep ditch behind the breach, to obstruct the passage of the enemy into the city; after which they raised a substantial wall, in the form of a crescent, along the ditch, which would compel the enemy to make a new attack.

As their attention was devoted, at the same time, to every other emergency, they detached a squadron of the swiftest ships in their port, which took a great number of vessels laden with provision and ammunition for Demetrius, and brought them into the port. These were soon followed by a numerous fleet of small vessels, freighted with corn and other necessaries, sent them by Ptolemy, with one thousand five hundred men, commanded by Antigonus of Macedonia.

Demetrius, having repaired his machines, caused them all to advance near the city, when a second embassy arrived at the camp, from the Athenians, and some other states of Greece, on the same subject as the former, but with as little success. The king, whose imagination was fruitful in expedients for succeeding in his projects, detached fifteen hundred of his troops, under the command of Alcimus and Mancius, with orders to enter the breach at midnight, and force the intrenchments behind it. They were then to possess themselves of the parts adjacent to the theatre, where they would be in a condition to maintain their ground, if they could but once make themselves masters of it. In order to facilitate the execution of so important and dangerous an expedition, and amuse the enemy with false attacks, he at the same time caused the signal to be sounded by all the trumpets, and the city to be attacked on all sides, both by sea and land, that the besieged finding sufficient employment in all parts, the fifteen hundred men might have an opportunity of forcing the intrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of seizing all the advantageous posts about the theatre. This feint was attended with the success which the prince had expected from it. The troops having shouted from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general assault, the detachment commanded by Alcimus entered the breach, and made such a vigorous attack upon those who defended the ditch, and the crescent which covered it, that after they had killed a great number of their enemies, and put the rest into confusion, they seized the post adjacent to the theatre, where they maintained themselves.

The alarm was very great in the city, and all the chiefs who commanded there despatched orders to their officers and soldiers not to quit their posts, nor make the least movement whatever; after which they placed themselves at the head of a chosen body of their own troops, and of those who had recently arrived from Egypt, and with them poured upon the detachment which had advanced as far as the theatre; but the obscurity of the night rendered it impracticable to dislodge them from the posts they had seized, and the day no sooner appeared than a universal cry of the besiegers was heard from all quarters, by which they endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground, where they might soon expect succours. This terrible cry drew floods of tears and dismal groans from the populace, women

and children, who continued in the city, and then concluded themselves inevitably lost. The battle, however, continued with great vigour at the theatre, and the Macedonians defended their post with an intrepidity that astonished their enemies, till at last, the Rhodians prevailing by their numbers and perpetual supplies of fresh troops, the detachment, after having seen Alcimus and Mancius slain on the spot, were obliged to submit to superior force, and abandon a post it was no longer possible to maintain. Great numbers of them fell on the spot, and the rest were taken prisoners.

The ardour of Demetrius was rather augmented than abated by this check, and he was making the necessary dispositions for a new assault when he received letters from his father, Antigonus, by which he was directed to take all possible measures for the conclusion of a peace with the Rhodians. He then wanted some plausible pretext for discontinuing the siege, and chance supplied him with it. At that very instant, deputies from Ætolia arrived at his camp to solicit him anew to grant a peace to the Rhodians, to which they found him not so averse as before.

If what Vegetius relates of the helepolis be true, and Vitruvius seems to confirm it, with but a small variation of circumstances, it might possibly be another motive that contributed not a little to dispose Demetrius to a peace. That prince was preparing to advance his helepolis against the city, when a Rhodian engineer contrived an expedient to render it entirely useless: he opened a mine under the walls of the city, and continued it to the way over which the tower was to pass, the ensuing day, in order to approach the walls. The besiegers, not suspecting any stratagem of that nature, moved on the tower to a place undermined, which, being incapable of supporting so enormous a load, sunk in under the machine, which buried itself so deep in the earth, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This was one inconvenience to which these formidable engines were liable; and the two authors whom I have cited declare, that this accident determined Demetrius to raise the siege; and it is, at least, very probable, that it contributed not a little to his taking that resolution.¹

The Rhodians, on their part, were as desirous of an accommodation as himself, provided it could be effected upon reasonable terms. Ptolemy, in promising them fresh succours, much more considerable than the former, had earnestly exhorted them not to lose so favourable an occasion, if it should offer itself. Besides which, they were sensible of the extreme necessity they were under of putting an end to the siege, which could not but prove fatal to them at last. This consideration induced them to listen with pleasure to the proposals made them, and the treaty was concluded soon after, upon the following terms. The republic of Rhodes, and all its citizens, should retain the enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and liberty, without being subjected to any power whatever; the alliance they had always had with Antigonus, was to be confirmed and renewed, with an obligation to take up arms for him in all future wars, provided it was not against

¹ Veget. de Re Milit. c. 4.

Ptolemy. The city was also to deliver one hundred hostages, to be chosen by Demetrius, for the faithful performance of the articles stipulated between them. When these hostages were given, the army decamped from before Rhodes, after having besieged it a year.

Demetrius, who was then reconciled with the Rhodians, was desirous, before his departure, to give them a proof of that disposition; and accordingly presented them with all the machines of war he had employed in that siege. These were afterwards sold for three hundred talents, which they employed, with an additional sum of their own, in making the famous Colossus, one of the seven wonders of the world. It was a statue of the sun, of so stupendous a size, that ships, in full sail, passed between its legs; the height of it was seventy cubits, or one hundred and five feet, and few men could clasp its thumb with their arms. It was the work of Ceres, of Lindus, and employed him for the space of twelve years. Sixty-six years after its erection, it was thrown down by an earthquake, of which we shall speak in the sequel of this history.¹

The Rhodians, to testify their gratitude to Ptolemy for the assistance he had given them in so dangerous a conjuncture, consecrated a grove to that prince, after they had consulted the oracle of Jupiter-Ammon, to give the action an air of solemnity; and to honour him the more, erected a magnificent work within it. They built a sumptuous portico, and continued it along each side of the square which encompassed it, containing a space of four hundred fathoms. This portico was called the Ptolemæon; and, with a flattery peculiar to those days, and impious in itself, divine honours were rendered to him in that place. To perpetuate the name of their deliverer in this war, they also gave him the appellation of Soter, which signifies a saviour, and is used by historians to distinguish him from the other Ptolemies, who were his successors on the throne of Egypt.

I was unwilling to interrupt the series of events that occurred at this siege, and therefore reserved for this place one that greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius. It relates to his taste for the arts, and the esteem he entertained for those who were distinguished by peculiar merit in them; a circumstance highly meritorious in a prince.

Rhodes was at that time the residence of a celebrated painter, named Protogenes, who was a native of Caunus, a city of Caria, which was then subject to the Rhodians. The apartment where he painted was in the suburbs, without the city, when Demetrius first besieged it; but neither the presence of the enemies who then surrounded him, nor the noise of arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or discontinue his work. The king was surprised at his conduct; and as he one day asked him his reasons for such a proceeding, "It is," replied he, "because I am sensible you have declared war against the Rhodians, and not against the sciences." Nor was he deceived in that opinion; for Demetrius actually showed himself their protector. He planted a guard round his house, that

the artist might enjoy tranquillity, or, at least, be secure from danger amidst the tumult and ravages of war. He frequently went to see him work, and greatly admired the application and excellence of that master in his art.

The master-piece of this painter was the *Jalysus*, a historical picture of a person of that name, whom the Rhodians acknowledged as their founder, though only a fabulous hero.¹ Protogenes had employed seven years in finishing this piece: and when Apelles first saw it, he was transported with so much admiration, that his speech failed him for some time: and when he at last began to recover from his astonishment, he cried out, "Prodigious work indeed! Admirable performance! It has not, however, the graces I give my works, and which have raised their reputation to the skies." If we may credit Pliny, Protogenes, during the whole time he applied himself to this work, condemned himself to a very rigid and abstemious life, that the delicacy of his taste and imagination might not be affected by his diet.² This picture was carried to Rome, and consecrated in the temple of Peace, where it remained to the time of Pliny; but it was at last destroyed by fire.

Pliny also pretends, that Rhodes was saved by this picture; because, as it hung in the only quarter by which it was possible for Demetrius to take the city, he rather chose to abandon his conquest,³ than expose so precious a monument of art to the danger of being consumed in the flames. This, indeed, would have been carrying his taste and value for painting to a surprising extreme; but we have already seen the true reasons which obliged Demetrius to raise the siege.

One of the figures in this piece was a dog, which was admired by all good judges, and had cost the painter great application, without his being able to express his idea to his own satisfaction, though he was sufficiently pleased with all the rest of his work. He endeavoured to represent the dog panting, and with his mouth foaming as after a long chase; and employed all the skill he was capable of exerting on that occasion, without being able to content himself. Art, in his opinion, was more visible than it ought to have been; a mere resemblance would not suffice, and almost nothing but reality itself would satisfy him. He was desirous that the foam should not seem painted, but actually flowing out of the mouth of the dog. He frequently retouched it, and suffered a degree of torture from his anxiety to express those simple traces of nature, of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. All his attempts were however ineffectual, till at last, in a violent emotion of rage and despair, he darted at the picture the very sponge with which he used to wipe out his colours, and chance accomplished that which art had not been able to effect.⁴

¹ He was the son of Orchimus, whose parents were the Sun and Rhoda, from whom the city and island derived their name.

² He subsisted on boiled lupines, a kind of pulse, which satisfied his hunger and thirst at the same time.

³ *Parcentum picturae, fugit occasio victoriae.*

⁴ *Est in ea canis mire factus, ut quem pariter casus et ars pinxerint. Non judicabat se exprimere in eo spumam anhelantis posse, cum in reliqua omni parte (quod difficillimum erat) sibi ipsi satisfecisset. Despiciebat autem ars ipsa, nec minui poterat, et videbatur sibi ac*

This painter is censured for being too difficult to be pleased, and for retouching his pictures too frequently. It is certain that though Apelles almost regarded him as his master, and allowed him a number of excellent qualities, yet he condemned in him the defect of not being able to quit the pencil and finish his works; a defect highly pernicious in eloquence as well as painting.¹ "We ought," says Cicero, "to know how far we should go; and Apelles justly censured some painters for not knowing when to have done."²

SECTION IX. — EXPEDITION OF SELEUCUS. CASSANDER COMPELLED TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF ATHENS. ANTIGONUS SLAIN.

THE farther we advance into the history of Alexander's successors, the more easily may we discover the spirit by which they were constantly actuated hitherto, and by which they will still appear to be influenced. They at first concealed their real disposition, by nominating children, or persons of weak capacities, to the regal dignity, in order to disguise their own ambitious views. But as soon as all the family of Alexander was destroyed, they threw off the mask, and discovered themselves in their proper colours, and such as, in reality, they had always been. They were all equally solicitous to support themselves in their several governments; to become entirely independent; to assume an absolute sovereignty, and enlarge the limits of their provinces and kingdoms at the expense of those other governors who were weaker or less successful than themselves. To this end, they employed the force of their arms, and entered into alliances, which they were always ready to violate, when they could derive more advantage from others; and they renewed them with the same facility from the same motives. They considered the vast conquests of Alexander as an inheritance destitute of a master, and which prudence obliged them to secure for themselves, in as large portions as possible, without any apprehensions of being reproached as usurpers, for the acquisition of countries gained by the victories of the Macedonians, but not the property of any particular person. This was the great motive of all the enterprises in which they engaged.

Seleucus, as we formerly observed, was master of all the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus, and was desirous of acquiring those that lay beyond the latter of these rivers. In order, therefore, to improve the favourable conjuncture of his union, in point of interest, with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, and at a time when the forces of Antigonus were divided, and Demetrius was employed in the siege of Rhodes, and in awing the republics of Greece — in a

longius a veritate discedere, spumaque illa pingi non ex ore nasci, anxio animi cruciatu cum in pictura verum esse, non verisimile, vellet. Abstersetar sæpius mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo sibi approbans. Postremo iratus arti quod intelligeretur, spongiam eam impegit in viso loco tabulæ, et illa reposuit ablatis colores, qualiter cura optabat: fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam.—Plin. l. xxxv. c. 10.

¹ Et aliam gloriam usurpavit Apelles, cum Protogenis opus immensi laboris ac curæ supra modum anxie miraretur. Dixit enim omnia sibi cum illo paria esse, aut illi meliora, sed uno se præstare, quod manum ille de tabula nesciret tollere: memorabili præcepto, nocere sæpe nimiam diligentiam.—Plin. l. xxxv. c. 10.

² In omnibus rebus vivendum est quatenus—In quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebat, qui non sentirent quid esset satia.—Orat. n. 78.

word, while Antigonus himself was only intent upon becoming master of Syria and Phœnicia, and attacking Ptolemy even in Egypt itself — Seleucus, therefore, thought it incumbent on him to improve this diversion, which weakened the only enemy he had to fear for carrying his arms against the people of India, who were included in his lot by the general partition, and whom he hoped it would be very practicable for him to subdue by a sudden irruption, altogether unexpected by king Sandrocutta. This person was an Indian of very mean extraction, who, under the specious pretext of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raised an army, and augmented it so well by degrees, that he found means to drive the Macedonians out of all the provinces of India which Alexander had conquered, and to establish himself in them, while the successors of that monarch were engaged in mutual wars with each other. Seleucus passed the Indus in order to regain those provinces; but when he found that Sandrocutta had rendered himself absolute master of all India, and had likewise an army of six hundred thousand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it prudent to attack so potent a prince, but entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to renounce all his pretensions to that country, provided Sandrocutta would furnish him with five hundred elephants; upon which terms a peace was concluded. This was the result of Alexander's Indian conquests! this the fruit of so much bloodshed, to gratify the frantic ambition of one prince! Seleucus shortly after led his troops into the west, against Antigonus, as I shall soon observe. The absolute necessity he was under of engaging in this war, was one of the strongest inducements for concluding so sudden a peace with the Indian prince.¹

The Athenians, at the same time, called in Demetrius to assist them against Cassander, who besieged their city. He accordingly set sail with three hundred and thirty galleys, and a great body of foot, and not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but pursued him as far as Thermopylæ, where he defeated him, and made himself master of Heraclea, which surrendered voluntarily. He also admitted into his service six thousand Macedonians, who came over to his side.²

When he returned to Athens, the inhabitants of that city, though they had always lavished upon him all the honours they were able to invent, had recourse to new flatteries that outdid the former. They lodged him in the back part of the temple of Minerva, called Partheon; but even this place, which had so much sanctity ascribed to it by the people, and was the mansion of a virgin goddess, he did not scruple to profane by the most infamous and crying debaucheries. His courtesans were there treated with more honour than the goddess herself, and were the only divinities he adored. He even caused altars to be erected to them by the Athenians, whom he called abject wretches, for their mean compliance, and creatures born only for

¹ A. M. 3701. Ant. J. C. 303.

² Diod. l. xx. p. 825—828. Plut. in Demet. p. 899

slavery — so much was even the prince shocked at such despicable adulation,¹ as Tacitus observed with respect to Tiberius.²

Democles, surnamed the Fair, and of a very tender age, threw himself, in order to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a vessel of boiling water, prepared for a bath, and there lost his life, choosing rather to die than violate his modesty. The Athenians, to appease the resentment of Demetrius, who was extremely offended at a decree they had published relating to him, issued a new one, importing, "that it was ordered and adjudged by the people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius might think fit to command, should be considered as sacred in regard to the gods, and just with regard to men." Is it possible to believe that flattery and servitude could be carried to such an excess of baseness, extravagance, and irreligion?

Demetrius, after these proceedings, retired into Peloponnesus, and took from Ptolemy, who had rendered himself powerful in that country, the cities of Sicyon, Corinth, and several others, where he had garrisons; and as he happened to be at Argos, at the grand festival in honour of Juno, he was desirous of celebrating it, by proposing prizes, and presiding in person among the Greeks. In order to solemnize it more effectually, he espoused, on that day, Deidamia, the daughter of *Æacides*, king of the Molossians, and sister of *Pyrrhus*.

The states of Greece being assembled in the isthmus, and curiosity having drawn a vast number of people from all parts, Demetrius was proclaimed general of all the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been before him; to whom he thought himself far superior, so much was he intoxicated with the success of his arms and the flattery lavished upon him.³

When he was about to depart from Peloponnesus for Athens, he wrote to the inhabitants of that city that he intended, upon his arrival among them, to be initiated into the greater and lesser mysteries at the same time. This had never been permitted before, for it was necessary to observe certain intervals, it being lawful to celebrate the lesser mysteries only in the month of March, and the greater in that of October.⁴ In order, therefore, to obviate this inconvenience, and satisfy so religious a prince, it was ordered that the then present month of May should be deemed the month of March, and afterwards that of October; and Demetrius, by this rare invention, was duly initiated, without infringing the customs and ceremonies prescribed by the law.

But of all the abuses committed at Athens, that which most afflicted and mortified the inhabitants was an order issued by Demetrius for immediately furnishing the sum of two hundred and fifty talents; and when this money had been collected, without the least

¹ Athen. l. vi. p. 258.

² *Memorie proditur, Tiberium, quoties curia egrederetur, Græcis verbis in hunc modum loqui solitum: "O homines ad servitutem paratos!" Scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projectæ servitutem patientiæ tædebat. — Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 65.*

³ Plut. in Demet. p. 900.

⁴ There are various opinions with relation to the months in which these mysteries were celebrated.

delay or abatement, the prince, the moment he saw it amassed together, ordered it to be given to Lamia and the other courtesans in her company, for washes and paint. The Athenians were more offended at the indignity than the loss, and resented the application of that sum with more ardour than they had shown in contributing to it.

Lamia, as if this terrible expense had not been sufficient, being desirous to regale Demetrius at a feast, extorted money from several of the richest of the Athenians, by her own private authority. The entertainment cost immense sums, and gave birth to a very ingenious pleasantry of a comic poet, who said, that Lamia was a true helepolis. We have already shown that the helepolis was a machine invented by Demetrius for attacking towns.

Cassander, finding himself vigorously pressed by Demetrius, and not being able to obtain a peace, without submitting entirely to the discretion of Antigonus, agreed with Lysimachus to send ambassadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, to represent to them the situation to which they were reduced. The conduct of Antigonus made it evident, that he had no less in view, than to dispossess all the other successors of Alexander, and usurp the whole empire to himself; and that it was time to form a strict alliance with each other, to humble this exorbitant power. They were likewise offended, and Lysimachus in particular, at the contemptible manner in which Demetrius permitted people to treat other kings in their conversation at his table, appropriating a regal title to himself and his father; whereas Ptolemy, according to his flatterers, was no more than the captain of a ship; Seleucus a commander of elephants; and Lysimachus a treasurer. A confederacy was therefore formed by these four kings, after which they hastened into Assyria, to make preparations for this new war.¹

The first operations of it were commenced at the Hellespont; Cassander and Lysimachus having judged it expedient that the former should continue in Europe, to defend it against Demetrius, and that the latter should invade the provinces of Antigonus in Asia, with as many troops as could be drawn out of their own kingdom, without leaving them too destitute of forces. Lysimachus executed his part conformably to the agreement, passed the Hellespont with a fine army, and either by treaty or force, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycania, and most of the territories between the Propontis and the river Mæander.

Antigonus was then at Antigonía, which he had lately built in Upper Syria, and where he was employed in celebrating the solemn games he had there established. This news, with that of several other revolts, transmitted to him at the same time, caused him immediately to quit his games. He accordingly dismissed the assembly upon the spot, and made preparations for advancing against the enemy. When all his troops were drawn together, he marched with the utmost expedition over Mount Taurus, and entered Cilicia, where he took out of the

¹ A. M. 8702. Ant. J. C. 302. Diod. l. xx. p. 830—836. Plut. in Demet. p. 899. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

public treasury of Synada, a city of that province, as much money as he wanted, and then augmented his troops to the number he thought necessary; after which he advanced directly toward the enemy, and retook several places in his march. Lysimachus thought proper to be upon the defensive, till the arrival of the succours upon their march to join him from Seleucus and Ptolemy. The remaining part of the year, therefore, elapsed without any action, and each party retired into winter-quarters.

Seleucus, at the beginning of the next season, formed his army at Babylon, and marched into Cappadocia, to act against Antigonus. This latter sent immediately for Demetrius, who left Greece with great expedition, marched to Ephesus, and retook that city, with several others that had declared for Lysimachus upon his arrival in Asia.¹

Ptolemy employed the opportunity in Syria, of the absence of Antigonus, and recovered all Phœnicia, Judea, and Cœlo-syria, except the cities of Tyre and Sidon, where Antigonus had left good garrisons. He, indeed, formed the siege of Sidon; but while his troops were employed in battering the walls, he received intelligence that Antigonus had defeated Seleucus and Lysimachus, and was advancing to relieve the place. Upon this information he made a truce for five months with the Sidonians, raised the siege, and returned to Egypt.

Here ends what remains of the history of Diodorus Siculus, in a period of the greatest importance, and on the very point of a battle, by which the fate of Alexander's successors is to be decided.

The confederate army, commanded by Seleucus and Lysimachus, and the troops of Antigonus and Demetrius, arrived at Phrygia almost at the same time, but did not long confront each other without coming to blows. Antigonus had more than sixty thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The enemy's forces consisted of sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, and one hundred and twenty chariots armed with scythes. The battle was fought near Ipsus, a city of Phrygia.²

As soon as the signal was given, Demetrius, at the head of his best cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, and behaved with so much bravery, that he broke the enemy's ranks, and put them to flight; but a rash and inconsiderate thirst of glory, which generals can never suspect too much, and has been fatal to many, prompted Demetrius to pursue the fugitives with too much ardour, and without any consideration for the rest of the army; by which means he lost the victory he might easily have secured, had he improved his first advantage rightly: for when he returned from the pursuit, he found it impracticable for him to rejoin his infantry, the enemy's elephants having occupied all the intermediate space. When Seleucus saw the infantry of Antigonus separated from their cavalry, he only made several feint attacks upon them, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on another, in order to intimidate and afford them sufficient time to quit the army of Antigonus, and come over to his own; and

¹ A. M. 3703. Ant. J. C. 301.

² Plut. in Demet. p. 902.

this was at last the expedient on which they resolved. The greatest part of the infantry separated from the rest, and surrendered in a voluntary manner to Seleucus, and the other was put to flight.

At the same instant, a large body of the army of Seleucus drew off by his order, and made a furious attack upon Antigonus, who sustained their efforts for some time; but being at last overwhelmed with darts, and having received many wounds, he fell dead, having defended himself valiantly to the last. Demetrius, seeing his father dead, rallied all the troops he was able to draw together, and retired to Ephesus, with five thousand foot, and four thousand horse; which were all that remained of more than sixty thousand men whom his father and himself commanded at the beginning of the engagement. The great Pyrrhus, young as he then was, was inseparable from Demetrius, overthrew all that opposed him, and gave an essay, in this first action, of what might be expected one day from his valour and bravery.¹

CHAPTER II.

This second chapter includes the space of fifty-five years; namely, the last fifteen years of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who had already reigned twenty-three, which, with the other fifteen, make thirty-eight; and forty-eight years more, being the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

SECTION I. — THE FOUR VICTORIOUS PRINCES DIVIDE THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT INTO AS MANY KINGDOMS.

AFTER the battle of Ipsus, the four confederate princes divided the dominions of Antigonus among themselves, and added them to those they already possessed. The empire of Alexander was thus divided into four kingdoms, of which Ptolemy had Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Coelo-syria, and Palestine; Cassander had Macedonia and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces beyond the Hellespont, with the Bosphorus; and Seleucus, all the rest of Asia to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus. The dominions of this last prince are usually called the kingdom of Syria, because Seleucus, who afterwards built Antioch in that province, made it the chief seat of his residence, in which he was followed by his successors, who, from his name were called Seleucidæ. This kingdom, however, not only included Syria, but those vast and fertile provinces of Upper Asia, which constituted the Persian empire. The reign of twenty years, which I have assigned to Seleucus Nicator, commences at this period, because he was not acknowledged as king till after the battle of Ipsus; and if we add to these the twelve years, during which he exercised the regal authority without the title, they will make out the reign of thirty-one years assigned to him by Bishop Usher.²

These four kings are the four horns of the he-goat in the prophecy

¹ Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 384.

² Plut. in Demet. p. 902. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Polyb. l. xv. p. 572.

of Daniel, who succeeded in the place of the first horn that was broken. The first horn was Alexander, king of Greece, who destroyed the empire of the Medes and Persians, designated by the ram with two horns; and the four horns, are those four kings who rose up after him, and divided his empire among them, but they were not of his posterity.¹

They are likewise represented by the four heads of the leopard, which are introduced in another part of the same prophecy.²

These prophecies of Daniel were fully accomplished by this last partition of Alexander's empire; other divisions had, indeed, been made before this, but they were only of provinces, which were consigned to governors, under the brother and son of Alexander, and none but the last was the legal partition. These prophecies, therefore, are to be understood of this alone, for they evidently represent these four successors of Alexander, in the quality of four kings, "four stood up for it." But not one of Alexander's successors obtained the regal dignity till about three years before the last division of the empire. And even this dignity was at first precarious, being assumed by each of the several parties, merely by his own authority, and not acknowledged by any of the rest. Whereas, after the battle of Ipsus, the treaty made between the four confederates, when they had defeated their adversary, and divested him of his dominions, assigned each of them their dominions under the appellation of so many kingdoms, and authorized and acknowledged them as kings and sovereigns, independent of any superior power. These four kings are, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus.

We can never sufficiently admire, in this and the other places, wherein the completion of the prophecies of Daniel will be observed, the strong light with which the prophet penetrates the thick gloom of futurity, at a time when there was not the least appearance of any thing he foretells. With how much certainty and exactness, even amidst the variety of these revolutions, and a chaos of singular events, does he determine each particular circumstance, and fix the number of the several successors! How expressly has he pointed out the nation that was to be the Grecian; described the countries they were to possess; measured the duration of their empires, and the extent of their power, inferior to that of Alexander; in a word, with what lively colours has he drawn the characters of those princes, and specified their alliances, treaties, treachery, marriages, and success! Can any

¹ "And as I was considering, behold, a he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which he had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore, the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and, for it, came up four notable horns, towards the four winds of heaven." Dan. chap. viii. ver. 5, 6, 7, 8.—God afterwards explains to his prophet what he had seen: "The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia, and the rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king. Now, that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power." Ibid. ver. 20, 21, 22.

² "After this I beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it." Dan. vii. 6

one possibly ascribe to chance, or human foresight, so many circumstantial predictions, which, at the time of their being denounced, were so remote from probability; and may we not evidently discover in them the character and traces of the Divinity, to whom, all ages are present in one view, and who, alone determines, at his will, the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world? But, it is now time for us to resume the thread of our history.

Onias, the first of that name, and high-priest of the Jews, died about this time, and was succeeded by his son Simon, who, for the sanctity of his life, and the equity of all his actions, was surnamed the Just. He enjoyed the pontificate for the space of nine years.¹

Seleucus, after the death of Antigonus, made himself master of Upper Syria, where he built Antioch on the Orontes, and gave it that name, either from his father, or his son, for they were both called Antiochus. This city, where the Syrian kings afterwards resided, was the capitol of the east for a long time, and still preserved that privilege under the Roman emperors. Antigonus had lately built a city at a small distance from this, and called it Antigonia; but Seleucus had entirely demolished it, and employed the materials in the construction of his own city, to which he afterwards transplanted the inhabitants of the former.²

Among several other cities built by Seleucus in this country, there were three more remarkable than the others; the first called Seleucia, from his own name; the second Apamea, from his consort of that name, who was the daughter of Artabazus the Persian: and the third Laodicea, so denominated from his mother. Apamea and Seleucia were situated on the same river on which Antioch was built, and Laodicea was in the southern part of the same quarter. He allowed the Jews the same privileges and immunities in each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, and especially at Antioch in Syria, where that people settled in such numbers, that they possessed as considerable a part of that city as their other countrymen enjoyed at Alexandria.³

Demetrius had withdrawn himself to Ephesus after the battle of Ipsus, and from thence embarked for Greece; his whole resource being limited to the affection of the Athenians, with whom he had left his fleet, money, and wife Deidamia. But he was strangely surprised and offended, when he was met in his way by ambassadors from the Athenians, who came to acquaint him that he could not be admitted into their city, because the people had, by a decree, prohibited the reception of any of the kings. They also informed him, that his consort, Deidamia, had been conducted to Megara, with all the honours and attendance due to her dignity. Demetrius was then sensible of the value of honours and homages extorted by fear, and which did not proceed from the will. The posture of his affairs not permitting him to revenge the perfidy of that people, he contented

¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

² A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300. Strab. l. xvi. p. 749, 750. Appian. in Syr. p. 124. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

³ Strab. l. xvi p. 750.

himself with intimating his complaints to them in a moderate manner, and demanded his galleys, among which was that prodigious galley of sixteen benches of oars. As soon as he had received them he sailed towards the Chersonesus; and having committed some devastations in the territories of Lysimachus, he enriched his army with the spoils, and by that expedient prevented the desertion of his troops, who now began to recover their vigour, and render themselves again formidable.

Lysimachus, king of Thrace, in order to strengthen himself in his dominions, entered into a particular treaty with Ptolemy, and strengthened the alliance between them, by espousing one of his daughters, named Arsinoe; shortly after which, his son Agathocles married another.

This double alliance between Lysimachus and Ptolemy gave umbrage to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius, and espoused Stratonice, the daughter of that prince, by Phila, the sister of Cassander. The beauty of that princess had induced Seleucus to demand her in marriage; and as the affairs of Demetrius were at that time in a very bad condition, so honourable an alliance, with so powerful a prince, was exceedingly agreeable to him; in consequence of which, he immediately conducted his daughter, with all his fleet, into Syria, from Greece, where he was still in possession of some places. During his passage, he made a descent on Cilicia, which then belonged to Plistarchus, the brother of Cassander, to whom it had been assigned by the four kings who divided the dominions of Alexander the Great after the death of Antigonus. Plistarchus went to complain of this proceeding to Seleucus, and to reproach him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy, without the consent of the other kings, which he considered as an infraction of the treaty. Demetrius, receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of Synada, where the treasures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents, were deposited. These he carried off with all expedition to his fleet, and then set sail for Syria, where he found Seleucus, and gave him the princess Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius, after some days passed in rejoicings for the nuptials, and entertainments given on each side, returned to Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province. He then sent his wife Phila to Cassander, in order to excuse his proceeding. These kings imitated the princes of the East, with whom it is customary to have several wives at the same time.¹

During these transactions of Demetrius, Deidamia, another of his wives, who had taken a journey to meet him in Greece, and had passed some time with him in that country, was seized with an indisposition that terminated in her death. Demetrius having reconciled himself with Ptolemy, by the mediation of Seleucus, espoused Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy, by which means his affairs began to assume a better aspect; for he had all the island of Cyprus, and the two rich and powerful cities of Tyre and Sidon, besides his new conquests in Cilicia.²

¹ A. M. 3705. Ant. J. C. 299. Plut. in Demet. p. 903.

² A. M. 3706. Ant. J. C. 298

It was very imprudent in Seleucus to permit so dangerous an enemy to establish himself at so small a distance from him, and to usurp from one of his allies a province so near his own dominions as Cilicia. All this shows that these princes had no established rules and principles of conduct, and were even ignorant of the true interests of their ambition; for as to faith of treaty, equity, and gratitude, they had long since renounced them all, and only reigned for the unhappiness of their people, as the author of the first book of Maccabees has observed.¹

The eyes of Seleucus were, however, open at last, and in order to prevent his having a neighbour of such abilities on each side of his dominions, he required Demetrius to surrender Cilicia to him for a very considerable sum of money; but that prince not being disposed to comply with such a proposal, Seleucus insisted upon his restoring him the cities of Tyre and Sidon, that depended on Syria, of which he was king. Demetrius, enraged at this demand, replied very abruptly, that though he should lose several other battles as fatal to him as that of Ipsus, he should never resolve to purchase the friendship of Seleucus at so high a price. At the same time he sailed to those two cities, where he reinforced their garrisons, and furnished them with all things necessary for a vigorous defence; by which means the intention of Seleucus to take them from him was rendered ineffectual at that time. This proceeding of Seleucus was very conformable to the rules of political interest, but had such an odious aspect with reference to the maxims of honour, that it shocked all mankind, and was universally condemned; for as his dominions were of such a vast extent as to include all the countries between India and the Mediterranean, how insatiable was that rigour and avidity which would not permit him to leave his father-in-law in the peaceable enjoyment of the shattered remains of his fortune!

Cassander died about this time, of a dropsy, after having governed Macedonia for the space of nine years from the death of his father, and six or seven from the last partition. He left three sons by Thesalonica, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great. Philip, who succeeded him, and died soon after, left the crown to be contested by his two brothers.²

Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, had espoused Antigone, a relation of Ptolemy, in Egypt. This young prince was the son of Æacides, whom the Molossians, in a revolt, had expelled from the throne; and it was with great difficulty that Pyrrhus himself, then an infant at the breast, was preserved from the fury of the revolvers, who pursued him with intent to destroy him. After various adventures, he was conducted to the court of king Glaucias, in Illyria, where he was taken into the protection of that prince. Cassander, the mortal enemy of Æacides, solicited the king to deliver the young prince into his hands, and offered him two hundred talents on that occasion. Glaucias, however, was struck with horror at such a proposal, and when the infant had attained the twelfth year of his age.

¹ Chap. i. ver. 9, 10.

² A. M. 3707. Ant. J. C. 297.

he conducted him in person to Epirus, with a powerful army, and reinstated him in his dominions, by which means the Molossians were compelled to submit to force. Justin tells us, that their hatred being softened into compassion, they themselves recalled him, and assigned him guardians to govern his kingdom till he should be of age himself; but there seems to be no great probability in his account.¹

When he had attained his seventeenth year, he began to think himself sufficiently established on the throne, and set out from his capital city for Illyria, in order to be present at the nuptials of one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been brought up. The Molossians, taking advantage of his absence, revolted a second time, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized all his treasures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus, his great-uncle. Pyrrhus being thus divested of his dominions, and finding himself destitute of all succours, retired to his brother-in-law, Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had espoused his sister, Deidamia.

This young prince distinguished himself among the bravest in the battle that was fought in the plains of Ipsus, and would not forsake Demetrius even after he was defeated. He also preserved for him those Grecian cities which that prince had confided to him, and when a treaty of peace was concluded between Ptolemy and Demetrius, by the mediation of Seleucus, Pyrrhus went into Egypt as a hostage for his brother-in-law.

During his continuance at the court of Ptolemy, he gave sufficient proofs of his strength, address, and extraordinary patience, in hunting exercises, and all other labours. Observing, that of all the wives of Ptolemy, Berenice had the greatest ascendant over him, and that she surpassed the others in prudence as well as beauty, he attached himself to her in particular; for as he was already an able politician, he neglected no opportunity of making his court to those on whom his fortune depended, and was studious to ingratiate himself with such persons as were capable of being useful to him. His noble and engaging demeanour procured him such a share of Ptolemy's esteem, that he gave him Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, his favourite consort, in preference to several young princes, who demanded her in marriage. This lady was the daughter of Berenice, by Philip, her first husband, who was a Macedonian lord, little known with respect to any other particular. When Pyrrhus had espoused Antigone, the queen had so much influence over her consort, as to induce him to grant his son-in-law a fleet, with a supply of money, which enabled him to repossess himself of his dominions. Here began the fortune of an exiled prince, who was afterwards esteemed the greatest general of his age; and it must be acknowledged, that every instance of his early conduct denoted extraordinary merit, and raised great expectations of his future glory.

Athens, as we have already said, revolted from Demetrius, and shut her gates against him.² But when that prince thought he had

¹ Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 383—385.

² A. M. 3708. Ant. J. C. 296. Plut. in Demet. p. 904, 906.

sufficiently provided for the security of his territories in Asia, he marched against that rebellious and ungrateful city, with a resolution to punish her as she deserved. The first year was employed in the reduction of the Messenians, and the conquest of some other cities which had quitted his party; but he returned the next season to Athens, which he closely blocked up and reduced to the last extremity, by cutting off all communication of provisions. A fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, sent by king Ptolemy to succour the Athenians, and which appeared on the coast of Ægina, afforded them but a transient joy; for when this naval force saw a strong fleet arrive from Peloponnesus, to the assistance of Demetrius, beside a great number of other vessels from Cyprus, and that the whole amounted to three hundred, they weighed anchor and fled.¹

Although the Athenians had issued a decree, by which they made it a capital crime for any person even to mention a peace with Demetrius, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, obliged them to open their gates to him. When he entered the city, he commanded the inhabitants to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with armed troops, and posted his guards on each side of the stage where the dramatic pieces were performed; and then descending from the upper part of the theatre, in the manner usual with the actors, he showed himself to that multitude, who seemed rather dead than living, and waited for the event in inexpressible terror, expecting it would prove the sentence for their destruction; but he dissipated their apprehensions by the first expressions he uttered; for he did not raise his voice like a man affected with the emotions of rage, nor deliver himself in any passionate or insulting language, but softened the tone of his voice, and only addressed himself to them in gentle complaints and amicable expostulations. He pardoned their offence, and restored them to his favour; presenting them at the same time, with one hundred thousand measures of corn, and reinstating such magistrates as were most agreeable to them. The joy of this people may be easily conceived from the terrors with which they were before affected; and how glorious must such a prince be, who could always support so glorious, so admirable a character!

When he had regulated the state of affairs in Athens, he determined to reduce the Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, their king, advanced as far as Mantinæa to meet him; but Demetrius defeated him in a great battle, and obliged him to have recourse to flight. After which he advanced into Laconia, and fought another battle in the very sight of Sparta. He was again victorious; five hundred of the enemy were made prisoners, and two hundred killed upon the spot, so that he was already considered as master of the city, which had never been taken before.

In that important moment, he received intelligence which affected him in a quite different manner. Namely, that Lysimachus had lately divested him of all his territories in Asia; that Ptolemy had made a descent on Cyprus, and conquered all the Island, except Sala-

¹ A. M. 3709. Ant. J. C. 295.

mina, where the mother of Demetrius, with his wife and children, had retired; and that the king of Egypt carried on the siege of that city with great vigour. Demetrius left all to fly to their assistance, but was soon informed that the place had surrendered. Ptolemy had the generosity to give the mother, wife, and children of his enemy, their liberty without any ransom, and to dismiss them with all their attendants and effects. He even made them magnificent presents at their departure, which he accompanied with all imaginable marks of honour.

The loss of Cyprus was soon succeeded by that of Tyre and Sidon; and Seleucus dispossessed him of Cilicia on another side. Thus, in a very short time, he saw himself divested of all his dominions, without any resources, or hopes for the future.

SECTION II.—DISPUTE BETWEEN THE TWO SONS OF CASSANDER. DEMETRIUS PROCLAIMED KING OF MACEDONIA.

No prince was ever exposed to greater vicissitudes of fortune, or ever experienced more sudden changes, than Demetrius. He exposed himself to these events by his imprudence, amusing himself with inconsiderable conquests, while he abandoned his provinces to the first invader. His great successes were immediately followed by his being dispossessed of all his dominions, and almost reduced to despair, when suddenly an unexpected resource offered itself from a quarter where he had not the least reason to expect it.

In the quarrel between the two sons of Cassander for the crown, Thessalonica, their mother, favoured Alexander, who was the youngest; which so enraged Antipater, the eldest son, that he killed her with his own hands, though she conjured him, by the breasts which had nourished him, to spare her life. Alexander, in order to avenge this unnatural barbarity, solicited the assistance of Pyrrhus and Demetrius. Pyrrhus arrived first, and made himself master of several cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as a compensation for the aid he had given Alexander; and he returned to his own dominions, after he had reconciled the two brothers. Demetrius made his approach at the same instant, upon which Alexander advanced to meet him; and testified, at the interview between them, all imaginable gratitude and friendship; but represented to him, at the same time, that the state of his affairs was changed, and that he no longer had any need of his assistance. Demetrius was displeased with this compliment, while Alexander, who dreaded the greatness of his power, was apprehensive of subjecting himself to a master, should he admit him into his dominions. They, however, conversed together with an external air of friendship, and entertained each other with reciprocal feasts, till at last Demetrius, upon some intelligence, either true or feigned, that Alexander intended to destroy him, prevented the execution of that design, and killed him. This murder armed the Macedonians against him at first, but when he had acquainted them with all the particulars that occasioned his conduct, the aversion they entertained for Antipater, the infamous murderer of his own mother, induced them to declare for Demetrius, and they accordingly pro-

claimed him king of Macedonia. Demetrius possessed this crown for the space of seven years, and Antipater fled into Thrace, where he did not long survive the loss of his kingdom.¹

One of the branches of the royal family of Philip, king of Macedon, became entirely extinct by the death of Thessalonica, and her two sons; as the other branch from Alexander the Great had before, by the death of the young Alexander and Hercules, his two sons. Thus these two princes, who by their unjust wars had spread desolation through so many provinces, and destroyed such a number of royal families, experienced, by a just decree of Providence, the same calamities in their own families, as they had occasioned to others. Philip and Alexander, with their wives, and all their descendants, perished by violent deaths.

About this time, Seleucus built the city of Seleucia, on the banks of the Tigris, and at the distance of forty miles from Babylon.² It became very populous in a short time, and Pliny tells us it was inhabited by six hundred thousand persons. The dikes of the Euphrates being broken down, spread such an inundation over the country, and the branch of that river which passed through Babylon was sunk so low by this evacuation, as to be rendered unnavigable, by which means that city became so incommodious, that, as soon as Seleucia was built, all its inhabitants withdrew thither. This circumstance prepared the way for the accomplishment of that celebrated prophecy of Isaiah, who at a time, when this city was in the most flourishing condition, had foretold, that it should one day become entirely desert and uninhabited. I have observed elsewhere by what manner and degrees this prediction was fully accomplished.³

Simon, surnamed the Just, and high priest of the Jews, died at the close of the ninth year of his pontificate, and left a young son, named Onias. As he was of too tender an age to take upon himself the exercise of that dignity, it was consigned to Eleazer, the brother of Simon, who discharged the functions of it for the space of fifteen years.⁴

I here pass over some events of little importance, and proceed to Demetrius, who, believing himself sufficiently settled in Greece and Macedonia, began to make great preparations for regaining the empire of his father in Asia. With this view, he raised an army of above a hundred thousand men, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred sail; in a word, so great an armament had never been seen since the time of Alexander the Great. Demetrius animated the workmen by his presence and instructions, visited them in person, directed them how to act, and even assisted them in their labours. The number of his galleys, and their extraordinary dimensions, created universal astonishment; for ships of six, and even five benches of oars, had never been seen till then, and Ptolemy Philopater did not build one

¹ A. M. 3710. Ant. J. C. 294. Plut. in Demet. p. 905, in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. x. c. 1.

² A. M. 3711. Ant. J. C. 293. Surab. l. xvi. p. 733, et 743. Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

³ Vol. I. At the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.

⁴ A. M. 3712. Ant. J. C. 292. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

of forty benches till many years after this period;¹ but it was only for pomp and ostentation, whereas those which Demetrius built were extremely useful in battle, and more admirable for their lightness and speed than their grandeur and magnificence.²

Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, receiving intelligence of these formidable preparations of Demetrius, immediately caught the alarm; and in order to frustrate their effect, renewed their alliance, in which they likewise engaged Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; in consequence of which, when Lysimachus began to invade Macedonia on one side, Pyrrhus was carrying on the same operations on the other. Demetrius, who was then making preparations in Greece for his intended expedition into Asia, advanced with all speed to defend his own dominions; but before he was able to arrive there, Pyrrhus had taken Beræa, one of the most considerable cities in Macedonia, where he found the wives, children, and effects of a great number of soldiers belonging to Demetrius. This news caused so great a disorder in the army of that prince, that a considerable part of his troops absolutely refused to follow him, and declared, with an air of mutiny and sedition, that they would return to defend their families and effects. In a word, things were carried to such an extremity, that Demetrius, perceiving he no longer had any influence over them, fled to Greece in the disguise of a common soldier, and his troops went over to Pyrrhus, whom they proclaimed king of Macedonia.³

The different characters of these two princes greatly contributed to this sudden revolution. Demetrius, who considered vain pomp and superb magnificence as true grandeur, rendered himself contemptible to the Macedonians in the very circumstance by which he thought to obtain their esteem. He ambitiously loaded his head with a double diadem, like a theatrical monarch, and wore purple robes, enriched with a profusion of gold. The ornaments of his fleet were altogether extraordinary, and he had long employed artists to make him a mantle, on which the system of the world, with all the stars visible in the firmament, were to be embroidered in gold. The change of his fortune prevented the finishing of this work, and no future king would presume to wear it.

But that which rendered him still more odious was his being so difficult of approach. He was either so imperious and disdainful as not to allow those who had any affairs to transact with him the liberty of speech, or else he treated them with so much rudeness as obliged them to quit his presence in disgust. One day, when he came out of his palace, and walked through the streets with a mien of more affability than it was usual for him to assume, some persons were encouraged to present a few petitions to him. He received them with a

¹ This galley was two hundred and eighty cubits (about four hundred and twenty feet) in length, and twenty-eight cubits (seventy-two feet) from the keel to the top of the poop. It carried four hundred sailors, beside four thousand rowers and nearly three thousand soldiers, who were disposed in the spaces between the rowers and on the lower deck. — *Plut. in Demet.*

² A. M. 3716. *Ant. J. C.* 288. *Plut. in Demet.* p. 909, et in *Pyrrh.* p. 386. *Justin.* l. xvi. c. 2.

³ A. M. 3717. *Ant. J. C.* 287.

gracious air, and placed them in one of the folds of his robe; but as he was passing over a bridge on the river Axius,¹ he threw all those petitions into the stream. A prince must certainly know very little of mankind not to be sensible that such a contemptuous behaviour is sufficient to provoke his subjects to revolt from his authority. On this occasion, an action of the great Philip was recollected, which has been related among the events of his reign. That prince had several times refused audience to a poor woman, under the pretext that he had not leisure to hear her. "Be no longer king, then," replied she, with some emotion; and Philip from thenceforth made it a maxim with himself to grant his subjects long and frequent audiences; for, as Plutarch observes on that occasion, **THE MOST INDISPENSABLE DUTY OF A KING IS TO EXERT HIMSELF IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.**²

The Macedonians had formed a very different idea of Pyrrhus. They had heard it reported, and were sensible by their own experience, that affability was natural to him, and that he was always mild and accessible. They were convinced of his promptitude to recompense the services rendered him, and that he was slow to anger and severity. Some young officers, over their liquor, had vented several offensive pleasantries against him. The particulars of their conversation were related to Pyrrhus himself, who ordered them to be brought into his presence, and then asked them if they had expressed themselves in the manner he had heard. "Yes, my lord," replied one of the company, "and we should have added a great deal more if we had had more wine." Pyrrhus could not forbear laughing at this facetious and sprightly answer, and dismissed them from his presence without farther notice.

The Macedonians thought him much superior to Demetrius, even in military merit. He had vanquished them on several occasions; but their admiration of his bravery was greater than their resentment for their defeat. It was a common expression with them, that other princes imitated Alexander in nothing but their purple robes, the number of their guards, the affectation of inclining their heads like his, and their imperious manner of speaking; but that Pyrrhus was the only one who represented that monarch in his great and laudable qualities. Pyrrhus himself was not altogether free from vanity, with respect to the resemblance of his own features to those of Alexander; but a matron of Larissa, in whose house he once lodged, had undeceived him in that particular, by an answer perhaps not at all agreeable to him.³ The Macedonians, however, thought they discovered in him a resemblance to that prince; with all the fire of his eyes, and the vivacity, promptitude, and impetuosity with which he charged his

¹ A river of Upper Macedonia. ² Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτι τὸ βασιλεὶ προσήκον, ὡς τὸ τῆς Ἰκτὺς ἔργον.

³ A set of flatterers had really persuaded Pyrrhus that he resembled Alexander in his features. With this belief he sent for the pictures of Philip, Perdiccas, Alexander, Cassander, and some other princes, and then desired a woman of Larissa, with whom he then lodged, to tell him which of those princes he most resembled. She refused to answer him for a considerable time, till at last he pressed her very earnestly to satisfy his curiosity; upon which she replied, that she thought him very like Batrachion, who was a noted cook in that city. — Lucian. advers. indoct. p. 552, 553.

enemies, and bore down all who presumed to oppose him; but with respect to the military art, and ability in drawing up an army in battle, they thought none comparable to Pyrrhus.

It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising that the Macedonians, who entertained prejudices so much in his favour, and so disadvantageous to the other, should easily quit the party of Demetrius, to espouse that of Pyrrhus; and we may see by this instance, and a thousand others, how necessary it is for princes to attach their people to their interest, by the gentle ties of affection and gratitude, and by entertaining a real love for them, which is the only means of acquiring their esteem, which is the most solid glory, their strongest obligation, and at the same time their greatest security.

As Lysimachus happened to arrive immediately after Pyrrhus had been declared king of Macedonia, he pretended that he had contributed as much as that prince to the flight of Demetrius, and that he, consequently, ought to have a share in that kingdom. Pyrrhus, who, in this conjuncture, was not entirely certain of the fidelity of the Macedonians, readily acquiesced in the pretensions of Lysimachus, and the cities and provinces were accordingly shared between them;¹ but this agreement was so far from uniting them with each other, that it rather led them into a constant train of animosities and divisions; "for," as Plutarch observes, "when neither seas nor mountains, nor uninhabitable deserts, could suffice as barriers to the avarice and ambition of these princes; and when their desires were not to be bounded by those limits which separate Europe from Asia, how could they possibly continue in a state of tranquillity, and refrain from the injustice of invading domains so near, and which might prove so commodious to them? This was a moderation not to be expected; and a perpetual war between them became inevitable, from the malignant seeds of envy and usurpation which had taken root in their minds. The names of peace and war were considered by them as two species of coin, to which they themselves had given currency, merely for their own interest, and without the least regard to justice." "Or," continues the same author, "do they act more laudably when they engage in an open war, than when they use the sacred names of justice, friendship, and peace, for what, in reality, is no more than a truce, or transient suspension of their unjust views?"

The whole history of Alexander's successors justifies these reflections of Plutarch. Never were more treaties and alliances made, and never were they violated with less disguise and more impunity. May Heaven grant that these complaints be never applicable to any princes or times but those we are treating of at present!

Pyrrhus, finding the Macedonians more tractable and submissive, when he led them to war, than they were when he permitted them to enjoy a state of repose, and being himself not much addicted to tranquillity, nor capable of being satisfied in the calm of a long peace, was daily forming new enterprises, without much regard to sparing either his subjects or allies. Lysimachus took advantage of the army's

¹ Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 389, 390.

disgust of Pyrrhus, and inflamed them still more by his emissaries, who artfully insinuated that they had acted most shamefully in choosing a stranger for their master, whom interest and not affection had attached to Macedonia. These reproaches drew over the greatest part of the soldiers; upon which Pyrrhus, who feared the consequences of this alienation, retired with his Epirots, and the troops of his allies, and lost Macedonia in the same manner he had gained it.

He greatly complained of the inconstancy of this people, and their disaffection to his person; but, as Plutarch again observes, "kings have no reason to blame other persons, for sometimes changing their party according to their interest, as, in acting so, they only imitate their own example, and practise the lessons of infidelity and treason, which they have learned from their whole conduct, which upon all occasions demonstrates an utter disregard for justice, veracity and faith, in the observance of engagements."

With respect to the affairs of Demetrius, that prince, when he found himself deserted by his troops, retired to the city of Cassandria, a city on the frontiers of Thrace, and in upper Macedonia, where his consort Phila resided. This lady was so afflicted at the calamitous state in which she beheld her husband, and was so terrified at the misfortunes to which she herself was exposed by the declension of his affairs, that she had recourse to poison, by which she ended a life that was becoming more insupportable to her than death itself.¹

Demetrius, thinking to gather up some remains of his shattered fortune, returned to Greece, where several cities still continued devoted to him; and when he had disposed his affairs in the best order he was able, he left the government of those places to his son Antigonus; and assembling all the troops he could raise in that country, which amounted to about eleven thousand men, he embarked for Asia with a resolution to try whether despair would not bring forth good fortune. Eurydice, the sister of his late wife Phila, received him at Miletus, where she lived with the princess Ptolemaida, her daughter by Ptolemy, whose marriage with Demetrius had been agreed upon by the mediation of Seleucus. Eurydice accordingly presented the princess to him, and this alliance gave birth to Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene.

Demetrius, soon after the celebration of his nuptials, entered Caria and Lycia, where he took several places from Lysimachus, and considerably augmented his forces; by which means he at last made himself master of Sardis, but, as soon as Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, appeared at the head of an army, he abandoned all his conquests, and marched into the east. His design in taking this route, was to surprise Armenia and Media; but Agathocles, who followed him closely, cut off his provisions and forage so effectually, that a sickness spread through his army, and weakened it extremely; and when he at last made an attempt to march over Mount Taurus, with the small remains of his troops, he found all the passes guarded by the enemies, which obliged him to march for Tarsus in Cilicia.¹

¹ Plut. in Demet. p. 910, 911.

² Ibid. p. 912, 915

From thence he represented to Seleucus, to whom that city belonged, the melancholy situation of his affairs, and entreated him, in a very moving manner, to afford him the necessary subsistence for himself and the remainder of his troops. Seleucus was touched with compassion at first, and despatched orders to his lieutenants, to furnish him with all he should want. But when remonstrances were afterwards made to him upon the valour and abilities of Demetrius, his genius for resource and stratagem, and intrepidity in the execution of his designs, whenever the least opportunity for acting presented itself; he thought it impossible to reinstate a prince of that character, without incurring many disadvantages himself. For which reason, instead of continuing to support him, he resolved upon his destruction, and immediately placed himself at the head of a numerous army, with an intention to attack him. Demetrius, who had received intelligence of these measures, posted his troops in those parts of Mount Taurus, where he imagined it would be difficult to force them, and sent to Seleucus a second time, to implore his permission to pass into the east, in order to establish himself in some country belonging to the barbarians, where he might end his days in tranquillity; but, if he should not be inclined to grant him that favour, he entreated his consent to take up his winter-quarters in his dominions; and begged that prince not to expose him to famine, and the rigours of the season, as that would be delivering him up defenceless to the discretion of his enemies.

Seleucus was so prejudiced against the design he had formed against the east, that this proposal only tended to increase his diffidence; and he consented to nothing more, than his taking winter-quarters in Cataonia, a province adjacent to Cappadocia, during the two severest months of that season; after which he was immediately to evacuate that country. Seleucus, during this negotiation, had placed strong guards at all the passes from Cilicia into Syria, which obliged Demetrius to have recourse to arms, in order to disengage himself. He accordingly made such a vigorous attack on the troops who guarded the passes in the mountains, that he dislodged them from thence, and opened himself a free passage into Syria, which he immediately entered.

His own courage, and the hopes of his soldiers, reviving from this success, he took all possible measures for making a last effort for the re-establishment of his affairs; but he had the misfortune to be suddenly seized with a severe distemper, which disconcerted all his measures. During the forty days that he continued sick, most of his soldiers deserted; and when he at last recovered his health, so as to be capable of action, he found himself reduced to the desperate necessity of attempting to surprise Seleucus in his camp by night, with the handful of men who still continued in his service. A deserter gave Seleucus intelligence of this design time enough to prevent its effect; and the desertion of the troops of Demetrius increased upon this disappointment. He then endeavoured, as his last resource, to regain the mountains and join his fleet; but he found the passes so well

guarded, that he was obliged to conceal himself in the woods; from whence he was soon dislodged by hunger, and compelled to surrender himself to Seleucus, who caused him to be conducted under a strong guard to Chersonesus of Syria, near Laodicea, where he was detained prisoner. He, however, was allowed the liberty of a park for hunting, and all the conveniences of life in abundance.

When Antigonus received intelligence of his father's captivity, he was affected with the utmost sorrow, and wrote to all the kings, and even to Seleucus himself, to obtain his release, offering, at the same time, his own person as a hostage for him, and consenting to part with all his remaining dominions as the price of his liberty. Several cities, and a great number of princes, joined their solicitations in favour of the captive prince; but Lysimachus offered a large sum of money to Seleucus, provided he would cause his prisoner to be put to death. The king of Syria was struck with horror at so barbarous and inhuman a proposal, and, in order to grant a favour solicited from so many different quarters, he seemed only to await the arrival of his son Antigonus and Stratonice, that Demetrius might be sensible of his obligation to them for his liberty.

In the meantime, that unhappy prince supported his misfortunes with patience and magnanimity, and became at last so habituated to them, that they no longer seemed to affect him. He exercised himself in racing, walking, and hunting, and might have been infinitely more happy, had he made a true estimate of his condition, than while hurried over lands and seas by the frenzy of ambition; for what other fruit do these pretended heroes, who are called conquerors, derive from all their labours and wars, and from all the dangers to which they expose themselves, but the fatality of tormenting themselves, by rendering others miserable, and constantly turning their backs on tranquillity and happiness, which, if they may be believed, are the sole ends of all their motions? Demetrius was gradually seized with melancholy, and no longer amused himself with his former exercises; he grew corpulent, and entirely abandoned himself to drinking and gaming at dice, to which he devoted whole days, undoubtedly with design to banish the melancholy thoughts of his condition. When he had continued in his captivity for the space of three years, he was seized with a severe distemper, occasioned by his inactivity and intemperance in eating and drinking, and died at the age of fifty-four years. His son, Antigonus, to whom the urn, which inclosed the ashes of that prince, was transmitted, celebrated his funeral with great magnificence. We shall see in the sequel of the present history that this Antigonus, who was surnamed Gonatus, continued peaceable possessor of the kingdom of Macedonia; and the race of this prince enjoyed the crown for several generations, in a direct line from father to son, till the reign of Perseus, the last of that family, who was divested of Macedonia by the Romans.

SECTION III. — PTOLEMY SOTER RESIGNS HIS KINGDOM TO HIS SON, PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA FOUNDED.

PTOLEMY SOTER, the son of Lagus, after a reign of twenty years in Egypt, with the title of king, and of nearly thirty-nine from the death of Alexander, was desirous of transmitting the throne to Ptolemy Philadelphus,¹ one of his sons by Berenice. He had likewise several children by his other wives, and among those, Ptolemy, surnamed Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, who, being the son of Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the eldest of the male issue, considered the crown as his right, after the death of his father.²

But Berenice, who came into Egypt merely to accompany Eurydice, at the time of her espousals with Ptolemy, so exceedingly charmed that prince with her beauty, that he married her; and so great was her influence over him, that she caused him to prefer her son to all his issue by the other queens. In order, therefore, to prevent all disputes and wars that might ensue after his death, which he was sensible could not be very remote, as he was then eighty years of age, he resolved to have him crowned in his own lifetime, intending, at the same time, to resign all his dominions to him, declaring, that to create a king was more glorious than to be so one's self. The coronation of Philadelphus was celebrated with the most splendid festival that had ever been seen; but I reserve the description of it to the next section.

Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted the court, and retired to Lysimachus, whose son, Agathocles, had espoused Lysandra, the sister of Ceraunus, both by father and mother; and, after the death of Agathocles, he removed to the court of Seleucus, who received him with a goodness entirely uncommon, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackest ingratitude, as will appear in the sequel of this history.

In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was also the first year of the 124th Olympiad, the famous watchtower in the isle of Pharos was completed. It was commonly called the Tower of Pharos, and has been reputed one of the seven wonders of antiquity. It was a large square structure, built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was constantly kept burning, in order to guide vessels in their course, and cost eight hundred talents.³ The architect of the edifice was Sostratus of Cnidus, who, to perpetuate the whole honour of it to himself, had recourse to the artifice I have mentioned before.⁴ Pharos was originally a real island, at the distance of seven furlongs from the continent, but was afterwards joined to it by a causeway like that of Tyre.⁵

About this time, the image of the god Serapis was brought from

¹ The word signifies a lover of his brethren, but Ptolemy received this surname agreeably to a figure of speech called antiphrasis, because he charged two of his brothers with forming designs against his life, and then caused them to be destroyed. — Pausan. l. i. p. 12.

² A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 235. Justin. l. xvi.

³ The talent of Alexandria was nearly twice the value of the Athenian talent.

⁴ Vol. I. in the history of Egypt.

Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12. Strab. l. xvii. p. 790. Suid. in φάρος.

Pontus to Alexandria.¹ Ptolemy was induced by a dream to demand it, by an embassy, of the king of Sinope, a city of Pontus, where it had been kept. It was, however, refused him for the space of two years, till at last the inhabitants of Sinope suffered such extremities from a famine, that they consented to resign this idol to Ptolemy for a supply of corn, which he transmitted to them; and the statue was then conveyed to Alexandria, and placed in one of the suburbs, called Rhacotis, where it was adored by the name of Serapis, and a famous temple, called the Serapion, was afterwards erected for it in that place. This structure, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, surpassed, in beauty and magnificence, all the temples in the world, except the Capitol at Rome.² This temple had also a library, which became famous in all succeeding ages for the number and value of the books it contained.

Ptolemy Soter had been careful to improve himself in polite literature, as was evident by his compiling the life of Alexander, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but is now entirely lost. In order to cultivate the sciences, which he much admired, he founded an academy at Alexandria, called the Musæum, where a society of learned men devoted themselves to philosophical studies and the improvement of all other sciences, almost in the same manner as those of London and Paris. To effect this, he began by giving them a library, which was greatly increased by his successors.³ His son, Philadelphus, left one hundred thousand volumes in it at the time of his death, and the succeeding princes of that race enlarged it still more, till at last it consisted of seven hundred thousand volumes.⁴

This library was formed by the following method. All the Greek and other books that were brought into Egypt were seized and sent to the Musæum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose. The copies were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals were deposited in the library. Ptolemy Evergetes, for instance, borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus, of the Athenians, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a manner as possible; and he likewise presented them with fifteen talents, for the originals which he kept.⁵

As the Musæum was at first in that quarter of the city which was called Bruchion, and near the royal palace, the library was founded in the same place, and it soon drew vast numbers thither; but when it was so much augmented, as to contain four hundred thousand volumes, they began to deposit the additional books in the Serapion. This last library was a supplement to the former, for which reason it received the appellation of its Daughter, and in process of time contained three hundred thousand volumes.

¹ A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284. Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 83 et 84. Plut. de Isid. et Osir. p. 361. Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 81.

² Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16.

³ Arrian. in præf. Plut. in Alex. p. 691. Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 8. Strab. l. xvii. p. 793. Plut. in Moral. c. 1095.

⁴ Euseb. in Chron.

⁵ Galea.

In Cæsar's war with the inhabitants of Alexandria, a fire, occasioned by those hostilities, consumed the library of Bruchion, with its four hundred thousand volumes.¹ Seneca seems to me to have been much displeased, when speaking of the conflagration; he bestows his censures, both on the library itself, and the eulogium made on it by Livy, who styles it an illustrious monument of the opulence of the Egyptian kings, and of their wise attention to the improvement of the sciences.

Seneca, instead of allowing it to be such, would only have it considered as a work resulting from the pride and vanity of those monarchs, who had amassed such a number of books, not for their own use, but merely for pomp and ostentation.² This reflection, however, seems to discover very little sagacity; for is it not evident beyond contradiction, that none but kings are capable of founding those magnificent libraries, which become a necessary treasure to the learned, and do infinite honour to those states in which they are established?

The library of Serapion did not sustain any damage, and it was undoubtedly there that Cleopatra deposited those two hundred thousand volumes of that of Pergamus, which were presented to her by Antony. This addition, with other enlargements that were made from time to time, rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and considerable than the first; and though it was ransacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the Roman empire, it always retrieved its losses, and recovered its number of volumes. In this condition it subsisted for many ages, affording its treasures to the learned and curious, till the seventh century, when it suffered the same fate with its parent, and was burned by the Saracens, when they took that city, in the year of our Lord 642. The manner by which this misfortune happened is too singular to be passed over in silence.

John, surnamed the Grammarian, and a famous follower of Aristotle, happened to be at Alexandria when it was taken: and as he was much esteemed by Amri-Ebnol-As, the general of the Saracen troops, he entreated that commander to bestow upon him the Alexandrian library. Amri replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request; but that he would write to the Khalif, or emperor of the Saracens, for his orders on that head, without which he would not presume to dispose of the library. He accordingly wrote to Omar, the then khalif, whose answer was, "That if those books contained the same doctrine with the koran, they could not be of any use, because the koran was sufficient in itself, and comprehended all necessary truths; but if they contained any particulars contrary to that book, they ought to be destroyed." In consequence of this answer, they were all condemned to the flames, without any farther examination: and to that effect, were distributed into the public bagnios, where, for

¹ Plut. in Cæsar. p. 732. In Anton. p. 943. Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16. Dion. Cass. l. xlii. p. 202.

² Quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriæ arserunt, pulcherrimum regis opulentis monumentum. Alius laudaverit, sicut Livius, qui elegantis regum curæque egregium id opus ait fuisse. Non fuit elegantia illud, aut cura, sed studiosa luxuria; imo ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium, sed in spectaculum comparaverant.—Paretur itaque librorum quantitas aut nihil in apparatus.—Senec. de Tranquill. Anim. c. ix.

the space of six months, they were used for fuel instead of wood. We may from hence form a just idea of the prodigious number of books contained in that library; and thus was this inestimable treasure of learning destroyed.¹

The Musæum of Bruchion was not burned with its library. Strabo informs us, in his description of it, that it was a very large structure near the palace and fronting the port; and that it was surrounded with a portico, in which the philosophers walked. He adds, that the members of this society were governed by a president, whose station was so honourable and important, that in the time of the Ptolemies, he was always chosen by the king himself, and afterwards by the Roman emperor: and that they had a hall where the whole society ate together at the expense of the public, by whom they were supported in a very plentiful manner.²

Alexandria was undoubtedly indebted to this Musæum, for the advantage she long enjoyed of being the greatest school in all that part of the world, and of having trained up a vast number of men famous in literature. It is from thence in particular, that the church has received some of its most illustrious doctors; Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatolius, Athanasius, and many others; for all these studied in that seminary.

Demetrius Phalereus was probably the first president of this seat of learning; but it is certain that he had the superintendency of the library. Plutarch informs us, that his first proposal to Ptolemy was the establishment of a library of such authors as treated of civil polity and government, assuring him, that he would always supply him with such counsels as none of his friends would presume to offer him. This was almost the only expedient for introducing truth to princes, and showing them, under borrowed names, their duties as well as their defects. When the king had relished this excellent advice, and measures were taken to procure all such books as were requisite in this first view, it may easily be imagined that Demetrius carried the affair to a much greater length, and prevailed upon the king to collect all sorts of other books for the library we have mentioned. Who could better assist that prince, in the accomplishment of so noble and magnificent a plan, than Demetrius Phalereus, who was himself a man of the first rank in letters, as well as a very able politician?

We have formerly seen what inducements brought Demetrius to the court of this prince.³ He was received with open arms by Ptolemy Soter, who heaped a profusion of honours upon him, and made him his confidant. He consulted him, in preference to all his other counsellors, in the most important affairs, and particularly those which related to the succession to the crown. This prince, two years before his death, had formed a resolution to abdicate his crown in favour of one of his children.⁴ Demetrius endeavoured to dissuade him from that design, by representing to him, that he must no longer expect to enjoy any authority, if he divested himself of his dignity in such a

¹ Abul-Pharagius. in Hist. Dynast. IX.

Plut. in Demet. p. 892. Diog. Laert. in Demet. Phal.

² Strab. l. xvii. p. 793.

⁴ A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285.

manner, and that it would be dangerous to create him a master. But when he found him absolutely determined on his abdication, he advised him to regulate his choice by the order prescribed by nature, and which was generally followed by all nations: in consequence of which, it would be incumbent on him to prefer his eldest son by Eurydice his first wife. But the influence of Berenice prevailed over this equitable and prudent advice, which in a short time proved fatal to its author.

Toward the close of this year, died Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and two years after this resignation of the empire to his son.¹ He was the most able and worthy man of all his race, and left behind him such examples of prudence, justice, and clemency, as very few of his successors were desirous of imitating. During the space of nearly forty years, in which he governed Egypt, after the death of Alexander, he raised it to such a height of grandeur and power, as rendered it superior to the other kingdoms. He retained upon the throne the same fondness of simplicity of manners, and the same aversion for ostentatious pomp, as he discovered when he first ascended it. He was accessible to his subjects, even to a degree of familiarity. He frequently ate with them at their own houses, and, when he gave any entertainment himself, he thought it no disgrace to borrow their richest plate, because he had but very little of his own, and no more than was necessary for his common use. When some persons represented to him, that the regal dignity seemed to require an air of greater opulence, his answer was, "That the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching others, not himself."²

SECTION IV. — MAGNIFICENT SOLEMNITY AT THE INAUGURATION OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, KING OF EGYPT.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, after his father had abdicated the crown in his favour, entertained the people, when he ascended the throne, with the most splendid festival mentioned in antiquity. Athenæus has left us a long description of it, transcribed from Callixenus, the Rhodian, who compiled a history of Alexandria, and Mountfaucon relates it in his *Antiquities*. I shall insert the particulars of it in this place, because they will give us a very proper idea of the riches and opulence of Egypt. I may add, too, that as ancient authors speak very often of sacred pomp, processions, and solemn festivals in honour of their gods, I thought it incumbent on me to give some idea of them for once, by describing one of the most celebrated solemnities that was ever known. Plutarch, who is perpetually mentioning triumphs among the Romans, has the approbation of his readers for his particular description of that of Paulus Æmilius, which was one of the most magnificent. The account is inserted in this place for the gratification of those who take pleasure in such pageantry, and may be passed over, without interrupting the history, by the reader whose time is too valuable to be withdrawn from more important subjects.

¹ A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283.

² Plut. in Apoph. p. 181.

This pompous solemnity continued a whole day, and was conducted through the circus of Alexandria. It was divided into several parts, and formed a variety of separate processions. Besides those of the king's father and mother, the gods had each of them a distinct cavalcade, adorned with the ornaments relating to their history.¹

Athenæus has only related the particulars of that of Bacchus, by which a judgment may be formed of the magnificence of the rest.

The procession began with a troop of sileni, some habited in purple, others in robes of a deep red, whose employment was to keep off the crowd and make way.

Next the sileni came a band of satyrs, composed of twenty, in two ranks, each carrying a gilded lamp.

These were succeeded by the Victories, with golden wings, carrying vases nine feet high, steaming with kindled perfumes, partly gilt and partly adorned with leaves of ivy. Their habits were adorned with the figures of animals, and every part of them glittered with gold.

After these came a double altar, nine feet in height, and covered with a luxuriant foliage of ivy, intermixed with ornaments of gold. It was also beautified with a gold crown, composed of vine leaves, and adorned on all sides with white fillets.

One hundred and twenty youths next advanced, clothed in purple vests, each of them supporting a gold vase, of incense, myrrh, and saffron.

They were followed by forty satyrs, wearing crowns of gold, embellished with leaves of ivy; and in the right hand of each was another crown of the same metal, adorned with vine leaves. Their habits were diversified with a variety of colours.

In the rear of these marched two sileni, arrayed in purple mantles and white drawers; one of them wore a kind of hat, and carried a gold caduceus in his hand—the other had a trumpet. Between these two was a man, six feet in height, masked and habited like a tragedian. He also carried a gold cornucopiæ, and was distinguished by the appellation of The Year.

This person preceded a very beautiful woman, as tall as himself, dressed in a magnificent manner, and glittering all over with gold. She held in one hand a crown, composed of the leaves of the peach-tree, and in the other a branch of palm. She was called Penteteris.²

The next in the procession were the genii of the four seasons, wearing ornaments by which they were distinguished, and supporting two gold vases of odours, adorned with ivy leaves. In the midst of them was a square altar of gold.

A band of satyrs then appeared, wearing gold crowns, fashioned like the leaves of ivy, and arrayed in red habits. Some bore vessels filled with wine; others carried drinking-cups.

Immediately after these was seen Philiscus, the poet and priest of Bacchus, attended by comedians, musicians, dancers, and other persons of that class.

¹ Athen. l. v. p. 197—203.

² This word signifies the space of five years, the feast of Bacchus being celebrated at the beginning of every fifth year.

Two tripods were carried next, as prizes for the victors at the athletic combats and exercises. One of these tripods, being thirteen feet and a half in height, was intended for the youths; the other, which was eighteen feet high, was designed for the men.

An extraordinary large chariot followed these; it had four wheels,¹ was twenty-one feet in length and twelve in breadth, and was drawn by one hundred and eighty men. In this chariot was a figure fifteen feet in height, representing Bacchus, in the attitude of performing libations with a large cup of gold. He was arrayed in a robe of brocaded purple, which flowed down to his feet. Over this was a transparent vest, of saffron colour, and above that a large purple mantle, embroidered with gold. Before him was a great vessel of gold, formed in the Laconic manner, and containing fifteen measures, called metretes.² This was accompanied with a gold tripod, on which were placed a gold vase of odours, with two cups of the same metal, full of cinnamon and saffron. Bacchus was seated in a shade of ivy and vine leaves, intermixed with the foliage of fruit trees; and from these hung several crowns, fillets, and thyrsi, with timbrels, ribbons, and a variety of satiric, comic, and tragic masks. In the same chariot were the priests and priestesses of that deity, with the other ministers and interpreters of mysteries, dancers of all classes, and women bearing vans.³

These were followed by the Bacchantes, who marched with their hair dishevelled, and wore crowns composed, some of serpents, others of branches of yew, the vine, or the ivy. Some of these women carried knives in their hands, others grasped serpents.

After these advanced another chariot, twelve feet in breadth, and drawn by sixty men. In this was the statue of Nyssa, or Nysa,⁴ twelve feet high, sitting, and clothed in a yellow vest, embroidered with gold, over which was another Laconic habit. The statue rose by the aid of some machines that were not touched by any person, and after it had poured milk out of a gold cup, it resumed its former seat. Its left hand held a thyrsus, adorned with ribbons, and on its head was a gold crown, on the top of which were represented various leaves of ivy, with clusters of grapes, composed of gems. It was covered with a deep shade, formed by a blended foliage, and a gilded lamp hung at each corner of the chariot.

After this came another chariot, thirty-six feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth, and drawn by three hundred men. On this was placed a wine-press, also thirty-six feet long, and twenty-two and a half broad; this was full of the produce of the vintage. Sixty satyrs trod the grapes to the sound of the flute, and sung such airs as corresponded with the action in which they were employed. Silenus was the chief of the band, and streams of wine flowed from the chariot throughout the whole progress.

¹ The chariots in general, of which mention will be made in the sequel of this relation, had also four wheels.

² This word is frequently used in the present description: it is the name of a Greek measure, which corresponds nearly with the Roman amphora, but was somewhat larger, containing nine gallons.

³ *Mystica Vannus Iacchi*. — Virg.

⁴ She is thought to have been the nurse of Bacchus.

Another chariot of the same magnitude was drawn by six hundred men. This carried a vat of a prodigious size, made of leopard's skins, sewed together. The vessel contained three thousand measures, and shed a constant effusion of wine during the procession.

This chariot was followed by one hundred and twenty crowned satyrs and sileni, carrying pots, flaggons, and large cups, all of gold.

This troop was immediately succeeded by a silver vat, containing six hundred metretes, and placed on a chariot drawn by the same number of men. The vessel was adorned with chased work, and the rim, together with the two handles and the base, were embellished with the figures of animals. The middle part of it was encompassed with a gold crown adorned with jewels.

Next appeared two silver bowls, eighteen feet in diameter, and nine in height. The upper part of their circumference was adorned with studs, and the bottom with several animals, three of which were a foot and a half high, and many more of a lesser size.

These were followed by ten great vats, and sixteen other vessels, the largest of which contained thirty metretes, and the least five: there were likewise ten caldrons, twenty-four vases with two handles, and disposed on five salvers; two silver wine-presses, on which were placed twenty-four goblets; a table of massy silver, eighteen feet in length, and thirty more of six; four tripods, one of which was of massy silver, and had a circumference of twenty-four feet; the other three, that were smaller, were adorned with precious stones in the middle.

Then came twenty Delphic tripods, all of silver, and something less than the preceding. They were likewise accompanied with twenty-six beakers, sixteen flaggons, and a hundred and sixty other vessels, the largest of which contained six metretes, and the smallest two. All these vessels were of silver.

After these came the gold vessels; four of which, called Laconics, were crowned with vine-leaves: there were likewise two Corinthian vases, whose rims and middle circumference were embellished with the figures of animals; these contained eight metretes; a wine-press, on which ten goblets were placed; two other vases, each of which contained five metretes, and two more that held a couple of measures: twenty-two vessels for preserving liquors cool, the largest of which contained thirty metretes, and the least, one: four gold tripods of an extraordinary size: a kind of basket of gold, intended as a repository for vessels of the same metal; this was enriched with jewels, and was five feet in length; it was likewise divided into six partitions, one above another, and adorned with various figures of animals, above three feet in height: two goblets, and two glass bowls with gold ornaments: two salvers of gold, four cubits in diameter, and three others of less dimensions: ten beakers: an altar four feet and a half high, and twenty-five dishes.

After this rich equipage, marched sixteen hundred youths, habited in white vests and crowned, some of them with ivy, others with branches of pine. Two hundred and fifty of this band carried gold

vases, and four hundred of them vases of silver. Three hundred more carried silver vessels made to keep liquors cool.

After these appeared another troop bearing large drinking vessels, some of which were of gold, fifty of silver, and three hundred diversified with various colours.

There were likewise several tables, six feet in length, and supporting a variety of remarkable objects. On one was represented the bed of Semele, on which were disposed several vests, some of gold brocade, others adorned with precious stones.

We must not omit a chariot thirty-three feet in length, and twenty-one feet in breadth, drawn by five hundred men. In this was represented a deep cavern, shrouded with ivy and vine-leaves: several pigeons, ring-doves, and turtles, issued out of the aperture, and flew about. Little bands were fastened to their feet, that they might be caught by the people around them. Two fountains, one of milk and the other of wine, flowed out of the cavern. All the nymphs who stood round it wore crowns of gold. Mercury was also seen with a gold caduceus in his hand, and clothed in a splendid manner.

The expedition of Bacchus to the Indies, was exhibited in another chariot, where the god was represented by a statue, eight feet in height, and mounted upon an elephant. He was arrayed in purple, and wore a gold crown intermixed with twining ivy and vine leaves. A long thyrsus of gold was in his hand, and his sandals were of the same metal. On the neck of the elephant was seated a satyr more than seven feet high, with a crown of gold on his head, formed in imitation of pine branches, and blowing a kind of trumpet made of goat's horn. The trappings of the elephant were of gold, and his neck was adorned with a crown of that metal shaped like the foliage of ivy.

This chariot was followed by five hundred young virgins, adorned with purple vests and gold zones. One hundred and twenty of them, who commanded the rest, wore crowns of gold that seemed to be composed of the branches of pine.

Next to these came one hundred and twenty satyrs, armed at all points, some in silver, and others in copper arms.

To these succeeded five troops of sileni, and crowned satyrs, mounted on asses, some of whom were entirely harnessed with gold, the rest with silver.

After this troop appeared a long train of chariots, twenty-four of which were drawn by elephants; sixty by he-goats; twelve by lions; six by oryges, a species of goats; fifteen by buffaloes; four by wild asses; eight by ostriches, and seven by stags. In these chariots were little youths dressed as charioteers, and wearing hats with broad rims. They were accompanied by others of a less stature, clothed in mantles embroidered with gold. The boys, who performed the office of charioteers, were crowned with branches of pine, and the lesser youths with ivy.

On each side of these were three chariots drawn by camels, and followed by others drawn by mules. In these chariots were several tents, resembling those of the barbarians, with Indian women, and

those of other nations, habited like slaves. Some of their camels carried three hundred pounds weight of incense; others two hundred of saffron, cinnamon, iris, and other odoriferous spices.

At a little distance from these, marched a band of Ethiopians, armed with pikes. One body of these carried six hundred elephants' teeth; another, two thousand branches of ebony; a third, cups of gold and silver, with a large quantity of gold dust.

After these came two hunters carrying gilded darts, and marching at the head of two thousand four hundred dogs, of the Indian, Hyrcanian, and Molossian breed, beside a variety of other species.

They were succeeded by one hundred and fifty men supporting trees, to which were fastened several species of birds and deer. Cages were also carried, in which were parrots, peacocks, turkey hens, pheasants, and a great number of Ethiopian birds. After these appeared one hundred and thirty sheep of that country; three hundred of the Arabian breed; twenty of the island of Eubœa; twenty-six white Indian oxen, eight of the Ethiopian species; also a large white bear; fourteen leopards; sixteen panthers; four lynxes; three small bears; a cameleopard,¹ and an Ethiopian rhinoceros.

Bacchus advanced next, seated in a chariot, and wearing a gold crown embellished with ivy-leaves. He was represented as taking sanctuary at the altar of Rhea, from the persecution of Juno. Priapus was placed near him, with a crown of gold formed like the leaves of ivy. The statue of Juno was crowned with a gold diadem; and those of Alexander and Ptolemy wore crowns of fine gold, representing ivy-leaves. The image of Virtue was placed near that of Ptolemy, and on her head was a crown of gold, made in imitation of olive branches. Another statue, representing the city of Corinth, was also near Ptolemy, with a gold diadem on its head. At a little distance from each of these, was a great vase filled with gold cups, and a large bowl of the same metal, which contained five metretes.

This chariot was followed by several women richly arrayed, and bearing the names of the Ionian, and other Greek cities in Asia, with the islands which had formerly been conquered by the Persians. All this train wore crowns of gold.

In another chariot was a gold thyrsus, one hundred and thirty-five feet in length, and a silver lance eight feet long.

In this part of the procession were a variety of wild beasts and horses, and twenty-four lions of a prodigious size; and also a great number of chariots, in which were not only the statues of kings, but those of several deities.

After these came a chorus of six hundred men, among whom were three hundred who played on gilded harps, and wore gold crowns. At a small distance from this band, marched two thousand bulls, all of the same colour, and adorned with gold frontlets, in the middle of which rose a crown of the same metal.

¹ This animal, whether real or fabulous, is mentioned by Horace.
 "Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo."

They were all adorned with a collar, and an ægis¹ hung on the breast of each. All these habiliments were of gold.

The procession of Jupiter, and a great number of other deities, advanced next, and, after all the rest, that of Alexander, whose statue of massy gold was placed in a chariot drawn by elephants; on one side of this statue stood Victory, and on the other Minerva.

The procession was graced with several thrones of gold and ivory, on one of which was a large diadem of gold, and on another a horn of the same metal. A third supported a crown; and a fourth a horn of solid gold. On the throne of Ptolemy Soter, the father of the reigning prince, was a gold crown, which weighed ten thousand pieces of gold² each containing four drachmas.

In this procession were likewise three hundred gold vases, in which perfumes were to be burned; fifty gilded altars encompassed with gold crowns. Four torches of gold, fifteen feet in height, were fastened to one of these altars. There were likewise twelve gilded hearths, one of which was eighteen feet in circumference, and sixty in height; and another was only twelve feet and a half high. Nine Delphic tripods of gold appeared next, having six feet in their altitude; and there were six others, nine feet in height. The largest of all was forty-five feet high; several animals in gold were placed upon it, and its upper part was encompassed with a gold crown, formed of a foliage of vine-leaves.

After these were seen several gilded palms, twelve feet in length, together with a caduceus, also gilt, sixty-six feet long: a gilded thunderbolt, in length sixty feet; a gilded temple, sixty feet in circumference; a double horn, twelve feet long; a vast number of gilded animals, several of which were eighteen feet in height. To these were added several deer of a stupendous size, and a set of eagles thirty feet high.

Three thousand and two hundred crowns of gold were likewise carried in this procession; together with a consecrated crown measuring one hundred and twenty feet, (undoubtedly, in its circumference) adorned with a profusion of gems, and surrounding the entrance into the temple of Berenice. Several large crowns of gold were also supported by young virgins, richly habited. One of these crowns was three feet in height, with a circumference of twenty-four.

These ornaments of the procession were accompanied with a gold cuirass, eighteen feet in height; and another of silver, twenty-seven feet high. On the latter was the representation of two thunderbolts of gold, eighteen feet in length; with an oaken crown embellished with jewels; twenty gold bucklers; sixty-four complete suits of gold armour; two boots of the same metal, four feet and a half in length; twelve basins; a great number of flaggons; ten large vases of perfumes for the baths; twelve beakers; fifty dishes, and a large number of tables; all these were of gold. There were likewise five tables

¹ A kind of buckler which covered the breast.

² The Attic stater, usually called *χδρας*, was equal to about one dollar and eighty-seven cents; the value therefore of this single crown was eighteen thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars.

covered with gold goblets; and a horn of solid gold, forty-four feet in length. All these gold vessels and other ornaments, were in a separate procession from that of Bacchus, which has been already described.

There were likewise four hundred chariots, laden with vessels, and other works of silver; twenty others filled with gold vessels, and eight hundred more appropriated to the carriage of aromatic spices.

The troops who guarded this procession were composed of fifty-seven thousand six hundred foot, and twenty-three thousand horse, all dressed and armed in a magnificent manner.

During the games and public combats, which continued for some days after this pompous solemnity, Ptolemy Soter presented the victors with twenty crowns of gold, and they received twenty-three from his consort Berenice. It appeared, by the registers of the palace, that these last crowns were valued at two thousand two hundred and thirty talents, and fifty minæ; from whence some estimate may be formed of the immense sums to which all the gold and silver employed in this splendid ceremonial amounted.

Such was the magnificence exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus at his coronation. If Fabricius, the famous Roman, whom I formerly mentioned, and who had rendered himself so remarkable for his contempt of gold and silver, had been a spectator of this procession, I am persuaded that the sight of it in all its parts would have proved insupportable to him; and that he would have thought and spoken like the emperor Vespasian, upon an occasion which had some resemblance to this. He and his son Titus made a triumphant entry into Rome, after the destruction of Jerusalem; but finding himself fatigued with the excessive length of that pompous procession, he could not conceal his displeasure, and declared, that he was justly punished by that tedious ceremony, for his weakness in desiring a triumph at his advanced age.¹

In this festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, no part of it was conducted with any elegance, or had the least air of taste and genius. An amazing prodigality, of gold and silver, was displayed, which makes me recollect a passage in Sallust, the beauty and force of which I have the mortification not to be able to render in our language. Cataline intended to represent the immoderate luxury of the Romans, his cotemporaries, who lavished immense sums in the purchase of pictures, statues, wrought plate, and superb buildings. "They draw out," says he, "and torment their gold and silver by all imaginable methods." (I must entreat the reader's excuse for this literal translation), "and yet this excess of prodigality is incapable of exhausting and overcoming their riches." "*Omnibus modus pecuniam trahunt, vexant; tamen summa libidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt.*"² In such

¹ Adeo nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupide appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate et tædio pompæ, non retinuerit merito se plecti, qui triumphum—tam inepte senex concupisset.—Sueton. in Vespas. c. 12.

² These metaphorical terms, "trahunt, vexant, vincere nequeunt," may possibly be derived from the combats of the athletæ, wherein, after one of them has thrown his adversary, and imagines himself victorious, he drags him along the arena, in sight of the spectators, twists, shakes, and torments him, without being able to extort a confession from him of his defeat. In this contest, therefore, wherein the Roman author represents luxury and riches to be en-

profusions as these did the whole merit of Philadelphus consist on this occasion.

What could there be truly great or admirable in this vain ostentation of riches, and a waste of such immense treasure in a bottomless abyss, after they had cost the people so many fatiguing labours, and perhaps had been amassed by a long series of violent exactions? The spoils of whole provinces and cities were sacrificed to the curiosity of a single day, and displayed to the public view, only to raise the frivolous admiration of a stupid populace, without conducing to the least real advantage or utility. Nothing ever argued a more profound ignorance of the true use of riches and solid glory, and of whatever else has any just pretensions to the esteem of mankind.

But what can we say, when we behold a sacred procession, and a solemnity of religion, converted into a public school of intemperance and licentiousness, such as are only proper to excite the most shameful passions in the spectators, and induce an utter depravity of mind and manners, by presenting to their view all the utensils of excess and debauch, with the most powerful allurements to indulge them, and that, under pretext of paying adoration to the gods! What divinities must those be, who would exact, or even suffer, so scandalous a pomp in their worship!

SECTION V.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. DEATH OF DEMETRIUS PHALERIUS.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, after the death of his father, became sole master of all his dominions, which were composed of Egypt, and many provinces dependent on it, viz., Phœnicia, Coelosyria, Arabia, Libya, Ethiopia, the island of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the isles called the Cyclades.¹

During the life of Ptolemy Soter, Philadelphus had concealed his resentment against Demetrius Phalerius, for the advice he gave that prince when he was deliberating on the choice of a successor. But when the sovereign power entirely devolved upon him, he caused that philosopher to be seized and sent with a strong guard to a remote fortress, where he ordered him to be confined till he should determine in what manner to treat him. The bite of an aspic, at last, put a period to the life of that great man, who merited a better fate.²

The testimonies in his favour, of Cicero, Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and many others, leave no room to doubt of the probity and wisdom of his government: we, therefore, shall only consider what has been observed with respect to his eloquence.

The characters of his writings, as Cicero observes in several places, were sweetness, elegance, beauty, numbers, and ornament, so that it was easy to distinguish in them the disciple of Theophrastus.³ He

gaged, all the profusions of the former were incapable of exhausting and overcoming the latter.

¹ A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283. Theocrit. Idyll. xvii.

² Diog. Laert. in Demet. Cic. in Orat. pro Rabir. Post. n. 23.

³ Demetrius Phalerens in hoc numero haberi potest; disputator subtilis, orator parum vehemens, dulcitamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere. — Offic. l. i. n. 3.

excelled in that species of eloquence which is called the temperate and florid. His style, in other respects, gentle and calm, was adorned and ennobled with bold and shining metaphors, that exalted and enlivened his discourse, otherwise not dignified to any great degree, with rich sentiments and those beauties that constitute the great and sublime. He was rather to be considered as a wrestler, formed in the shade and tranquillity, for public games and spectacles, than as a soldier inured to arms by exercise, and quitting his tent to attack an enemy. His discourse had, indeed, the faculty of affecting his hearers with something grateful and tender, but it wanted energy to inspire the force and ardour that inflame the mind, and only left in it an agreeable remembrance of some transient sweetness and graces, not unlike that which we retain after hearing the most harmonious concerts.¹

It must be confessed, this species of eloquence has its merit, when limited to just bounds; but as it is very difficult and unusual to preserve a due mediocrity in this particular, and to suppress the sallies of a rich and lively imagination, not always guided by the judgment, this kind of eloquence is apt, therefore, to degenerate and become, even from its own beauties, a pernicious delicacy, which at length vitiates and depraves the taste. This was the effect, according to Cicero and Quintilian, who were good judges in this point, of the florid and studied graces peculiar to the style of Demetrius. Athens, till his time, had been accustomed to a noble and majestic eloquence, whose character was a natural beauty, without paint and glitter. Demetrius was the first who revolted against this manly and solid eloquence, instead of which he substituted a soft and languishing species, that abated the vigour of the mind, and at length rendered false taste predominant.²

Two of Alexander's captains survived Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Seleucus, who, till then, had always been united by treaties and confederations; and as they were now advancing to the period of their days, for they were both upwards of eighty years of age, we might reasonably suppose that they would have been desirous of ending their lives in the union which had so long subsisted between them; instead of which, their mutual destruction by war became the sole object of their thoughts, on the following occasion.

Lysimachus, after the marriage of his son Agathocles with Lysandra, one of the daughters of Ptolemy, espoused another himself, whose name was Arsinoe, and had several children by her. The different interests of these two sisters led them into all sorts of in-

¹ Demetrius Phalereus, eruditissimus ille quidem, sed non tam armis institutis, quam palæstra. Itaque delectabar magis Athenienses, quam inflammabat. Processerat enim in solem et pulverem, non ut e militari tabernaculo, sed ut e Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis — Suavis videri maluit, quam gravis; sed suavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret; et tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum a quibus esset auditus. — De Clar. Orat. n. 37 et 38.

² Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam; et ut opinio mea fert, succus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inessit, non fucatus, nitor. — Hic, Phalereus, primus inflexit orationem et eam mollem teneramque reddidit. — De Clar. Orat. n. 36—38.

trigues, to form a powerful party in their favour, upon the death of Lysimachus. What are ambitious wives and mothers not capable of attempting! Their opposition to each other was not the mere effect of personal interest, but was chiefly fomented by the differences of their mothers. Lysandra was the daughter of Eurydice, and Arsinoë of Berenice. The arrival of Ptolemy Ceraunus, the brother of Philadelphus, at this court, made Arsinoë apprehensive that his interest would strengthen too much the party of Lysandra, who was his sister by the same mother, and that they would accomplish the destruction of herself and her own children at the death of Lysimachus. This calamity she was determined to prevent, by sacrificing Agathocles to her suspicions; and she succeeded in her design by representing him to her husband as one who had formed a conspiracy against his life and crown, by which she so much incensed him against his own son, that he caused him to be imprisoned and put to death. Lysandra and her children, with her brother, Ceraunus, and Alexander, another son of Lysimachus, took sanctuary in the court of Seleucus, and prevailed upon him to declare war against Lysimachus. Several of the principal officers of this prince, and even those who had been most devoted to his interest, were struck with so much horror at the murder of his son, that they entirely abandoned him, and retired to the court of Seleucus, where they strengthened the remonstrances of Lysandra by their own complaints. Seleucus was easily induced to undertake this war, for which he was already sufficiently disposed, by views of interest.¹

Before he engaged in this enterprise, he resigned his queen, Stratonice, to his son, Antiochus, for a reason I shall soon relate, and consigned to him, at the same time, a considerable part of his empire, reserving to himself no other territories than the provinces between the Euphrates and the sea.²

Antiochus was seized with a lingering distemper, the cause of which the physicians were unable to discover; for which reason his condition was thought entirely desperate. It is easy to conceive the inquietude of a father, who beheld himself on the point of losing his son in the flower of his age, whom he had intended for his successor in his vast dominions, and in whom all the happiness of his life consisted. Erasistratus, the most attentive and skilful of all the physicians, having carefully considered every symptom with which the indisposition of the young prince was attended, believed at last that he had discovered its true cause, and that it proceeded from a passion he had entertained for some lady; in which conjecture he was not deceived. It, however, was more difficult to discover the object of a passion, the more violent from the secrecy in which it remained. The physician, therefore, to assure himself fully of what he surmised, passed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and when he saw any lady enter, he carefully observed the countenance of the prince, and never discovered the least emotion in him, except when Strato-

¹ Justin. l. xvii. c. 1. Appian. in Syr. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18.

² Plut. in Demet. p. 906, 907. Appian. in Syr. p. 126—128.

nicc came into the chamber, either alone or with her consort, at which times the young prince was, as Plutarch observes, always affected with the symptoms described by Sappho as so many indications of a violent passion; such, for instance, as a suppression of voice, burning blushes, suffusion of sight, cold sweat, a sensible inequality and disorder of pulse, with a variety of the like symptoms. When the physician was afterwards alone with his patient, he managed his inquiries with so much dexterity, as at last drew the secret from him. Antiochus confessed his passion for queen Stratonice, his mother-in-law, and declared that he had in vain employed all his efforts to vanquish it. He added, that he had a thousand times had recourse to every consideration that could be represented to his thoughts in such a conjuncture, particularly the respect due from him to a father and a sovereign by whom he was tenderly beloved; the shameful circumstance of indulging a passion altogether unjustifiable and contrary to all the rules of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a design he ought never to be desirous of gratifying; but that his reason, in its present state of distraction, entirely engrossed by one object, would hearken to nothing; and he concluded with declaring, that to punish himself for desires involuntary in one sense, but criminal in every other, he had resolved to languish to death, by discontinuing all care of his health, and abstaining from every kind of food.

The physician gained a very considerable point, by penetrating into the source of his patient's disorder; but the application of the proper remedy was much more difficult to be accomplished; and how could a proposal of this nature be made to a parent and king! When Seleucus made the next inquiry after his son's health, Erasistratus replied, that his distemper was incurable, because it arose from a secret passion which could never be gratified, as the lady he loved was not to be obtained. The father, surprised and afflicted at this answer, desired to know why the lady was not to be obtained? "Because she is my wife," replied the physician, "and I am not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of another." "And will you not part with her, then," replied the king, "to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love? Is this the friendship you profess for me?" "Let me entreat you, my lord," says Erasistratus, "to imagine yourself for one moment in my place; would you resign your Stratonice to his arms? If you, therefore, who are a father, would not consent to such a sacrifice for the welfare of a son so dear to you, how can you expect another should do it?" "I would resign Stratonice and my empire to him, with all my soul," interrupted the king. "Your majesty then," replied the physician, "has the remedy in your own hands; for he loves Stratonice." The father did not hesitate a moment after the declaration, and easily obtained the consent of his consort; after which, his son and that princess were crowned king and queen of Upper Asia. Julian the apostate relates, in a fragment of his writings still extant, that Antiochus would not espouse Stratonice till after the death of his father.¹

¹ In Misop.

Whatever traces of reserve, moderation, and even modesty, appear in the conduct of this young prince, his example shows us the misfortune of giving the least entrance into the heart to an unlawful passion, capable of discomposing all the happiness and tranquillity of life.

Seleucus, being now eased of his inquietude, thought of nothing but marching against Lysimachus. He therefore put himself at the head of a fine army, and advanced into Asia Minor. All the country submitted to him as far as Sardis, which he besieged and took; by which means he became master of all the treasures of Lysimachus.¹

This last, having passed the Hellespont, in order to check the progress of Seleucus, gave him battle in Phrygia,² but was defeated and slain; in consequence of which, Seleucus rendered himself master of all his dominions. His greatest pleasure, on this occasion, resulted from his being the only survivor of all the captains of Alexander, and, by the event of this battle, victorious over conquerors themselves, for that was the expression he thought fit to use; and this advantage was considered by him as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour.³ This last victory was undoubtedly the best justification of the title of Victor, or the conqueror, which he had already assumed, and which is usually given him by historians, in order to distinguish him from the other princes of the name of Seleucus who reigned after him in Syria.⁴

His triumph on this occasion was of no long continuance, for when he went, seven months after his victory, to take possession of Macedonia, where he proposed to pass the remainder of his days in the bosom of his native country, he was basely assassinated by Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred innumerable honours and obligations; for he had received him into his court, when he fled from his own country, and had treated him suitably to his rank. He had also carried that prince with him in that expedition; intending, when it should be completed, to employ the same forces, for his establishment on the throne of his father in Egypt. But as this wretch was insensible of all the favours he had received, he had the villany to conspire against his benefactor, whom he assassinated, as we have already mentioned.

He had reigned twenty years, from the battle of Ipsus, when the title of king was secured to him; and thirty-one, if the commencement of his reign be fixed twelve years after the death of Alexander, when he became master of Asia; from which time the era of the Seleucidæ commences.

A late dissertation of Monsieur de la Nauze gives him a reign of more than fifty years, by adding to it the nineteen years of his son Antio-

¹ Justin. l. xvii. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 178. Memnon, Excerpta apud Phod. c. 8. Pausan. in Attic. p. 19. Oros. 3—23. Polyaen. 4. 9.

² Porphyry is the only author who has pointed out the real place where this battle was fought, which Eusebius, by an evident mistake, calls *Κορυνθίων*, instead of *Κυρηνάϊον*, the field of Cyrus; mentioned by Strabo, l. xiii. p. 629.

³ Lætus ea victoria Seleucus, et quod majus ea victoria utebatur, solum se de cohorte Alexandri remansisse, victoremque victorum extitisse, non humanum esse opus, sed divinum manus, gloriabatur: ignarum prorsus, non multo post fragilitatis humanæ se ipsum exemplum futurum.—Justin. l. xvii. c. 2.

⁴ A. M. 3723. Ant. J. C. 281.

chus Soter. The author pretends, that Seleucus Nicator did not entirely divest himself of the government, but began with making a partition of his dominions; and that he afterwards reunited them, even in the lifetime of his son. He has produced probable reasons in favour of his opinion; but as I never engaged in contests of this nature, I shall confine myself to the chronology of Usher, who has been my usual guide, and who assigns, with Father Petau and Monsieur Vaillant, thirty-one years to the reign of Seleucus Nicator.¹

This prince had extraordinary qualities; and without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself among the other kings, by his great love of justice, a benevolence, clemency, and a peculiar regard to religion, that endeared him to the people. He had likewise a taste for polite literature, and made it a circumstance of pleasure and glory to himself, to send back to the Athenians the library of which Xerxes had dispossessed them, and which he found in Persia. He also accompanied that present with the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, whom the Athenians honoured as their deliverers.

The friends of Lysimachus, with those who had served under that prince, at first considered Ceraunus as the avenger of his death, and acknowledged him for their king; but his conduct soon caused them to change their sentiments.

He did not expect to possess the dominions of Lysimachus in peace, while his sister Arsinoe and the children she had by Lysimachus were living; for which reason he determined to rid himself at once of them and the apprehensions they gave him. The greatest crimes cost the ambitious no remorse. Ceraunus feigned a passion for his sister, and seemed desirous of espousing her; and as these incestuous marriages were frequent and allowable in Egypt, Arsinoe, who was well acquainted with the natural disposition of her brother, protracted, as much as possible, the conclusion of that affair, the consequences of which she feared would be fatal to herself and children. But the more she delayed, and concealed her repugnance by plausible pretexts, the more warmly he pressed her to gratify his passion; and, in order to remove all suspicion, he repaired to that temple which the Macedonians held in the greatest veneration, and there, in the presence of one of her intimate friends whom she had sent to him, he called the tutelar gods of the country to witness, embracing their statues at the same time, and protesting, with the most dreadful oaths and imprecations, that his views with respect to the marriage he solicited, were perfectly pure and innocent.

Arsinoe placed but little confidence in these promises, though they were uttered before the altars, and had been ratified with the awful seal of religion; but she was apprehensive, at the same time, that persisting in an obstinate refusal would be fatal to her children, for whose welfare she was more solicitous than her own. She therefore consented at last, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and with all the indications of the most unaffected joy

¹ Vol. VII. des Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. et Belles Lettres.

and tenderness. Ceraunus placed the diadem on the head of his sister, and declared her queen, in the presence of the whole army. Arsinoe felt a real joy, when she beheld herself so gloriously re-established in the privileges of which she had been divested by the death of Lysimachus, her first husband; and she invited her new spouse to reside with her in her own city of Cassandria, to which she first repaired, in order to make the necessary preparations for his arrival. The temples, on that occasion, with all the public places and private houses, were magnificently adorned, and nothing was to be seen but altars, and victims ready for sacrifice. The two sons of Arsinoe, Lysimachus, who was then sixteen years of age, and Philip, who was thirteen, both princes of admirable beauty, and majestic mien, advanced to meet the king with crowns on their heads, it being a day of so much solemnity and joy. Ceraunus threw his arms round their necks, and embraced them with as much tenderness as could be well expressed by the fondest of fathers.

The scene of affection terminated here, and was presently succeeded by a bloody tragedy. As soon as he entered the city, he seized the citadel, and ordered the two brothers to be murdered. Those unfortunate princes fled for refuge to the queen, who clasped them in her arms, and vainly endeavoured, by covering them with her body, to save them from the daggers of their murderers, who killed them in the bosom of their mother. Instead of being allowed the sad consolation of rendering them the last offices, she was first dragged out of the city, with her robes all rent, and her hair dishevelled, and then banished into Samothrace, with only two female servants to attend her, mournfully considering her surviving the princes her sons as the completion of all her calamities.¹

Providence would not suffer such crimes to go unpunished, but called forth a distant people to be the minister of its vengeance.²

The Gauls, finding their own country too populous, sent out a great number of people to seek a new settlement in some other land. This swarm of foreigners came from the extremity of the ocean, and after they had proceeded along the Danube, arrived at the outlet of the Save, and then divided themselves into three bodies. The first, commanded by Brennus and Acichorius, entered Pannonia, now known by the name of Hungary; the second marched into Thrace, under Cerethrius; and Belgus led the third into Illyrium and Macedonia.

All the nations, near whose territories this people approached, were struck with so much terror, that instead of waiting till they were subdued, they despatched ambassadors to the Gauls, and thought themselves exceedingly happy in purchasing their liberty with money. Ptolemy Ceraunus, king of Macedonia, was the only prince who was unaffected at the tidings of this formidable irruption; and running headlong on the punishment the divine vengeance was preparing to inflict upon him, for the murders he had perpetrated, he advanced to

¹ Justin. l. xxiv. c. 2—4.

² A. M. 3725. Ant. J. C. 279. Justin. l. xxiv et xxv. Pausan. l. x. p. 643—645. Memn. Exc. apud Photium. Eclogæ Diod. Sic. l. xxii. Callim. Hymn. in Delum, et Schol. ad eandem. Suidas in Ταλαται.

meet the Gauls with a small body of undisciplined troops, as if it had been as easy for him to fight battles, as it was to commit crimes.¹ He had even the imprudence to refuse a supply of twenty thousand men, which the Dardanians, a neighbouring people to Macedonia, offered him; and answered with an insulting air, that Macedonia would be much to be pitied, if, after it had conquered all the East, it could need the aid of the Dardanians to defend its frontiers; to which he added with a haughty tone of triumph, that he would face the enemy with the children of those who had subdued the universe under the banners of Alexander.

He expressed himself in the same imperious strain to the Gauls, who first offered him peace by deputation, in case he would purchase it; but conceiving this offer the result of fear, he replied, that he would never enter into any treaty of peace with them, unless they would deliver up some of the principal persons of their nation to him as hostages; and that they must likewise send him their arms, before he would place any confidence in their promises. This answer was received with contempt by the Gauls; and we may from hence observe the methods usually employed by the Deity in chastising the pride and injustice of princes; he first deprives them of reason and counsel, and then abandons them to their vain imaginations.

A few days after this event, a battle was fought, wherein the Macedonians were entirely defeated, and cut to pieces; Ptolemy, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner by the Gauls, who, after they had cut off his head, fixed it on a lance, and showed it to the army in derision. A very inconsiderable number of Macedonians saved themselves by flight, but all the rest were either slain or made prisoners. The Gauls dispersed themselves, after this victory, in order to pillage the adjacent country; upon which Sosthenes, one of the principal persons among the Macedonians, improving the disorder in which they then were, destroyed a great number of their men, and obliged the rest to quit the country.

- Brennus then advanced into Macedonia with his troops; but this leader is not to be confounded with the Brennus, who took the city of Rome, about a century before. Upon the intelligence he had received of the first success of Belgius, and the great booty he had acquired, he envied him the spoils of so rich a country, and immediately formed a resolution to have a part. And when he received the news of that general's defeat, that only served as a new motive to hasten his march; his impatience to avenge his countrymen uniting with his desire to enrich himself. Authors have not informed us what became of Belgius and his troops, but, in all probability, he was killed in the second engagement, after which the remains of his army were incorporated into that of Brennus. However that may be, Brennus and Acichorius quitted Pannonia, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, and entered Illyrium, in order to pass into Macedonia and Greece.

¹ Solus rex Macedoniæ Ptolemæus adventum Gallorum, intrepidus audivit, hisque cum paucis et incompositis, quasi bella non difficiliora quam scelera patrarentur, parricidiorum ruriis agitat, occurrit.—Justin.

During a sedition which happened in their march, a body of twenty thousand men drew off from the main army, and marched under Leonor and Lutarius, into Thrace, where they joined those whom Cerethrius had already marched into that country; after which they made themselves masters of Byzantium, and the western coasts of the Propontis, and then laid the adjacent country under contribution.

This desertion did not prevent Brennus and Acichorius from continuing their march; and they drew, either from Illyrium, or their countrymen, the Gauls, such numerous reinforcements, as increased their army to one hundred and fifty-two thousand foot, and sixty-one thousand two hundred horse. The hopes of booty, and some advantageous settlement, caused a vast number of soldiers to join them in this expedition, and with this army they marched directly to Macedonia, where they overpowered Sosthenes with their multitudes, and ravaged all the country.¹ It will soon appear by the sequel that Antigonus reigned in Macedonia, after the death of Sosthenes.

The Gauls, after their conquests in that country, advanced to the strait of Thermopylæ, with an intention to enter Greece, but were stopped for some time by the troops which had been posted there, to defend that important pass; till at last they discovered the way which the army of Xerxes had formerly taken in their passage over these mountains; and the Greeks, to avoid being surrounded by the troops detached against them by the Gauls for that purpose, were obliged to retire, and leave them a free passage.

Brennus advanced with the main body of the army towards Delphos, in order to pillage the immense riches of the temple of Apollo, and ordered Acichorius to follow him with the troops under his command, declaring to him, at the same time, with an air of raillery, that "the gods ought in reason to impart some of their riches to men who had more occasion for them than themselves, and employed them in a better manner." Authors have here taken an opportunity to relate very astonishing events; for they tell us that when Brennus approached the temple of Delphos, the skies were blackened with a dreadful tempest, and that great numbers of his men were destroyed by hail and thunder: to which they add, that this storm was attended with an earthquake, which rent the mountains and threw down the rocks, which crushed the Gauls by hundreds at a time; and that the remaining troops were seized with such a panic² the ensuing night, as caused them to mistake their own men for the enemy, in consequence of which they destroyed themselves in such a manner, that before the day grew light enough for them to distinguish each other, above half of the army had perished in that manner.³

The Greeks, by whom the temple was highly revered, had assembled from all parts to preserve it from being plundered, were animated by an event in which heaven itself seemed to declare in their

¹ A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278.

² The ancients thought these kinds of terrors were infused into the mind by the god Pan. Other reasons are likewise assigned for that name.

³ Justin. l. xxiv. c. 6—8. Pausan. l. x. p. 652—654.

favour, and charged the Gauls with so much impetuosity, that though Acichorius had joined Brennus, they were unable to sustain the shock, and were slaughtered in vast numbers. Brennus was wounded in several parts of his body, but not mortally. When he saw that all was lost, and that the design he had formed ended in the destruction of his army, he was seized with such despair as made him resolve not to survive his losses. He accordingly sent for all the officers that could be assembled in the confusion which reigned among them, and advised them to kill all the wounded men, and make the best retreat in their power. At the close of those expressions, he drank as much wine as he could, plunged his dagger into his own bosom, and expired on the spot.

Acichorius took the command upon himself, and endeavoured to regain the strait of Thermopylæ, in order to march out of Greece and conduct the sad remains of that army into their own country; but, as he was obliged to pass through a large extent of the enemy's territories, and to hazard a battle every time he wanted provisions for his troops, and as they were always reduced to the necessity of lying on the ground, though it was then the winter season — in a word, as they were constantly harassed from every quarter by the inhabitants of the countries through which they marched, they were all destroyed, either by famine, cold, distempers, or the sword; and of all that prodigious number of men who engaged in this expedition, not one escaped with life.

Some fabulous exaggerations may possibly be blended with the other circumstances of this event, and chiefly with relation to the sudden tempest that arose when the Gauls approached Delphos, and that miraculous fall of the rocks on the sacrilegious troops. Perhaps the whole might be no more than a thick flight of arrows shot by the enemies, who might likewise roll down upon the Gauls huge stones from the tops of the mountains. Such events are entirely natural and customary in attacks like this, which the priests, whose interest it was to magnify the power of their god, might represent with an air of prodigy, and as miraculous interposition. It is certain that any account of this nature might be easily imposed upon the credulity of the people, who are always fond of giving credit to the marvellous, and seldom scrupulously examine the truth of such things.

On the other hand, we have no sufficient reason to disbelieve any thing which history relates of this event. The enterprise of Brennus was undoubtedly a sacrilegious impiety, and injurious to religion as well as to the Deity himself; for he spoke and acted in the manner already represented, not from any conviction that those gods were the mere offspring of a fable, for he did not think better on that article than the Greeks themselves, but from an absolute contempt of a divinity in general. The idea of a God is impressed on the hearts of all men, and they have, through all ages and in all countries, believed it to be their duty to render certain honours to him. The pagans were deceived in their application of this principle, but all acknowledged the necessity of it. The Deity, therefore, in mere goodness to mankind, may have caused his vengeance to be displayed against

those, even among the heathens, who testified an open contempt of a Supreme Being, in order to preserve the traces and principles of religion in their minds by some extraordinary indications of his anger. till it pleased him to afford them clearer light by the ministration of the Mediator, at the appointed time, reserved for the instruction of mankind in that pure worship which the only true God required from them. We likewise see that the Divine Being, in order to preserve among men a due respect for his providence, and a belief of his peculiar attention to all their actions, has been careful, from time to time, to punish perjuries and other crying offences in a singular manner, and even among the pagans themselves; by which means the belief of that capital point, the first tie of man with God, was maintained amidst all the darkness of paganism and the dissoluteness of manners which then prevailed. But it is now time to return to the Gauls.

Leonor and Lutarius, who had established themselves on the Propontis, advanced to the Hellespont and surprised Lysimachia, after which they made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersonesus; but a difference arising between the two chiefs, they separated from each other. Lutarius continued his march along the Hellespont, and Leonor returned to Byzantium with the greatest part of the army.¹

The latter having afterwards passed the Bosphorus, and the other the Hellespont, met again in Asia, where a reconciliation being effected between them, they rejoined their forces and entered into the service of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who, after he had reduced his brother Zipetes by their assistance, and acquired possession of all his father's dominions, assigned to them, for their settlement, that part of Asia Minor which took from them the denomination of Gallo Græcia, or Galatia. The canonical epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians was written to the descendants of this people, and St. Jerom, more than six hundred years after the time we now speak of, declared that they continued to speak the same language he had heard at Treves.

The remainder of those who continued in Thrace engaged afterwards in a war with Antigonus Gonatus, who reigned in Macedonia, and the greater part of them were then destroyed. Those few who escaped, either passed into Asia, and rejoined their countrymen in Galatia, or dispersed themselves into other regions, where no farther mention is made of them. In this manner ended that terrible inundation of barbarians, after they had threatened Macedonia and all Greece with entire destruction.

After the death of Sosthenes, who defeated the Gauls, and reigned for some time in Macedonia, Antiochus, the son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, formed pretensions to that crown which their fathers had enjoyed, one after the other. Antigonus, who, after the fatal expedition of his father into Asia, had reigned ten years in Greece, finding the state of his affairs more favourable than those of his competitor, was the first who

¹ Liv. l. xxxviii. p. 16.

ascended the throne; but each of them raised great armies, and contracted powerful alliances, the one to support himself in his new conquests, and the other to dispossess him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having espoused the party of Antigonus in this conjuncture, Antiochus, when he was preparing to enter Macedonia, was unwilling to leave so powerful an enemy in his rear. Instead, therefore, of passing the Hellespont, he suddenly marched his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were at first so equal, that neither party would presume to attack the other, and continued for some time in that state of inaction. In the meantime, they entered into a treaty, by which Antigonus espoused Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antiochus resigned to him his pretensions to the throne of Macedonia. In this manner he remained peaceable possessor, and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it for several generations, to the time of Perseus, the last of this race, who was defeated by Paulus Emilius, and divested of his dominions, which the Romans, in a few years after, formed into a province of the empire.¹

Antiochus, having thus disengaged himself from this war, marched against the Gauls, who, after settling in the land granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incursions on all sides, by which they extremely incommoded their neighbours. Antiochus defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered the country from their oppressors. This action acquired him the title of Soter, which signifies a deliverer.²

SECTION VI. — PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS CAUSES THE BOOKS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES TO BE TRANSLATED INTO GREEK.

THE tumult of the wars which diversity of interest had kindled among the successors of Alexander, throughout the whole extent of their territories, did not prevent Ptolemy Philadelphus from devoting his utmost attention to the noble library he had founded in Alexandria, and wherein he deposited the most valuable and curious books he was capable of collecting from all parts of the world. This prince being informed that the Jews were masters of a work which contained the laws of Moses and the history of that people, was desirous of having it translated from the Hebrew language into the Greek, in order to enrich his library with that performance. To accomplish this design, it became necessary for him to address himself to the high priest of the Jewish nation; but the affair happened to be attended with great difficulty. A very considerable number of Jews had been actually reduced to a state of slavery in Egypt, by Ptolemy Soter, during the invasion of Judea, in his time; and it was represented to the king, that there would be no probability of obtaining from that people either a copy or a faithful translation of their law, while he suffered such a number of their countrymen to continue in their present servitude. Ptolemy, who always acted with the utmost

¹ A. M. 3728. Ant. J. C. 276. Memnon apud Phot. c. 19.

² A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275.

generosity, and was extremely solicitous to enlarge his library, did not hesitate a moment, but issued a decree for restoring all the Jewish slaves in his dominions to their full liberty, with orders to his treasurer to pay to their masters twenty drachms each for their ransom. The sum expended on this occasion amounted to four hundred talents; so that one hundred and twenty thousand Jews recovered their freedom by this bounteous proceeding. The king then gave orders for discharging the children born in slavery, with their mothers, and the sum employed for this purpose amounted to more than two hundred talents.¹

These advantageous preliminaries gave Ptolemy hopes that he should easily obtain his request from the high priest, whose name was Eleazar. He had sent ambassadors to that pontiff, with a very obliging letter on his part, accompanied with magnificent presents. The ambassadors were received at Jerusalem with all imaginable honours, and the king's request was granted with the greatest joy; upon which they returned to Alexandria with an authentic copy of the Mosaic law, written in letters of gold, and given them by the high priest himself, with six elders of each tribe — that is to say, seventy-two in the whole; and they were authorized to translate that copy into the Greek language.

The king was desirous of seeing these deputies, and proposed to each of them a different question, in order to make trial of their capacity. He was satisfied with their answers, in which appeared great wisdom, and loaded them with presents and other marks of his friendship. The elders were then conducted to the isle of Pharos, and lodged in a house prepared for their reception, where they were plentifully supplied with all necessary accommodations. They applied themselves to their work without losing time, and in seventy-two days completed the volume which is commonly called the Septuagint Version.² The whole was afterwards read and approved in the presence of the king, who admired, in a peculiar manner, the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and dismissed the seventy-two deputies with extremely magnificent presents, part of which was for themselves, others for the high priest, and the remainder for the temple. Expenses of this nature, though very considerable, never ruin a state, and do a prince great honour.

The author from whom these facts are extracted is Aristæus, who represents himself as one of the officers of the guard to Ptolemy Philadelphus. He adds a number of other circumstances, which I have omitted, because they seem more improbable than those I have inserted. It is pretended that the writers, whether Jews, as Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus; or Christians, as Justin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hilary, Austin, and some others, who have employed their pens on the subject of the Septuagint version, have founded all their relations solely on the veracity of Aristæus, when the work that bears his name is thought to be a spurious piece. Some

¹ A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277.

² It is called the Septuagint, for the sake of the round number seventy; but the sacred books were translated by seventy-two persons.

of these authors have added circumstances which are generally disbelieved, because they have too much of the marvellous in them. Philo declares, that though their translations were made in separate apartments, yet the least difference in the sense or style in which they were couched was so far from appearing, that, on the contrary, the expressions were every where the same, even to a single word; from whence he concludes, that these persons were not mere translators, but men inspired by the Spirit of God, who conducted them on that occasion, and dictated the whole to them, even to the minutest word.¹ Justin, and after him the other fathers already mentioned, suppose that each of the seventy-two interpreters performed his version in a separate cell, without the least correspondence with each other, and yet that all their translations were perfectly conformable to each other in every particular.

I have frequently declared my resolution not to enter into any historical disquisitions of this nature, which require much time and learning, and would therefore call off my attention too long from my principal object. The reader may consult the learned Prideaux, who has treated this subject at large. All that can be depended upon, and which no one has thought fit to contest, is, that a translation of the sacred books, from the Hebrew into the Greek, was made in Egypt, in the time of the Ptolemies; that we have this translation still extant, and that it is the same which was used in the time of our blessed Saviour, as most of the passages cited by the sacred writers of the New Testament from the original Greek of the Old are to be found *verbatim* in this version. It still subsists and continues to be used in the Oriental churches, as it was also by those in the primitive ages, among whom it passed for a canonical translation.

This version, therefore, which renders the Scripture of the Old Testament intelligible to a vast number of people, became one of the most considerable fruits of the Grecian conquests, and was evidently comprehended in the design God had in view when he delivered up all the East to the Greeks, and supported them in those regions, notwithstanding their divisions and jealousies, their wars, and the frequent revolutions that happened among them. In this manner did God prepare the way for the preaching of the gospel, which was then approaching, and facilitate the union of so many nations, of different languages and manners, into one society, and the same worship and doctrines, by the instrumentality of the finest, most copious, and correct language that ever was spoken in the world, and which became common to all the countries that were conquered by Alexander.

SECTION VII. — THE VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF PYRRHUS. HE IS SLAIN AT THE SIEGE OF ARGOS.

PYRRHUS, when he returned into Epirus, after he had entirely abandoned Macedonia, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, and enjoyed the sweets of peace, by governing his people agreeably to the rules of justice. But a disposition so active and im-

¹ Philo. de vita Mosis, l. ii. p. 658.

petuous as his own, in conjunction with a restless and ardent ambition, was incapable of being at rest itself, or suffering others to be so. This indisposition of mind was, in reality, a raging fever, which knew no intermission. In a word, he grew insupportable to himself, and was continually in pursuit of foreign objects, and following, from country to country, a felicity no where to be found. He therefore seized, with joy, the first opportunity that offered for plunging himself into new affairs.¹

The inhabitants of Tarentum were then at war with the Romans, and their own country not furnishing them with generals of sufficient abilities to oppose such formidable enemies, they turned their eyes toward Epirus, and despatched ambassadors thither, not only from themselves, but from all the Greeks in Italy, with magnificent presents for Pyrrhus. They had orders to tell him, that they wanted a leader of experience and reputation; that they had a competent number of good troops, and by only assembling the forces of the Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, were able to bring into the field an army of twenty thousand horse and thirty-five thousand foot. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a proposal so agreeable to his disposition, and so conformable to his character, may be easily imagined; the Epirots, by his example, conceived a warm desire and violent passion for this war.

A Thessalian, named Cineas, was then at the court of Pyrrhus. He was a man of great capacity, and having been the disciple of Demosthenes, was distinguished from all the orators of that time, not only for coming the nearest to the force and eloquence of that great master, but for having been most successful in deriving, from so excellent a school, the solid principles and best maxims of true politics. This person was much attached to Pyrrhus, who had employed him on embassies to several cities with whom he had negotiations to transact. Cineas, through the whole course of these employments, confirmed, by his conduct, the truth of this expression of Euripides, "that the eloquence of an enemy is no less prevalent than his sword." And Pyrrhus accordingly declared, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence of Cineas, than he could possibly have conquered by the force of arms. For this reason, he entertained the greatest esteem for his person, conferred many honours upon him, and employed him in the most important affairs. A man of this character is always an estimable treasure, and would constitute the happiness of a prince and his people, were his counsels admitted to take place.

Cineas, perceiving that Pyrrhus was preparing to pass into Italy, and finding him one day disengaged from affairs, and in a temper not to be offended with innocent liberties, entered into a free conversation with that prince. "Your majesty intends," said he, "to march against the Romans; should the gods be so gracious as to render you victorious, what advantage would you derive from your conquest?" "Were the Romans once subdued by my arms," replied Pyrrhus, "all Italy would then be ours." "Supposing ourselves masters of

¹ Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390—397. Pausan. l. i. p. 21, 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 1, 2.

² A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280.

that country," continued Cineas, "how should we proceed next?" Pyrrhus, who did not yet perceive his drift, continued, "Sicily will then present itself to us, and you know the importance of that island." "But will our expeditions," added Cineas, "end with the conquest of Sicily?" "No, certainly," replied Pyrrhus, with an air of emotion; "can we stop short in so glorious a career? If the gods are pleased to crown us with success, these would be only preludes to more glorious enterprises. Carthage, with all Africa, Macedonia, my ancient domain, every province in Greece, shall be part of our future conquests." "And when we have conquered all we can, how shall we dispose of ourselves?" "Dispose of ourselves! we shall live at our ease. We will pass whole days in feasts and agreeable conversation, and think of nothing but enjoying ourselves." "Ah! my lord," interrupted Cineas, "and what prevents us now from living at ease, making feasts, celebrating festivals, and enjoying all your majesty has mentioned? Why should we go so far in search of a happiness already in our power, and pay so dear for what we may now enjoy without the least trouble?"

This discourse of Cineas affected, but did not correct Pyrrhus. He could make no reasonable objection to what he had heard; but his natural ardour, more affecting, more durable, urged him on in pursuit of a phantom of glory, that was always presenting a delusive and shining outside to his view, and would not permit him to enjoy the least repose, either by night or day.

Monsieur Paschal has considered this reflection of Cineas, in the twenty-sixth chapter of his *Thoughts*, wherein he has explained, in an admirable manner, the origin of the tumultuous employments of mankind, and of all which the world calls diversion or pastime. "The soul," says that great man, "discovers nothing in herself that can furnish her with contentment. Whatever she beholds there, afflicts her when she considers it sedately. This obliges her to have recourse to external enjoyments, that she may lose in them the remembrance of her real state. In this oblivion consists her joy; and to render her miserable it suffices to oblige her to enter into, and converse with herself."

He then proceeds to justify the truth of this reflection, by a variety of examples; after which, he adds the following remarks: "When Cineas told Pyrrhus, who proposed to live at ease when he had conquered a large part of the world, that it would be better for him to hasten his intended happiness, by enjoying the repose in his power, without going in quest of it through so many fatigues; he gave him a counsel that admitted of many difficulties, and which seemed almost as irrational as the design of that ambitious youth. Each of them supposed that man was capable of being satisfied with himself, and his present enjoyments, without filling up the void of his heart with imaginary hopes; which is certainly false. Pyrrhus could not be happy, either before or after he had conquered the world; and perhaps the life of ease recommended to him by his minister, would have proved less satisfactory to him than the hurry of all the wars and expeditions he meditated."

It is certain, however, that neither the philosopher, nor the conquerer, were in a condition to know the heart of man to the bottom. Pyrrhus, therefore, immediately despatched Cineas to the Tarentines, with a body of three thousand foot; soon after which, a large number of flat-bottomed vessels, galleys, and all sorts of transport-ships, arriving from Tarentum, he embarked on board that fleet twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers.

All being ready, he set sail: but as soon as he advanced into the open sea, a violent storm arose from the north; and drove him out of his course. The vessel in which he was, yielded at first to the fury of the storm; but the care of the pilot and mariners was employed so effectually, that he at last gained the coast of Italy, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The other ships were incapable of holding the same course. At last a strong gale sprung up from the land, and the waves beat so violently against the head of the king's ship, that they expected it to founder immediately. Pyrrhus did not hesitate a moment in this extremity, but threw himself into the sea, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who were emulous to save him at the hazard of their own lives; but the night, which was extremely dark, and the impetuous bursting of the waves upon the coast, from whence they were repelled with a loud roar, made it very difficult for them to assist him; the king, however, after having struggled with the winds and waves for a considerable part of the night, was cast, the next morning, on the shore, the wind being then considerably abated. The long fatigue he had sustained, weakened him to such a degree, that nothing but his courage, always great and invincible, prevented him from sinking under it.

In the mean time the Messapians, on whose coast the waves had cast him, hastened to him with the utmost speed, to tender him all the assistance in their power. They also went to meet some of his ships that escaped the storm; but the cavalry they found on board were very inconsiderable in number; the infantry, however, amounted to two thousand men, and had two elephants with them. Pyrrhus, after he had drawn them up in a body, led them directly to Tarentum.

Cineas, as soon as he received intelligence of his approach, advanced to him with his troops. Pyrrhus, when he arrived at Tarentum, was extremely surprised to find the inhabitants solely employed in pleasures, in which it was their usual custom to indulge, without the least prudence or interruption. And they took it now for granted, that while Pyrrhus fought for them, they might quietly continue in their own houses, solely employed in bathing, using exquisite perfumes, feasting, and recreations. Pyrrhus did not intend to lay them under any constraint, till he had received intelligence that his ships were safe, and till the greatest part of his army had joined him. He then treated them like one determined to be their master. He began with shutting up all the public gardens, and places of exercise, where the inhabitants usually entertained themselves with news, and regulated military affairs as they walked together. He also suspended their feasts and public shows, and was altogether as severe upon the

assemblies of newsmongers. In a word, he compelled them to take arms, and behaved at all musters and reviews with very inexorable severity to those who failed in their duty. In consequence of which, several, who had not been accustomed to so rigorous a discipline, withdrew from the city; thinking it an insupportable servitude, to be debarred from the full enjoyment of their effeminate pleasures.

Pyrrhus, about this time, received information that Levinus the consul was advancing against him with a powerful army, and that he was then in Lucania, where he burned and destroyed all the country around him. Though the allies of Pyrrhus had not sent him any succours at that time, yet as he thought it very dishonourable to permit the enemy to approach nearer him, and commit their ravages in his view, he took the field with the few troops he had. But before he entered upon any hostilities, he despatched a herald to demand of the Romans, whether they would consent, before the commencement of the war, to an amicable accommodation of the differences between them and the Greeks of Italy, by referring the whole affair to his judgment and decision? To which Levinus the consul made this reply, "That the Romans neither took Pyrrhus for an arbiter, nor feared him as an enemy."

Pyrrhus, upon receiving this answer, advanced with his troops, and encamped in a plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and when he heard that the Romans were very near him, and encamped on the other side of the river Siris, he mounted his horse, and approached the bank to take a view of their situation. When he saw the appearance of their troops; their advanced guards, the fine order observed universally, and the commodious situation of their camp, he was astonished at what he saw; and addressing himself to one of his friends who was then near him, "Megacles," said he, "the disposition of these barbarians is by no means barbarous; we shall see whether the rest will correspond with this appearance."¹ Already anxious for his future success, he resolved to wait the arrival of his allies; thinking it sufficient, at that time, to post a body of troops on the bank of the river, to oppose the Romans, if they should attempt to pass; but this precaution was then too late, for the Roman infantry had already forded the stream, and the cavalry passed it where they found it practicable. The advanced troops of Pyrrhus, therefore, not finding themselves sufficiently strong, and fearing to be surrounded by their enemies, were obliged to join the main army with great precipitation; so that Pyrrhus, who arrived there a few moments before with the rest of his troops, had no time to dispute the passage with the enemy.

As soon as he saw a great number of Roman bucklers glittering on this side of the river, and their cavalry advancing toward him in fine order, he closed his ranks, and began the attack. The lustre and beauty of his arms, which were very magnificent, distinguished him in a conspicuous manner; and his actions made it evident, that the reputation he had acquired did not exceed his merit. For while he

¹ The Greeks considered all other nations as barbarians, and treated them accordingly.

engaged in the battle, without sparing his own person, and bore down all before him, he was attentive to the functions of a general; and amidst the greatest dangers was perfectly cool, issued his commands with as much tranquillity as if he had been in his palace, and sprung from place to place, to reinstate what was amiss, and sustain those who suffered most.

During the heat of the engagement, one of the Italian horsemen, with a lance in his hand, singled out Pyrrhus from all the rest of the troops, and followed him with the utmost ardour wherever he went, directing all his own motions by those of the king. And having at last found a favourable opportunity, he aimed a furious stroke at him, but wounded only his horse. At the same time Leonatus of Macedon killed the Italian's horse. Both horses being down, Pyrrhus was immediately surrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus more precaution than he had practised before, and obliged him to be more careful of himself; which is an indispensable duty in a general, on whose welfare that of a whole army depends. When he beheld his cavalry give way, he ordered his infantry to advance, and immediately drew it up. Then giving his mantle and arms to Megacles one of his friends, he put on those of the latter, and vigorously charged the Romans, who received him with great intrepidity. The battle was obstinately disputed on both sides, and the victory long continued doubtful. Authors say that each army gave way seven times, and as often returned to the charge.

Pyrrhus, by changing his arms, took a proper method for the preservation of his life; though, in the event, it almost proved fatal to him, and was on the point of wresting the victory out of his hands. The enemy threw themselves in throngs about Megacles, whom they took to be the king; and he was at last wounded by a horseman, who left him upon the spot, after he had torn off his arms and mantle, which he carried full speed to Levinus the consul; and as he showed them to him, cried out that he had slain Pyrrhus. These spoils being borne in triumph through all the ranks, filled the whole Roman army with inexpressible joy. All the field resounded with acclamations of victory, while the Grecian troops were struck with universal consternation and discouragement.

Pyrrhus, who perceived the terrible effect of this mistake, flew bare-headed through all the lines, holding out at the same time his hand to the soldiers, and making himself known to them by his voice and gestures. The battle was then renewed, and the elephants were chiefly instrumental in deciding the victory. For when Pyrrhus saw the Romans broken by those animals, and that the horses instead of approaching them, were so terrified that they ran away with their riders, he immediately led up the Thessalian cavalry against them, while they were in confusion, and put them to flight, after having made a great slaughter of them.

Dionysius Halicarnassus writes, that near fifteen thousand Romans

were killed in this battle, and that Pyrrhus lost thirteen thousand of his men. But other historians make the loss less on both sides.

Pyrrhus immediately made himself master of the enemy's camp, which they had abandoned, brought over several cities from their alliance, ravaged all the country around him, and advanced to within fifteen leagues of Rome.

The Lucanians and Samnites having joined him after the battle, he severely reproached them for their delay; but his air and aspect evinced that he was exceedingly delighted that his troops, in conjunction with the Tarentines alone, had defeated so well-disciplined and numerous an army of the Romans, without the assistance of other allies.

The Romans, however, were not dejected at the great loss they had sustained, and, instead of recalling Levinus, were solely intent on preparations for a second battle. This exalted turn of soul, which manifested so much steadiness and intrepidity, surprised and even terrified Pyrrhus. He, therefore, thought it prudent to dispatch a second embassy, to sound their dispositions, and to see if they would not incline to some expedient for an amicable accommodation; and in the meantime returned to Tarentum. Cineas, therefore, being sent to Rome, had several conferences with the principal citizens, and sent presents, in the name of the king, to them and their wives; but not one Roman would receive them. They all, even their wives, replied, that when Rome had made a public treaty with the king, it would be time enough to express his satisfaction with regard to them.

When Cineas was introduced to the senate, he acquainted them with the proposals of his master, who offered to deliver up his prisoners to the Romans without any ransom, and to aid them in the conquest of all Italy; requiring, at the same time, no other return than their friendship, and a sufficient security for the Tarentines. Several of the senators seemed inclined to a peace; and this was no unreasonable disposition. They had lately been defeated in a great battle, and were on the point of hazarding another of much more importance. They had likewise reason to be apprehensive of many fatal events, the forces of Pyrrhus having been considerably augmented by the junction of several of his Italian allies.

The Roman courage, in this conjuncture, seemed to want the animating spirit of the celebrated Appius Claudius, an illustrious senator, whose great age and want of sight had obliged him to confine himself to his family and retire from public affairs; but when he understood, by the confused report which was then dispersed through the city, that the senators were disposed to accept the offers of Pyrrhus, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly, which kept a profound silence the moment he appeared. There the venerable old man, whose zeal for the honour of his country seemed to have inspired him with all his ancient vigour, made it evident, by reasons equally solid and affecting, that they were on the point of destroying, by an infamous treaty, all the glory which Rome had ever acquired. "Where," said he, with a warmth of noble indignation, "where is the spirit that suggested the bold language you once

uttered, and whose accents rang through all the world, when you declared that if the great Alexander himself had invaded Italy, when we were young, and our fathers in the vigour of their age, he would never have gained the reputation of being invincible, but have added new lustre to the glory of Rome, either by his flight or death? Is it possible, then, that you should now tremble at the mere name of Pyrrhus, who has passed his days in cringing to one of the guards of that Alexander, and who now wanders, like a wretched adventurer, from country to country, to avoid the enemies he has at home, and who has the insolence to promise you the conquest of Italy, with those very troops who have not been able to secure him a small tract of Macedonia?" He added many other things of the same nature, which awakened the Roman bravery and dispelled the apprehensions of the senators, who unanimously returned this answer to Cineas: "That Pyrrhus should first retire from Italy; after which, if he should find himself disposed for peace, he might send an embassy to solicit it; but that, as long as he continued in arms in their country, the Romans would maintain the war against him with all their forces, though he should even vanquish a thousand such leaders as Levinus."

It is said that Cineas, during his continuance at Rome, in order to negotiate a peace, took all the methods of a man of wisdom and address to inform himself of the manners and customs of the Romans, their public as well as private conduct, with the form and constitution of their government; and that he was industrious to obtain as exact an account as possible of the forces and revenues of the republic. When he returned to Tarentum, he gave the king a faithful relation of all the discoveries he had made in his conferences with the principal men of Rome, and told him, among other particulars, "that the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings." A just and noble idea of that august body! And with respect to the numerous inhabitants who filled the streets and all parts of the country, he added: "I greatly fear we are fighting with a hydra." Cineas, indeed, had some reason for this remark, for the consul, Levinus, had at that time an army in the field twice as numerous as the first, and Rome had still an infinite number of men capable of bearing arms and forming many armies as powerful as that which had been newly levied.

The return of Cineas to Tarentum was immediately succeeded by the arrival of ambassadors to Pyrrhus from the Romans, among whom was Fabricius, who, as Cineas informed the king, was highly esteemed at Rome as a very virtuous man, and well experienced in military affairs, but that his fortune was extremely low. Pyrrhus received them with extraordinary marks of distinction, and treated them with all possible honour. The ambassadors, at their audience, said every thing necessary in the present conjuncture; and as they imagined his thoughts were elate by the victory he had obtained over their troops, they represented to him the vicissitudes and inconstancy of fortune, which no prudence of man could foresee; that the greatest overthrows in the field were incapable of sinking the Roman fortitude, and consequently it could never be alarmed at any minor disadvantage; that the examples of so many enemies, whom they had defeated, should

teach Pyrrhus to reflect on the enterprise he was forming; that he would find, at worst, that they were enemies prepared to receive him, and in a capacity to defend themselves. They concluded their remonstrances with leaving it to his choice, either to receive a ransom for their soldiers, who were then his prisoners of war, or to exchange them for such of his troops as the Romans had taken from him.

Pyrrhus, after a consultation with his friends, answered the ambassadors to this effect: "Romans, it is with an ill grace you demand the prisoners I have taken from you, as you intend to employ them against me, after your refusal of the peace I have proposed. If our mutual interest had been the subject of your attention, you never would have had recourse to such evasions. Be it your care to end, by an amicable treaty, the war you are maintaining against me and my allies, and I promise to restore you all the prisoners, as well your citizens as your confederates, without the ransom you offer me. If you reject this condition, it is in vain for you to imagine that Pyrrhus will ever be prevailed upon to release so great a number of soldiers."¹

When he had returned this answer to the ambassadors, he took Fabricius aside, and addressed him in the following manner: "As for you, Fabricius, I am sensible of your merit. I am likewise informed that you are an excellent general, and perfectly qualified for the command of an army; that justice and temperance are united in your character; and that you pass for a person of consummate virtue. But I am likewise as certain of your poverty, and must confess, that fortune, in this particular alone, has treated you with injustice, by misplacing you in the class of indigent senators. In order, therefore, to supply that sole deficiency, I am ready to give you as much gold and silver as will raise you above the richest citizen of Rome, being fully persuaded, that no expense can be more honourable to a prince than that which is employed in the relief of great men, who are compelled by their poverty to lead a life unworthy of their virtue; and that this is the noblest purpose to which a king can possibly devote his treasures. At the same time, I must desire you to believe, that I have no intention to exact any unjust or dishonourable service from you, as a return of gratitude. I expect nothing from you but what is perfectly consistent with your honour, and what will add to your authority and importance in your own country. Let me, therefore, conjure you to assist me with your credit in the Roman senate, which has hitherto assumed an air of too much inflexibility with relation to the treaty I proposed, and has never consulted the rules of moderation in any respect. Make them sensible, I entreat you, that I have given my solemn word to assist the Tarentines, and other Greeks, who are settled in this part of Italy, and that I cannot in honour abandon them on any account, and especially as I am now at the head of a potent army, that has already gained one battle. I must, however, acquaint you, that I am called by some pressing affairs to my own dominions, and it is this circumstance which makes me wish for peace with the greater solicitude. As to any other particulars, if my qua-

¹ Dion. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat., p. 744—748.

lity as a king causes me to be suspected by the senate, because a number of other princes have openly violated the faith of treaties and alliances, without the least hesitation, become my security yourself on this occasion, assist me with your counsels in all my proceedings, and command my armies under me. I want a virtuous man and a faithful friend, and you as much need a prince whose liberalities may enable you to be more useful, and to do more good to mankind. Let us, therefore, consent to render mutual assistance to each other in all the future conjunctures of our lives."

Pyrrhus having expressed himself in this manner, Fabricius, after a few moments' silence, replied to him in these terms: "It is needless for me to make any mention of the experience I may possibly have in the conduct of public or private affairs, since you have been informed of that from others. With respect, also, to my poverty, you seem to be so well acquainted with it, that it would be unnecessary for me to assure you I have no money to improve, nor any slaves from whom I derive the least revenue; that my whole fortune consists in a house of no considerable appearance, and in a little spot of ground that furnishes me with my support. But if you believe my poverty renders my condition inferior to that of any other Roman, and that, while I am discharging the duties of an honest man, I am the less considered because I happen not to be of the number of the rich, permit me to acquaint you that the idea you conceive of me is not just, and that, whoever may have inspired you with that opinion, or if you only suppose so yourself, you are deceived in it. Though I do not possess riches, I never did imagine my indigence a prejudice to me, whether I consider myself as a public or a private person. Did my necessitous circumstances ever induce my country to exclude me from those glorious employments which are the noblest objects of the emulation of great souls? I am invested with the highest dignities, and see myself placed at the head of the most illustrious embassies. I assist, also, at the most august assemblies, and even the most sacred functions of divine worship are confided to my care. Whenever the most important affairs are the subject of deliberation, I hold my rank in councils, and offer my opinion with as much freedom as another. I preserve a parity with the richest and most powerful persons in the republic; and, if any circumstance causes me to complain, it is my receiving too much honour and applause from my fellow-citizens. The employments I discharge cost me nothing of mine, no more than any other Roman. Rome never reduces her citizens to a ruinous condition by raising them to the magistracy. She gives all necessary supplies to those she employs in public stations, and bestows them with liberality. Rome, in this particular, differs from many other cities, where the public is extremely poor and private persons immensely rich. We are all in a state of affluence, as long as the public is so, because we consider her treasures as our own. The rich and the poor are equally admitted to her employments, as she judges them worthy of trust, and she knows no distinction between her citizens but those of merit and virtue. As to my private affairs, I am so far from repining at my fortune, that I think I am the happiest of men when I

compare myself with the rich, and find a certain satisfaction, and even pride, in that fortune. My little field, poor and unfertile as it is, supplies me with whatever I want, when I am careful to cultivate it as I ought, and to lay up the fruits it produces. What can I want more? Every kind of food is agreeable to my palate, when seasoned by hunger; I drink with delight when I thirst, and enjoy all the sweetness of sleep when fatigued with toil. I content myself with a habit that covers me from the rigours of winter; and of all the various kinds of furniture necessary for the same uses, the simplest is, in my opinion, the most commodious. I should be unreasonable and unjust, should I complain of Fortune, while she supplies me with all that nature requires. As to superfluities, I confess she has not furnished me with any; but, then, she has not formed me with the least desire to enjoy them. Why should I, then, complain? It is true the want of this abundance renders me incapable of relieving the necessities, which is the only advantage the rich may be envied for enjoying. But when I impart to the republic and my friends some portion of the little I possess, and render my country all the services I am capable of performing — in a word, when I discharge all the duties incumbent on me to the best of my ability, wherein can my conscience condemn me? If riches had ever been the least part of my ambition, I have so long been employed in the administration of the republic, that I have had a thousand opportunities of amassing great sums, and even by irreproachable methods. Could any man desire one more favourable than that which occurred a few years ago? The consular dignity was conferred upon me, and I was sent against the Samnites, the Brutii, and the Lucanians, at the head of a numerous army. We ravaged a large tract of land, and defeated the enemy in several battles; we took many flourishing and opulent cities by assault; I enriched the whole army with their spoils; I returned every citizen the money he had contributed to the expense of the war; and after I had received the honours of a triumph, I brought four hundred talents into the public treasury. After having neglected so considerable a booty, of which I had full power to appropriate any part to myself — after having despised such immense riches, so justly acquired, and sacrificed the spoils of the enemy to the love of glory, in imitation of Valerius Publicola, and many other great men, whose disinterested generosity of mind has raised the glory of Rome to so illustrious a height — would it now become me to accept of the gold and silver you offer me? What idea would the world entertain of me? and what an example would I set Rome's citizens! How could I bear their reproaches — how even their looks, at my return? Those awful magistrates, our censors, who are appointed to inspect our discipline and manners with a vigilant eye, would they not compel me to be accountable, in the view of all the world, for the presents you solicit me to accept? You shall keep, then, if you please, your riches to yourself, and I my poverty and my reputation."

I take it for granted that the historian furnished Pyrrhus and Fabricius with these speeches; but he has only painted their sentiments, especially those of the latter, in strong colours; for such was

the character of the Romans in those glorious ages of the republic. Fabricius was really persuaded there was more glory and grandeur in being able to despise all the gold of a king, than there was in reigning over an empire.¹

Pyrrhus being desirous the next day to surprise the Roman ambassador, who had never seen an elephant, ordered the captain of those animals to arm the largest of them, and lead him to the place where he intended to converse with Fabricius; the officer was then to place him behind a large hanging of tapestry, that he might be ready to make his appearance at a certain signal. This was accordingly executed, and the signal being given, the tapestry was drawn aside, and presented to view the enormous animal, who stretched out his trunk over the head of Fabricius, and shook the apartment with a most terrible cry. Fabricius, instead of discovering the least surprise or consternation, turned very calmly to Pyrrhus, and said to him, with a smile, "Neither your gold yesterday, nor your elephant to-day, alter me."²

While they were sitting at table in the evening, the conversation turned upon a variety of subjects; and after some conference on the affairs of Greece, and the several philosophers of note, Cineas introduced the opinions of Epicurus, and related the particular opinions of his disciples, in regard to the gods, and the government of the world; declaring, that they represented pleasure as the end and sovereign good of man, and declined all dignities and employments, as destructive to happiness. To this he added, that they never ascribed to the divinity, either love, or hatred, or wrath; but maintained, that he was entirely regardless of mankind: and that they assigned to him a life of tranquillity, in which he passed all ages void of occupation, and plunged in an endless variety of delights and pleasures. The soft and voluptuous lives of the Tarentines might probably occasion this discourse. While Cineas was going on with this subject, Fabricius, to whom such a doctrine was altogether new, exclaimed with a loud voice, "Great Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites follow this doctrine, as long as they shall make war with the Romans!"

Who of us moderns, were we to judge of the manners of the ancients by those which prevail in our age, would expect to hear the conversation at table, between great warriors, turn not only on political subjects, but points of erudition; for, at that time, philosophical inquiries were considered as the principal part of learning? Are not such discourses as these, seasoned with improving reflections, and enlivened with sprightly replies, equal at least to those table conversations, which frequently continue as long as the entertainment, and are passed without much expense of genius, in exclamations, worthy of Epicureans, on the delicacy of the provisions, and the admirable flavour of the wines and other liquors?

Pyrrhus was struck with so much admiration at the greatness of soul which he discovered in the Roman ambassador, and was so charmed

¹ Fabricius Pyrrhi regis aurum repulit, majusque regno judicavit regius opes posse contem-
nere. — Senec. Epist. 129.

² Plat. in Pyrrh. p. 395—397.

with his manners and his wisdom, that he became more impatient than ever to contract an alliance with his city. He therefore took him apart, and conjured him, a second time, to mediate an accommodation between the two states, and consent to reside at his court, where he should hold the first rank among all his friends and captains. "I would not advise you to persist in that request," replied Fabricius, whispering in his ear, with a smile, "and you seem to be but little acquainted with your own interest; for if those who now honour and admire you, should once happen to know me, perhaps they might be more desirous of having me for their king than yourself."

The prince, instead of being offended at this reply, esteemed him the more for making it, and would intrust the prisoners with none but him, that he might be certain they would be sent back to him, after they had embraced their relations and friends, and celebrated the Saturnalia, in case the senate should continue averse to a peace. They were accordingly sent to him at the expiration of the festival, the senate having ordered every prisoner to return to Pyrrhus, upon pain of death.

The command of the army being conferred on Fabricius the following year, an unknown person came into his camp, with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take Pyrrhus off by poison, if the Romans would promise him a recompense proportionable to the service he should render them, by putting an end to so destructive a war without any danger to themselves. Fabricius, who always retained the same probity and justice, even in time of war, which furnishes so many pretexts for departing from them, and as he knew there were some rights which ought to be preserved inviolable, even with enemies themselves, was struck with a just horror at such a proposal; and as he would not suffer the king to conquer him with gold, he thought it would be infamous in himself to conquer the king by poison.¹ After some conference, therefore, with his colleague Æmilius, he wrote a letter to Pyrrhus, to caution him against that base treachery. His letter was conceived in these terms:

"CAIUS FABRICIUS AND QUINTUS ÆMILIUS, CONSULS; TO KING
PYRRHUS, HEALTH.

"You seem to form a wrong judgment both of friends and enemies and this will be your own opinion, when you have read the letter which has been written to us. For you will then be sensible, that you are carrying on a war against people of virtue and honour, at the same time that you repose entire confidence in the worst of men. The information we now send you, results more from our affection for ourselves, than for you; for we were unwilling that your death should give the world occasion to defame us; and we would not have it imagined that we had recourse to treachery, through despair of terminating this war happily by our valour."

¹ Ejusdem animi fuit, auro non vinci, veneno non vincere. Admirati sumus ingentem virum, quem non regis, non contra regem promissa flexissent; beni exempli tenacem; quod difficilimum est, in bello innocentem; qui aliquod esse crederet etiam in hoste nefas: qui in summa paupertate, quam sibi decus fucrat, non aliter refugit divitias quam venenum.—Seneca. Epist. 120.

Pyrrhus having received this letter, and finding it to be a true representation of the fact, caused his physician to be punished, and sent back all his prisoners to the consul without ransom, as a testimonial of his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans. He likewise deputed Cineas to negotiate a peace; but the Romans, who would never accept either a favour from their enemy, or a recompense for not committing the most execrable act of injustice, were not averse to receiving the prisoners; they, however, returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites, as an equivalent; but as to the treaty of pacification, they would not permit Cineas to mention it, till Pyrrhus had returned to Epirus in the same fleet that had landed him and his troops in Italy. But, as his affairs made a second battle necessary, he assembled his army, and attacked the Romans near the city of Asculum.

The troops fought with great obstinacy on both sides, and the victory continued doubtful till the close of the battle. Pyrrhus, at the beginning of the action, having been driven into places impracticable to the cavalry, and against a river very difficult, as well in regard to its banks as marshes on the sides of it, was treated very rudely by the enemy, and lost a great number of his men. But having at last disengaged himself from that disadvantageous situation, and regained the plain, where he could make use of his elephants, he advanced against the Romans with the greatest impetuosity, his ranks being all in good order and well closed; and as he met with a vigorous resistance, the slaughter became very great, and he himself was wounded. He, however, had disposed his elephants so judiciously, that they broke through the Roman infantry, in several quarters, notwithstanding which they still maintained their ground. The two armies, fired with implacable rage, exerted the utmost efforts that bravery could inspire, and did not cease fighting till night parted them. The loss was almost equal on both sides, and amounted to fifteen thousand men in the whole. The Romans were the first who retreated, and gained their camp, which was near the field of battle. The advantage, therefore, seemed to remain with Pyrrhus, who continued longest in the field; but when one of his officers came to congratulate him on his victory, "If we gain such another," replied he, "we are inevitably ruined." And as he had really lost his best troops and bravest officers, he was very sensible of his inability to bring another army into the field against the Romans, whose very defeat inspired them with a new vigour and ardour to continue the war.¹

While he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind, and had the mortification to see himself in a manner destitute of all resource, and incapable of recurring to any honourable expedient, to disengage himself from an enterprise he had undertaken too inconsiderately, a dawn of hope and good fortune inspired him with a new resolution.² A deputation was sent to him, at that critical juncture, from Sicily, with a commission to deliver Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines, into his possession; and to implore the

¹ *Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro.*—Horat.

² *Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 397, 398. Pausan. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 2, et l. xxiii. c. 3.*

assistance of his arms to drive the Carthaginians from their island, and deliver them from their tyrants.¹ Several couriers from Greece also arrived at his camp at the same time, to inform him that Ceraunus had been killed in a battle with the Gauls in Macedonia, and that this kingdom seemed to invite him to ascend the throne.

Pyrrhus then found himself in a new perplexity. A moment before he was destitute of all hope, and now it flowed so fast upon him, that he was at a loss to determine which offer he ought to prefer. But after a long deliberation, and when he maturely weighed the reasons that offered themselves on both sides, he resolved for Sicily, which would open him a passage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory. In consequence of this resolution, he immediately despatched Cineas to treat with the cities, and gave them assurances of his speedy arrival; he then embarked for Sicily, after he had left a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the repugnance of the inhabitants, who had the mortification of seeing themselves abandoned by Pyrrhus, and reduced at the same time to a state of slavery by his troops.

When he arrived in Sicily, he immediately became master of Syracuse, which was delivered up to him by Sostratus,² who then governed that city, and by Thenon, who commanded in the citadel. He also received money from them out of the public treasury, and about two hundred ships, which facilitated his conquest of all Sicily. His insinuating and affable behaviour at his first arrival, gained him the hearts of all the people; and as he had then an army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, with a fleet of two hundred sail, he dispossessed the Carthaginians of their settlements in that island, and obliged them to evacuate the city of Eryx, which was the strongest of all their places there, and the best furnished with people for its defence; he also defeated, in a great battle, the inhabitants of Messina, who were called Mamertines,³ and whose frequent irruptions infested all Sicily, and entirely demolished all their fortresses.

The rapid progress of his arms terrified the Carthaginians, who were now divested of all their acquisitions in Sicily, except the single city of Lilybæum; and they sent to purchase peace and his friendship with money and ships. But as he aspired to much greater things, he answered them, that the only method to obtain what they desired, would be to abandon Sicily, and consent to let the Libyan sea be the boundary between them and the Greeks. He intended to bestow Sicily on his son Helenus, as a kingdom to which he had a right by birth, this prince being his son by the daughter of Agathocles; and he proposed to give his son Alexander the kingdom of Italy, which he looked upon as a certain conquest.

A continued series of prosperity, and the numerous forces under his command, had raised his hopes so high at that time, that he

¹ A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278.

² He is called Sesistratus by Dionysius Halicarnassus.

³ The word signifies martial, because they were a very warlike people. They originally came from Italy, and having made themselves masters of Messina, into which they had been received, they retained their own name there, though that of the city was not changed.

thought of nothing but accomplishing the great views that had drawn him into Sicily; the first and principal of which was the conquest of Africa. He had a sufficient number of vessels for that great expedition, but wanted mariners; in order, therefore, to obtain that supply, he obliged the cities to furnish him with men, and severely punished those who neglected to obey his orders.

In consequence of these proceedings, his power was soon changed into an insolent and tyrannical sway, which first drew upon him the hatred of the family and friends of Agathocles, whom he deprived of all the fortunes they had received from that prince, and bestowed them upon his own creatures. In contempt of the customs of that country, he also conferred the first dignities, and the government of cities, on his guards and centurions, whom he continued in the magistracy as long as he thought proper, and without any regard to the time prescribed by the laws. And as to all judicial proceedings with respect to private property, and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary sentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whose sole views were to enrich themselves by sordid gain, and live in all manner of luxury, profusion, and debauchery.¹

A conduct so oppressive, and different from that by which he at first had so well succeeded, could not fail to alienate the affection of the people from him; and when he became sensible that he was universally hated, and that the Sicilians, exasperated at his odious government, were solicitous to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garrisons as he knew were at his devotion, under pretext that the Carthaginians were preparing to invade him. He also seized the most illustrious citizens of each city, and caused them to be put to death, after he had charged them with treasonable conspiracies. Of this number was Thenon, the commander of the citadel: and all the important services he had rendered the king of Epirus did not suffice to exempt him from so cruel a policy; though it was allowed that he had contributed more than any other person to reduce Sicily under Pyrrhus. He also resolved to have Sostratus seized; but as he had some suspicion of what was intended against him, he found means to quit the city. A prince hazards all things when he loses the affection of his people, which is the strongest tie which unites them to their sovereign. The same barbarous and unjust treatment of the principal cities of Syracuse, who had conduced most to the progress of his power in that island, rendered him entirely odious and insupportable to the Sicilians. Such was the character of Pyrrhus; his vigorous conduct in the enterprises he undertook, facilitated his conquest of kingdoms and provinces, but he wanted art to preserve them.² The aversion which the cities conceived against him was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, in order to destroy him.

¹ Dion. Halic. in Excerpt. p. 571.

² Ut ad divincenda regna invictus habebatur, ita divictis acquisitisque celeriter cerebat: tanto mellus studebat acquirere imperia, quam retinere.—Justin. l. xxv. c. 4.

At this juncture, when he beheld nothing but new insurrections and revolts kindling all around, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, which informed him that they had been dispossessed of all their lands, and were then shut up in their cities, where it would be impossible for them to sustain the war, unless he would hasten to their assistance. These letters arrived at a proper time for affording him an honourable pretext for his departure, and preventing it from appearing a flight from Sicily, as if he despaired of succeeding any longer in that island.

As he was embarking at Syracuse, the Carthaginians attacked him in such a manner, as obliged him to fight, in the very port, against those barbarians, where he lost several of his ships. This, however, did not prevent him from sailing to Italy with those that remained; but upon his arrival there, he found a great body of Mamertines, who had passed thither before him, to the number of nearly ten thousand men, who greatly incommoded his march, by frequently harassing his troops, and making repeated attacks upon his rear-guard.

Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, tell us one circumstance not very much to the honour of Pyrrhus. In Locris was a celebrated temple, consecrated to Proserpine, and held in the greatest veneration by all the inhabitants of that country, as well as by strangers; and no one had ever presumed to violate it, though it was certain that immense treasures were deposited in it.¹ Pyrrhus, who then wanted money extremely, was not so scrupulous, but carried off all the riches of the goddess, and lodged them in his ship. The next day, if history may be credited, his fleet was shattered by a violent tempest, and all the vessels that were laden with these rich and sacred spoils were cast upon the coasts of Locris. This proud prince, says Livy, being convinced by this cruel disaster that the gods were not imaginary beings, caused all the treasures to be replaced in the temple with the utmost devotion. The goddess, however, was not appeased by this involuntary restitution; and the author who relates this event, represents the impious sacrilege as the cause of all the future calamities which happened to Pyrrhus, and particularly of the unfortunate death which put an end to his enterprises.²

Pyrrhus, after he had suffered by this tempest, arrived at Tarentum with twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, and when he had reinforced them with the best troops he could find in that city, he advanced, by long marches, against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.³

This people retained a secret resentment against Pyrrhus, for deserting them when he undertook his expedition into Sicily, for which reason he was joined by very few of their troops. This, however, did not prevent him from dividing his army into two bodies; one of which he sent into Lucania, to oppose the consul who was there at that time, and to render him incapable of assisting his colleague; the other he led himself against Manius Curius, the other consul, who

¹ Liv. l. xxix. n. 28. Dionys. Halicarn. in Excerpt. p. 542.

² Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 399. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 3.

³ A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274.

had intrenched himself in a very advantageous post near the city of Beneventum, where he waited for the succours that were advancing to him from Lucania.

Pyrrhus hastened as soon as possible to attack this last before the other had joined him; and with this view, he selected his best troops, with such of his elephants as were strongest and of most service in the field; after which he began his march, about the close of the evening, in order to surprise the consul in his camp. The enemy, however, discovered him the next morning, as he was descending the mountains, and Manius, having marched out of his intrenchments with a body of troops, fell upon the first he met. These he soon threw into confusion, and obliged them to have recourse to flight, which spread universal terror among the rest, great numbers of whom were slain, and even some of the elephants taken.

This success emboldened Manius to draw all his troops out from their intrenchments, in order to combat in the open plain. One of his wings had the advantage at the beginning of the battle, and pushed their enemies with great vigour; but the other was overthrown by the elephants, and driven back to their camp. In this emergency he sent for the troops he had left behind him to guard the intrenchments, and who were all fresh and under arms. These forces advanced in the critical moment, and with their pikes and darts compelled the elephants to turn and fall upon their own battalions, which created such a general confusion, that the Romans at last obtained a complete victory, which, in some sense, was of no less value to them than their future conquest of all nations; for the intrepidity they discovered in this engagement, and the gallant actions they performed in all the battles they fought with such an enemy as Pyrrhus, increased their reputation, as well as their fortitude and confidence in their own bravery, and caused them to be considered as invincible. This victory over Pyrrhus rendered them indisputable masters of all Italy between the two seas; and this acquisition was soon succeeded by the wars of Carthage, in which, having at last subdued that potent rival, they no longer beheld any power in a condition to oppose them.

In this manner did Pyrrhus find himself fallen from all the high hopes he had conceived with relation to Italy and Sicily, after he had consumed six whole years in these wars, and entirely ruined his own affairs. It must be acknowledged, however, that he preserved an invincible fortitude of mind amidst all these disgraces; and his experience in military affairs, with his valour and intrepidity, caused him always to pass for the first of all kings and generals of his time. But whatever he acquired by his great exploits, he soon lost by his vain hopes; for his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained, rendered him incapable of preserving what was already in his possession. This disposition caused Antigonus to compare him to a man who threw good casts at tables, but played them very ill.

He at length returned to Epirus with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse; but as his revenues were not sufficient for the subsistence of these troops, he was industrious to find out some new war for their support; and having received a reinforcement of some Gauls

who joined him, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus then reigned. His intention was only to ravage the country and carry off a great booty; but when he had once made himself master of several cities, without any difficulty, and had also seduced two thousand of the soldiers of Antigonus over to his party, he indulged the most exalted hopes, marched against Antigonus himself, attacked him in the defiles, and threw his whole army into disorder. A large body of other Gauls, who formed the rear-guard of Antigonus, courageously sustained his efforts for some time, till the encounter became very warm; but most of them were at last cut to pieces, and those who commanded the elephants being surrounded by his troops, surrendered themselves prisoners, and delivered up the elephants. The Macedonian phalanx was all that now remained; but the troops who composed this corps were struck with terror and confusion at the defeat of their rear-guard. Pyrrhus, perceiving that they seemed to refuse fighting him, stretched out his hand to the commanders, and other officers, and called each of them by his name. This expedient gained him all the infantry of Antigonus, who was obliged to have recourse to flight, in order to preserve some of the maritime places in their obedience to him. Pyrrhus was exceedingly animated by this victory, as may be judged by the following inscription on the spoils which he consecrated to the Itonian Minerva:¹ "Pyrrhus, king of the Molossians, consecrates to the Itonian Minerva these bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after he had defeated the whole army of Antigonus. Let no one be surprised at this event. The descendants of Æacus are still, as they originally were, perfectly brave and valiant."²

Pyrrhus, after this victory, made himself master of all the cities of Macedonia, and particularly of Æge,³ whose inhabitants he treated with great severity, and garrisoned their city with part of his Gauls, a people as insatiable and rapacious after money as any nation that ever existed. The moment they took possession of the city, they began with plundering the tombs of the Macedonian kings, whose remains were deposited there. They also carried off all the riches enclosed in those monuments, and, with sacrilegious insolence, scattered the ashes of those princes in the air. Pyrrhus lightly passed over this infamous action, either because the important affairs he then had upon his hands engaged his whole attention, or that his pressing occasion for the service of these barbarians rendered him unwilling to alienate their affection from him, by too strict an inquiry into this proceeding, which would make it necessary for him to punish the delinquents. So criminal a connivance sunk him very much in the esteem of the Macedonians.

Though his affairs were not established on so secure a foundation as to give him just reason to be void of apprehension, he conceived new hopes and engaged in new enterprises. Cleonymus, the Spar-

¹ Minerva was called Itonia, from Itonus, the son of Amphictyon, and she had two temples dedicated to her under this name — one in Thessaly, near Larissa, which was the same with that in the passage before us; the other was in Boeotia, near Coronea.

² Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400. Pausan. l. i. c. 23. Justin. l. xxv. c. 3.

³ A city of Macedonia, on the river Haliacmon

can, came to solicit him to march his army against Lacedæmonia, and Pyrrhus lent a willing ear to that proposal. This Cleonymus was of the royal race. Cleonymus, his father, who was king of Sparta, had two sons, Acrotates and Cleonymus. The former, who was the eldest, died before his father, and left a son named Areus. After the death of the old king, a dispute with regard to the sovereignty arose between Areus and Cleonymus; and as this latter seemed to be a man of a violent and despotic disposition, the contest was decided in favour of Areus. Cleonymus, when he was far advanced in age, espoused a very beautiful woman, whose name was Chelidonida, the daughter of Leotychidas. This young lady conceived a violent passion for Acrotates, the son of king Areus, who was very amiable, finely shaped, and in the flower of his youth. The circumstance rendered her marriage not only a very melancholy, but dishonourable affair to her husband Cleonymus, who was equally transported with love and jealousy; for his disgrace was public, and every Spartan acquainted with the contempt his wife entertained for him. Animated, therefore, with a burning impatience to avenge himself at once on his partial citizens and his faithless wife, he prevailed with Pyrrhus to march against Sparta, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants.¹

These great preparations for war made it immediately evident, that Pyrrhus was more intent to conquer Peloponnesus for himself, than to make Cleonymus master of Sparta. This, indeed, he strongly disavowed in his discourse: for when the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to him, during his residence at Megalopolis, he assured them that no hostilities were intended by him against Sparta, and that he only came to restore liberty to those cities which Antigonus possessed in that country. He even declared to them, that he designed to send his youngest children to Sparta, if they would permit him to do so, that they might be educated in the manners and discipline of that city, and have the advantage, above all other kings and princes, of being trained up in so excellent a school.

With these flattering promises he amused all such as presented themselves to him in his march; but those persons must be very thoughtless and imprudent, who place any confidence in the language of politicians, with whom artifice and deceit pass for wisdom, and faith for weakness and want of judgment. Pyrrhus had no sooner advanced into the territories of Sparta, than he began to ravage and plunder all the country around him.

He arrived in the evening before Lacedæmon, which Cleonymus desired him to attack without a moment's delay, that they might take advantage of the confusion of the inhabitants, who had no suspicion of a siege, and of the absence of king Areus, who was gone to Crete to assist the Gortynians. The helots, and friends of Cleonymus, were so confident of success, that they were then actually preparing his house for his reception; firmly persuaded he would sup there that night with Pyrrhus. But this prince, who looked upon the conquest

¹ A. M. 3732. Ant. J. C. 272. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400—403. Pausan. l. i. p. 23, 24, et l. iii. § 168. Justin. l. xxv. c. 1.

of that city as inevitable, deferred the assault till the next morning. That delay saved Sparta, and showed that there are favourable and decisive moments which must be seized immediately, and which, once neglected, never return.

When night came, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the expediency of sending their wives to Crete, but were opposed by them in that point; one among them, in particular, whose name was Archidamia, rushed into the Senate with a drawn sword, and after she had uttered her complaints, in the name of the rest, demanded of the men who were there assembled, "what could be their inducement to entertain so bad an opinion of them, as to imagine they would consent to live after the destruction of Sparta?"

The same council gave directions for opening a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, in order to oppose their approaches to the city, by placing troops along that work; but, as the absence of their king, and the surprise with which they were then seized, prevented them from raising a sufficient number of men, to form a front equal to that of the enemy, and engage them in the open field, they resolved to shut themselves up as securely as possible, by adding to each extremity of the ditch a kind of intrenchment, formed by a barricade of carriages, sunk in the earth, to the axletrees of the wheels, that by these means they might check the impetuosity of the elephants, and prevent the cavalry from assaulting them in flank.

While the men were employed in this work, their wives and daughters came to join them; and after they had exhorted those who were appointed for the encounter to take some repose while the night lasted, they proceeded to measure the length of the trench, and took the third part of it for their own share in the work, which they completed before day. The trench was nine feet in breadth, six in depth, and nine hundred in length.

When day appeared, and the enemy began to be in motion, those women presented arms to all the young men, and, as they were retiring from the trench they had made, they exhorted them to behave in a gallant manner; entreating them at the same time, to consider how glorious it would be for them to conquer in the sight of their country, and breathe their last in the arms of their mothers and wives, after they had proved themselves worthy of Sparta by their valour. When Chelidonida, in particular, retired with the rest, she prepared a cord, which she intended should be the fatal instrument of her death, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her husband, if the city should happen to be taken.

Pyrrhus, in the mean time, advanced at the head of his infantry, to attack the Spartan front, who waited for him on the other side of the trench, with their bucklers closely joined together. The trench was not only very difficult to pass, but the soldiers of Pyrrhus could not even approach the edge of it, nor maintain a good footing, because the earth, which had been newly thrown up, easily gave way under them. When his son Ptolemy saw this inconvenience, he drew out two thousand Gauls, with a select band of Chaonians, and filed off along the trench to the place where the carriages were disposed,

in order to open a passage for the rest of the troops. But these were ranged so thick, and sunk to such a depth in the earth, as rendered his design impracticable. Upon which the Gauls endeavoured to surmount this difficulty, by disengaging the wheels, in order to draw the carriages into the adjoining river.

The young Acrotates was the first who saw the danger, and immediately shot through the city with three hundred soldiers. Having taken a large compass, he poured upon the rear of Ptolemy's troops, without being discovered in his approach, because he advanced through hollow ways. Upon this sudden attack, as their ranks were broken, and their troops thrown into disorder, they crowded and pressed upon each other, and most of them rolled into the ditch, and fell around the chariots. In a word, after a long encounter, which cost them a vast quantity of blood, they were repulsed, and obliged to have recourse to flight. The old men, and most of the women, stood on the other side of the trench, and beheld with admiration the undaunted bravery of Acrotates. As for him, covered with blood, and exulting from his victory, he returned to his post amidst the universal applause of the Spartan women, who extolled his valour at the same time, and envied the glory and happiness of Chelidonida; an evident proof that the Spartan ladies were not extremely delicate in point of conjugal chastity.

The battle was still hotter along the edge of the ditch, where Pyrrhus commanded, and which was defended by the Lacedæmonian infantry; the Spartans fought with great intrepidity, and several among them highly distinguished themselves; particularly Phyllius, who, after having opposed the enemy for a considerable time, and killed with his own hand all those who attempted to force a passage where he fought, finding himself, at last, faint with the many wounds he had received, and the large quantity of blood he had lost, he called to one of the officers who commanded at that post, and, after having resigned his place to him, he retired a few paces, and fell down dead amidst his countrymen, that the enemies might not be masters of his body.

Night obliged both parties to discontinue the engagement; but the next morning it was renewed by break of day. The Lacedæmonians defended themselves with new efforts of ardour and bravery, and even the women would not forsake them, but were always at hand to furnish arms and refreshments to such as wanted them, and also to assist in carrying off the wounded. The Macedonians were indefatigable in their endeavours to fill up the ditch with vast quantities of wood, and other materials, which they threw upon the arms and dead bodies; and the Lacedæmonians redoubled their ardour to prevent their effecting that design.

But while the latter were thus employed, Pyrrhus had forced a passage at the place where the chariots had been disposed, and pushed forwards rapidly to the city. Those who defended this post sent up loud cries, which were answered by dismal shrieks from the women, who ran from place to place in the utmost consternation. Pyrrhus still advanced and bore down all who opposed him. He was now

within a short distance of that city, when a shaft from a Cretan bow pierced his horse, and made him so furious, that he ran with his master into the very midst of the enemy, and fell dead with him to the ground. While his friends crowded about him to extricate him from the danger he was in, the Spartans advanced in great numbers, and, with their arrows, repulsed the Macedonians beyond the trench.

Pyrrhus then caused a general retreat to be sounded, in expectation that the Lacedæmonians, who had lost a great number of men, and were most of them wounded, would be inclined to surrender the city, which was then reduced to the last extremity, and seemed incapable of sustaining a new attack. But at the very instant when every thing seemed desperate, one of the generals of Antigonus arrived from Corinth, with a very considerable body of foreign troops: which had scarcely entered the city before king Areus appeared with two thousand foot which he had brought from Crete.

These two reinforcements, which the Lacedæmonians received the same day, did but animate Pyrrhus, and add new ardour to his ambition. He was sensible, that it would be more glorious for him to take the city in spite of its new defenders, and in the very sight of its king; but, after he had made some attempts to that effect, and was convinced that he should gain nothing but wounds, he desisted from his enterprise, and began to ravage the country, with an intention to pass the winter there; but he was diverted from this design by a new ray of hope, which soon drew him off to another quarter.

Aristæas and Aristippus, two of the principal citizens of Argos, had excited a great sedition in that city. The latter of these was desirous of supporting himself, by the favour and protection of Antigonus; and Aristæas, in order to frustrate his design, immediately invited Pyrrhus to espouse his party. The king of Epirus, always fond of new motions, considered his victories as so many steps to greater advantages; and thought his defeats furnished him with indispensable reasons for entering upon a new war, to repair his losses. Neither good nor ill success, therefore, could inspire him with a disposition for tranquillity; for which reason he had no sooner given audience to the courier of Aristæas, than he began his march to Argos. King Areus formed several ambuscades to destroy him by the way, and having possessed himself of the most difficult passes, cut to pieces the Gauls and Molossians, who formed his rear-guard. Ptolemy, who had been detached by Pyrrhus, his father, to succour that guard, was killed in the engagement, upon which his troops disbanded and fled. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, commanded by Evalcus, an officer of great reputation, pursued them with so much ardour, that he insensibly advanced to a great distance from his infantry, who were incapable of keeping up with him.¹

Pyrrhus being informed of his son's death, which affected him with the deepest sorrow, immediately led up the Molossian cavalry against the pursuers; and throwing himself among the thickest of their troops, made such a slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, as in a moment covered

¹ A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 403—406. Pausan. l. i. p. 24. Justin. l. xxv. c. 5.

him with blood. He was always intrepid and terrible in battles; but on this occasion, when grief and revenge gave a new edge to his courage, he even surpassed himself, and effaced the lustre of his conduct in all former battles, by the superior valour and intrepidity which he now displayed. He continually sought Evalcus in the throng, and having at last singled him out, he spurred his horse against him, and struck him through with his javelin, after having been in great danger himself. He then sprang from his horse, and made a terrible slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, whom he overthrew in heaps upon the dead body of Evalcus. This loss of the bravest officers and troops of Sparta, proceeded altogether from the temerity of those, who, after they had gained a complete victory, suffered it to be wrested out of their hands, by pursuing those who fled, with a blind and imprudent eagerness.

Pyrrhus, having thus celebrated the funeral solemnities of Ptolemy by this great battle, and mitigated his affliction in some measure, by satiating his rage and vengeance in the blood of those who had slain his son, continued his march to Argos, and upon his arrival there, was informed that Antigonus possessed the heights upon the borders of the plain. He then formed his camp near the city of Nauplia, and sent a herald the next morning to Antigonus, with an offer to decide their quarrel by single combat; but Antigonus contented himself with replying, "that if Pyrrhus was grown weary of life, there was abundance of methods of putting an end to it."

The inhabitants of Argos despatched ambassadors, at the same time, to both these princes, to entreat them to withdraw their troops, and not reduce their city into subjection to either of them, but allow it to continue in a state of friendship with both. Antigonus readily consented to this proposal, and sent his son as a hostage to the Argives. Pyrrhus also promised to retire; but as he offered no security for the performance of his word, they began to suspect his sincerity, and indeed with sufficient reason.

As soon as night appeared he advanced to the walls, and having found a door left open by Aristæas, he had time to pour his Gauls into the city, and seize it without being perceived. But when he would have introduced his elephants, he found the gate too low; which obliged him to cause the towers to be taken down from their backs, and replaced there when those animals had entered the city. All this could not be effected in the darkness, without much trouble, noise, and confusion, and without a considerable loss of time, which caused them to be discovered. The Argives, when they beheld the enemy in the city, fled to the citadel, and to those places that were most advantageous for their defence, and sent a deputation to Antigonus, to press his speedy advance to their assistance. He accordingly marched that moment, and caused his son, with the other officers, to enter the city at the head of his best troops.

In this very juncture of time, king Areus also arrived at Argos, with a thousand Cretans, and as many Spartans as were capable of coming. These troops, when they had all joined each other, charged the Gauls with the utmost fury, and put them into disorder. Pyrrhus

hastened, on his part, to sustain them, but the darkness and confusion were then so great, that it was impossible for him to be either heard or obeyed. When day appeared, he was not a little surprised to see the citadel filled with enemies; and as he then imagined all was lost, he thought of nothing but a timely retreat. But as he had some apprehensions with respect to the city gates, which were much too narrow, he sent orders to his son Helenus, whom he had left without, with the greatest part of the army, to demolish part of the wall, that his troops might have a free passage out of the city. The person to whom Pyrrhus gave this order, in great haste, having misunderstood his meaning, delivered a quite contrary message, in consequence of which, Helenus immediately drew out his best infantry, with all the elephants he had left, and then advanced into the city to assist his father, who was preparing to retire the moment the other entered the place.

Pyrrhus, as long as the place afforded him a sufficient extent of ground, appeared with a resolute mien, and frequently faced about, and repulsed those who pursued him; but when he found himself engaged in a narrow street, which ended at the gate, the confusion, which already was very great, became infinitely increased by the arrival of the troops his son brought to his assistance. He frequently called aloud to them to withdraw, in order to clear the street, but in vain, for as it was impossible for his voice to be heard, they still continued to advance, and to complete the calamity in which they were involved, one of the largest elephants sunk down in the middle of the gate, and filled up the whole extent in such a manner, that the troops could neither advance nor retire. The confusion occasioned by this accident became then inexpressible.

Pyrrhus observing the disorder of his men, who broke forward, and were driven back, like the waves of the sea, took off the glittering crest which distinguished his helmet, and caused him to be known, and then, confiding in the goodness of his horse, he rushed into the throng of his enemies who pursued him; and while he was fighting with an air of desperation, one of the adverse party advanced to him, and pierced his cuirass with a javelin. The wound, however, was neither great nor dangerous, and Pyrrhus immediately turned upon the man from whom he received it, and who happened to be only a private soldier, the son of a poor woman of Argos. The mother beheld the combat from the top of a house, where she stood with several other women.

The moment she saw her son engaged with Pyrrhus, she almost lost her senses, and was chilled with horror at the danger to which she beheld him exposed. In the excess of her agony she caught up a large tile, and threw it down upon Pyrrhus. The mass fell directly upon his head, and his helmet being too weak to defend him from the blow, his eyes were immediately covered with darkness, his hands dropped the reins, and he sunk down from his horse without being then observed. But he was soon discovered by a soldier, who put an end to his life, by cutting off his head.

The report of this accident was immediately spread in all parts.

Alcyonæus, the son of Antigonus, took the head from the soldier, and rode away with it full speed to his father, at whose feet he threw it; but he met with a very ill reception for acting in a manner so unbecoming his rank. Antigonus, recollecting the fate of his grandfather Antigonus, and that of Demetrius his father, could not refrain from tears at so mournful a spectacle, and caused magnificent honours to be rendered to the remains of Pyrrhus. After having made himself master of his camp and army, he treated his son Helenus, and the rest of his friends, with great generosity, and sent them back to Epirus.

The title of a great captain is justly due to Pyrrhus, as he was so particularly esteemed by the Romans themselves; and especially if we consider the glorious testimony given in his favour, by a person the most worthy of belief with regard to the merit of a warrior, and the best qualified to form a competent judgment in that particular. Livy reports from a historian, whom he cites as his voucher, that Hannibal, when he was asked by Scipio, whom he thought the most able and consummate general, placed Alexander in the first rank, Pyrrhus in the second, and himself in the third.¹

The same general also characterized Pyrrhus, by adding, "that he was the first who taught the art of encamping; that no one was more skilful in choosing his posts, and drawing up his troops; that he had a peculiar art in conciliating affection, and attaching people to his interest; and that to such a degree, that the people of Italy were more desirous of having him for their master, though a stranger, than to be governed by the Romans themselves, who, for so many years, had held the first rank in that country."

Pyrrhus might possibly be master of all these great qualities; but I cannot comprehend, why Hannibal should represent him as the first who taught the art of encamping. Were not several Grecian kings and generals master of this before him? The Romans, indeed, learned it from him, and Hannibal's defence extends no farther. But, these extraordinary qualities alone are not sufficient to constitute a great commander; and even proved ineffectual to him on several occasions. He was defeated by the Romans near Asculum, merely from having made a bad choice of ground. He failed in his attempt on Sparta, by deferring the attack for a few hours. He lost Sicily, by his injudicious treatment of the people; and was himself killed at Argos, for venturing too rashly into an enemy's city. We might also enumerate a variety of other errors committed by him, with reference even to military affairs.

Is it not entirely inconsistent with the rank and duty of a great general, and especially a king, to be always exposing his person without the least precaution, like a common soldier; to charge in the foremost ranks, like a common adventurer; to be more vain of a personal action, which only shows strength and intrepidity, than a wise and attentive conduct, so essential to a general, vigilant for the general safety, who never confounds his own merit and functions with those of a private soldier? We may even observe the same defects to have been very

¹ Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14.

apparent in the kings and generals of this age, who undoubtedly were led into it by the false lustre of Alexander's successful temerity.

May it not be also said, that Pyrrhus was deficient, in not observing any rule in his military enterprises, and in plunging blindly into wars, without reflection, without cause, through temperament, passion, habit, and inability to continue in a state of tranquillity, or pass any part of his time to his satisfaction, unless he were tilting with all the world? The reader will, I hope, forgive me the oddness of that expression, since a character of this nature seems, in my opinion, very much to resemble that of the heroes and knights-errant of romance.

But no fault is more obvious in the character of Pyrrhus, nor must have shocked my readers more, than his forming his enterprises without the least maturity of thought, and abandoning himself, without examination, to the least appearances of success; frequently changing his views, on such slender occasions, as discover no consistency of design, and even little judgment; in a word, beginning every thing, and ending nothing. His whole life was a continued series of uncertainty and variation; and while he suffered his restless and impetuous ambition to bury him, at different times, into Sicily, Italy, Macedonia, and Greece, his cares and attention were employed nowhere so little as in Epirus, the land of his nativity, and his hereditary dominions. Let us then allow him the title of a great captain, if valour and intrepidity alone are sufficient to deserve it; for in these qualities no man was ever his superior. When we behold him in his battles, we think ourselves spectators of the vivacity, intrepidity, and martial ardour of Alexander: but he certainly had not the qualities of a good king, who, when he really loves his people, makes his valour consist in their defence, his happiness in making them happy, and his glory in their peace and security.

The reputation of the Romans beginning now to spread through foreign nations, by the war they had maintained for six years against Pyrrhus, whom at length they compelled to retire from Italy and return ignominiously to Epirus, Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to desire their friendship; and the Romans were charmed to find it solicited by so great a king.¹

An embassy was also sent from Rome to Egypt, the following year, in return to the civilities of Ptolemy.² The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabius Pictor, with Numerius, his brother, and Q. Ogulnius. The disinterested air with which they appeared, sufficiently indicated the greatness of their souls. Ptolemy gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold; which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour he intended them; but they went the next morning, and placed them on the heads of the king's statues erected in the public parts of the city. The king having likewise tendered them very considerable presents, at their audience of leave, they received them as they before accepted of the crowns;

¹ A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274. Liv. Epit. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii.

² A. M. 3731. Ant. J. C. 273. Liv. Epit. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii. Val. Max. iv. c. 3. Dion. in Excerpt.

but before they went to the senate, to give an account of their embassy, after their arrival at Rome, they deposited all those presents in the public treasury, and made it evident, by so noble a conduct, that persons of honour ought, when they serve the public, to propose no other advantage to themselves, than the honour of acquitting themselves well of their duty. The republic, however, would not suffer itself to be exceeded in generosity of sentiments. The senate and people came to a resolution, that the ambassadors, in consideration of the services they had rendered the state, should receive a sum of money equivalent to that they had deposited in the public treasury. This, indeed, was an amiable contest between generosity and glory, and one is at a loss to know to which of the antagonists to ascribe the victory. Where shall we now find men who devote themselves, in such a manner, to the public good, without any interested expectations of a return; and who enter upon employments in the state, without the least view of enriching themselves? and let me ask too, where shall we find states and princes, who know how to esteem and recompense merit in this manner? We may observe here, says a historian,¹ three fine models set before us, in the noble liberality of Ptolemy, the disinterested spirit of the ambassadors, and the grateful equity of the Romans.

SECTION VIII.—ATHENS TAKEN BY ANTIGONUS. PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS IMPROVES COMMERCE. HIS DEATH.

THE Greeks, after they had been subjected by the Macedonians, and rendered dependent on their authority, seemed, by losing their liberty, to have been also divested of that courage, and greatness of soul, by which they had been till then so eminently distinguished from other people. They appeared entirely changed, and to have lost all similitude to their ancient character. Sparta, that was once so bold and imperious, in a manner possessed of the sovereignty of all Greece, patiently bowed down her neck, at last, beneath a foreign yoke; and we shall soon behold her subjected to domestic tyrants, who will treat her with the utmost cruelty. We shall see Athens, once so jealous of her liberty and so formidable to the most powerful kings, running headlong into slavery, and, as she changes her masters, successively paying them the homage of the basest and most abject adulation. Each of these cities will, from time to time, make some efforts to reinstate themselves in their ancient liberties, but impetuously, and without success.

Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedonia, became very powerful some years after the death of Pyrrhus, and thereby formidable to the states of Greece; the Lacedæmonians, therefore, entered into a league with the Athenians against him, and engaged Ptolemy Philadelphus to accede to it. Antigonus, in order to frustrate the confederacy which these two states had formed against him, and to prevent the consequences that might result from it, immediately began hostilities with the siege of Athens; but Ptolemy soon sent a fleet thither, under the command of Patroclus, one of his generals; while Areus, king of Lacedæmon, put himself at the head of an army to succour that city by land. Patroclus, as soon as he arrived before the place, advised

¹ Valerius Maximus.

Areus to attack the enemy, and promised to make a descent at the same time, in order to assault them in the rear. This counsel was very judicious, and could not have failed of success, had it been carried into execution; but Areus, who wanted provisions for his troops, thought it more advisable to return to Sparta. The fleet, therefore, being incapable of acting alone, sailed back to Egypt, without doing any thing. This is the usual inconvenience to which troops of different nations are exposed, when they are commanded by chiefs who have neither any subordination, nor good understanding between them. Athens, thus abandoned by her allies, became a prey to Antigonus, who placed a garrison in it.¹

Patroclus happened, in his return, to stop at Caunus, a maritime city of Carta, where he met with Sotades, a poet universally decried for the unbounded license, both of his muse and his manners. His satiric poetry never spared either his best friends, or the most worthy persons, and even the sacred characters of kings were not exempted from his malignity. When he was at the court of Lysimachus, he affected to blacken the reputation of Ptolemy by atrocious calumny; and when he was entertained by this latter, he traduced Lysimachus in the same manner. He had composed a virulent satire against Ptolemy, wherein he inserted many cutting reflections on his marriage with Arsinoë, his own sister; he afterwards fled from Alexandria, to save himself from the resentment of that prince. Patroclus thought it his duty to make an example of a wretch who had affronted his master in such an insolent manner; he accordingly caused a weight of lead to be fastened to his body, and then ordered him to be thrown into the sea.² The generality of poets who profess satire, are a dangerous and detestable race of men, who have renounced all probity and shame, and whose quill, dipped in the bitterest gall, respects neither rank nor virtue.

The affairs of Ptolemy were greatly perplexed by a revolt excited in Egypt, by a prince from whom he never expected any such treatment. Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, having set up the standard of rebellion against Ptolemy, his master and benefactor, caused himself to be proclaimed king of those provinces. Ptolemy and he were brothers by the same mother; for the latter was the son of Berenice and Philip, a Macedonian officer, who was her husband before she was espoused to Ptolemy Soter. Her solicitations, therefore, obtained for him this government, when she was advanced to the honours of a crown, upon the death of Ophellas, as I have formerly observed. Magas had so well established himself in his government, by long possession, and by his marriage with Apamia, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, that he endeavoured to render himself independent; and as ambition is a boundless passion, his pretensions rose still higher. He was not contented with wresting from his brother the two provinces he governed, but formed a resolution to dethrone him. With this view he advanced into Egypt, at the head of a great army, and, in

¹ A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 2. Pausan. in Lacœn. p. 163, et in Attic. p. 1.

² A. M. 3737. Ant. J. C. 267. Athen. l. xiv. p. 620, 621.

his march toward Alexandria, made himself master of Paretonion, a city of Marmorica.¹

The intelligence he received of the revolt of the Marmarides in Libya, prevented him from proceeding any farther in this expedition; and he immediately returned, to regulate the disorders in his provinces. Ptolemy, who had marched an army to the frontiers, had now a favourable opportunity of attacking him in his retreat, and entirely defeating his troops; but a new danger called him to another quarter. He detected a conspiracy which had been formed against him, by four thousand Gauls, whom he had taken into his pay, and who intended no less than to drive him out of Egypt, and seize it for themselves. In order, therefore, to frustrate their design, he found himself obliged to return to Egypt, where he drew the conspirators into an island in the Nile, and shut them up so effectually there, that they all perished by famine, except those who chose rather to destroy one another, than languish out their lives in that miserable manner.

Magas, as soon as he had calmed the troubles which occasioned his return, renewed his designs on Egypt, and, in order to succeed more effectually, engaged his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, to enter into his plan. It was then resolved, that Antiochus should attack Ptolemy on one side, while Magas invaded him on the other; but Ptolemy, who had secret intelligence of his treaty, prevented Antiochus in his design, and gave him so much employment in all his maritime provinces, by repeated descents, and the devastations made by the troops he sent into those parts, that this prince was obliged to continue in his own dominions, to concert measures for their defence; and Magas, who expected a diversion to be made in his favour by Antiochus, thought it not advisable to enter upon an action, when he perceived that his ally had not made the effort on which he depended.²

Phileteres, who founded the kingdom of Pergamus, died the following year, at the age of eighty. He was a eunuch, and originally a servant of Docimus, an officer in the army of Antigonus; who having quitted that prince, to enter into the service of Lysimachus, was soon followed by Phileteres. Lysimachus, finding him a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and intrusted him with the government of the city of Pergamus, in which his treasures were deposited. He served Lysimachus very faithfully in this post for several years; but his attachment to the interest of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lysimachus, who was destroyed by the intrigues of Arsinoe, the younger daughter of Ptolemy Soter, as I have formerly related, and the affliction he testified at the tragical death of that prince, caused him to be suspected by the young queen, and she accordingly took measures to destroy him. Phileteres, who was sensible of her intentions, resolved upon a revolt, and succeeded in his design, by the protection of Seleucus, after which he supported himself in the possession of the city and treasures of Lysimachus; favoured in his views by the troubles which arose upon the death of that prince, and

¹ A. M. 3739. Ant. J. C. 265. Pausan. in Att. p. 12, 13.

² A. M. 3740. Ant. J. C. 264.

that of Seleucus, which happened seven months after. He conducted his affairs with so much art and capacity, amid all the divisions of the successors of those two princes, that he preserved the city, with all the country around it, for the space of twenty years, and formed it into a state, which subsisted for several generations in his family, and became one of the most potent states of Asia. He had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, the former of whom, who was the eldest, had a son also named Eumenes, who succeeded his uncle, and reigned twenty-two years.¹

In this year began the first Punic war, which continued for the space of twenty-four years, between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having built a city near the former site of Astacus, which Lysimachus destroyed, called it Nicomedia, from his own name. Frequent mention is made of it in the history of the lower empire, because several of the Roman emperors resided there.²

Antiochus Soter was desirous of improving the death of Phileteres to his own advantage, and take that opportunity to seize his dominions; but Eumenes, his nephew and successor, raised a fine army for his defence, and obtained such a complete victory over him near Sardis, as not only secured him the possession of what he already enjoyed, but enabled him to enlarge his dominions very considerably.

Antiochus returned to Antioch after this defeat, where he ordered one of his sons to be put to death for raising a commotion in his absence, and caused the other, whose name was the same as his own, to be proclaimed king; shortly after which he died, and left him all his dominions.³ This young prince was his son by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who, from his mother-in-law, became his consort, as I have formerly observed.⁴

Antiochus, the son, when he came to the crown, was espoused to Laodice, his sister by the father.⁵ He afterwards assumed the surname of Theos, which signifies God, and distinguishes him, at this day, from the other kings of Syria, who were called by the name of Antiochus. The Milesians were the first who conferred it upon him, to testify their gratitude for his delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus, governor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was not only master of Egypt, but of Coelosyria and Palestine, with the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, in Asia Minor. Timarchus revolted from his sovereign, and chose Miletus for the seat of his residence. The Milesians, in order to free themselves from this tyrant, had recourse to Antiochus, who defeated and killed him; in acknowledgment for which they rendered him divine honours, and

¹ A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Strab. l. xiii. p. 623, 624. Pausan. Att. p. 13 et 18.

² A. M. 3742. Ant. J. C. 262. Pausan. Eliac. l. p. 405. Euseb. in Chron. Trebell. Pollio. in Gallien. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 9. Memn. c. 21. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.

³ Mr. La Nause affirms that there is an error in this abridgment of Trogus Pompeius. The reader may consult the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscription, vol. vii.

⁴ A. M. 3743. Ant. J. C. 261. Trog. in Prologo. l. xxvi.

⁵ A. M. 3744. Ant. J. C. 260. Polyæn. Stratag. l. viii. c. 50. Appian. in Syriac, p. 230 Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

even conferred upon him the title of God. With such impious flattery was it usual to treat the reigning princes of those ages! The Lemnians had likewise bestowed the same title on his father and grandfather, and did not scruple to erect temples to their honour; and the people of Smyrna were altogether as obsequious to his mother, Stratonice.¹

Berosus, the famous historian of Babylon, flourished in the beginning of this prince's reign, and dedicated his history to him. Pliny informs us that it contained the astronomical observations of four hundred and eighty years. When the Macedonians were masters of Babylon, Berosus made himself acquainted with their language, and went first to Cos, which had been rendered famous by the birth of Hippocrates, and there established a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology.² From Cos he proceeded to Athens, where, notwithstanding the vanity of his art, he acquired so much reputation by his astrological predictions, that the citizens erected a statue to him, with a tongue of gold, in the Gymnasium, where the youths performed all their exercises.³ Josephus and Eusebius have transmitted to us some excellent fragments of this history, which illustrate several passages in the Old Testament, and without which it would be impossible to trace any exact succession of the kings of Babylon.

Ptolemy, being desirous to enrich his kingdom, conceived an expedient to draw into it all the maritime commerce of the East, which, till then, had been in the possession of the Tyrians, who transacted it by sea as far as Elath, and from thence by land to Rhinocorura, and from this last place by sea again to the city of Tyre. Elath and Rhinocorura were two seaports; the first on the eastern shore of the Red Sea, and the second on the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, and near the mouths of the river of Egypt.⁴

Ptolemy, in order to draw this commerce into his own kingdom, thought it necessary to found a city on the western shore of the Red Sea, from whence the ships were to set out. He accordingly built it almost on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of his mother, Berenice; but the port not being very commodious, that of Myos-Hermos was preferred, as being very near, and much better; and all the commodities of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia, were conveyed thither. From thence they were transported on camels to Coptus, where they were again shipped, and brought down the Nile to Alexandria, which transmitted them to all the West, in exchange for its merchandise, which was afterwards exported to the East. But as the passage from Coptus to the Red Sea lay across the deserts, where no water could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houses to lodge the caravans, Ptolemy, in order to remedy this inconvenience, caused a canal to be opened along the great road, and to communicate with the Nile, that supplied it with water. On the edge of this canal, houses were erected, at proper distances, for the recep-

¹ Athen. l. xvii. p. 255.

² Tatian. in Orat. Con. Græc. p. 171. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Vitruv. ix. 7.

³ Plin. 737.

⁴ A. M. 3745. Ant. J. C. 259.

tion of passengers, and to supply them and their beasts of burden with every necessary accommodation.¹

Useful as all these labours were, Ptolemy did not think them sufficient, for, as he intended to engross all the traffic between the East and West into his dominions, he thought his plan would be imperfect unless he could protect what he had facilitated in other respects. With this view he caused two fleets to be fitted out, one for the Red Sea and the other for the Mediterranean. This last was extremely fine, and some of the vessels which composed it much exceeded the common size. Two of them, in particular, had thirty benches of oars, one twenty, four rowed with fourteen, two with twelve, fourteen with eleven, thirty with nine, thirty-seven with seven, five with six, and seventeen with five. The number of the whole amounted to one hundred and twelve vessels. He had as many more with four and three benches of oars, besides a prodigious number of small vessels. With this formidable fleet he not only protected his commerce from all insults, but kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, as Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, as far as the Cyclades.²

Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing very aged and infirm, caused overtures of accommodation to be tendered to his brother, Ptolemy, with the proposal of a marriage between Berenice, his only daughter, and the oldest son of the king of Egypt, and a promise to give her all his dominions for her dowry. The negotiation succeeded, and a peace was concluded on those terms.³

Magas, however, died before the execution of the treaty, having continued in the government of Lybia and Cyrenaica, for the space of fifty years. Toward the close of his days, he abandoned himself to pleasure, and particularly to excess at his table, which greatly impaired his health. His widow Apamia, whom Justin calls Arsinoe, resolved, after his death, to break off her daughter's marriage with the son of Ptolemy, as it had been concluded without her consent. With this view, she employed persons in Macedonia to invite Demetrius, the uncle of king Antigonus Gonatus, to come to her court, assuring him, at the same time, that her daughter and crown should be his. Demetrius arrived there in a short time; but as soon as Apamia beheld him, she contracted a violent passion for him, and resolved to espouse him herself. From that moment he neglected the daughter, to engage himself to the mother; and as he imagined that her favour raised him above all things, he began to treat the young princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in such an insolent and imperious manner, that they formed a resolution to destroy him. Berenice herself conducted the conspirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they stabbed him in his bed, though Apamia employed all her efforts to save him, and even covered him with her own body. Berenice, after this, went to Egypt, where her marriage with Ptolemy

¹ Strab. l. xvii. p. 816. Plin. l. vi. c. 23.
A. M. 3746. Ant. J. C. 258.

² Theocrit. Idyll. xvi. Athen. l. v. p. 203.

was consummated, and Apamia was sent to her brother Antiochus Theos, in Syria.¹

The princess had the art to exasperate her brother so effectually against Ptolemy, that she at last spirited him up to a war, which continued for a long space of time, and was productive of fatal consequences to Antiochus, as will be evident in the sequel.²

Ptolemy did not place himself at the head of his army, his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniences of a camp; for which reason he left the war to the conduct of his generals. Antiochus, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of all the forces of Babylon and the east, and with a resolution to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. History has not preserved the particulars of what passed in that campaign, or perhaps the advantages obtained on either side were not very considerable.³

Ptolemy did not forget to improve his library, notwithstanding the war, and continually enriched it with new books. He was exceedingly curious in pictures and designs by great masters. Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, was one of those who collected for him in Greece; and he had the good fortune to gratify the taste of that prince for those works of art to such a degree, that Ptolemy entertained a friendship for him, and presented him with twenty-five talents, which he expended in the relief of the necessitous Sicyonians, and in the redemption of such of them as were detained in captivity.⁴

While Antiochus was employed in his war with Egypt, a great insurrection was fomented in the east, and which his remoteness at that time rendered him incapable of preventing with necessary expedition. The revolt, therefore, daily gathered strength, till it at last became incapable of remedy. These troubles gave birth to the Parthian empire.⁵

The cause of these commotions proceeded from Agathocles, governor of the Parthian dominions for Antiochus. This officer attempted to offer violence to a youth of the country, whose name was Tiridates; upon which Arsaces, the brother of the boy, a person of low extraction, but great courage and honour, assembled some of his friends, in order to deliver his brother from the brutality intended him. They accordingly fell upon the governor, killed him on the spot, and then fled for safety with several persons, whom they had drawn together for their defence against the pursuit to which such a bold proceeding would inevitably expose them. Their party grew so numerous by the negligence of Antiochus, that Arsaces soon found himself strong enough to drive the Macedonians out of that province, and assume the government himself.⁶ The Macedonians had always continued masters of it, from the death of Alexander; first under Eumenes, then under Antigonus, next under Seleucus Nicator, and lastly under Antiochus.

¹ A. M. 3747. Ant. J. C. 257. Athen. l. xii. p. 550. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 3.

² A. M. 3748. Ant. J. C. 256. Hieron. in Daniel.

³ A. M. 3749. Ant. J. C. 255. Strab. l. xvii. p. 789. Hieron. in Daniel.

⁴ A. M. 3750. Ant. J. C. 254. Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. ⁵ A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250.

⁶ Arrian in Parth. apud Phot. Cod. 58. Scyrcell. p. 284. Justin. l. xli. c. 4. Strab. l. xi. p. 515.

Nearly about the same time, Theodotus also revolted in Bactriana, and from a governor, became king of that province; after which he subjected the thousand cities it contained, while Antiochus was amusing himself with the Egyptian war, and strengthened himself so effectually in his new acquisitions, that it became impossible to reduce him afterwards. This example was followed by all the other nations in those parts, each of whom threw off the yoke at the same time; by which means Antiochus lost all the eastern provinces of his empire beyond the Tigris. This event happened, according to Justin, when L. Manlius Vulso, and M. Atilius Regulus, were consuls at Rome; that is to say, in the fourteenth year of the first Punic war.¹

The troubles and revolts in the east, made Antiochus at last desirous to disengage himself from the war with Ptolemy. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between them; and the conditions of it were, that Antiochus should divorce Laodice, and espouse Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy; that he should also disinherit his issue by the first marriage, and secure the crown to his children by the second.² Antiochus, after the ratification of the treaty, repudiated Laodice, though she was his sister by the father's side, and had brought him two sons; Ptolemy then embarked at Pelusium, and conducted his daughter to Seleucia, a maritime city, near the mouth of the Orontes, a river of Syria. Antiochus came thither to receive his bride, and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence. Ptolemy had a tender affection for his daughter, and gave orders to have regular supplies of water from the Nile transmitted to her; believing it better for her health than any other water whatever, and therefore he was desirous she should drink none but that. When marriages are contracted from no other motives than political views, and are founded on such unjust conditions, they are generally attended with calamitous and fatal events.

These particulars of the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy were evidently foretold by the prophet Daniel. I shall here repeat the beginning of this prophecy, which has already been explained elsewhere, that the reader may at once behold and admire the prediction of the greatest events in history, and their literal accomplishment at the appointed time.

"I will now show thee the truth."³ These words were spoken to Daniel, on the part of God, by the man clothed in linen. "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia;" namely, Cyrus, who was then upon his throne; his son Cambyses; and Darius, the son of Hystaspes. "And the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece." The monarch here was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a very formidable army.

"And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great do-

¹ Justin. et Strab. Ibid.

² A. M. 3755. Ant. J. C. 249. Hieron. in Dan. x. Polyæn. Strab. l. viii. c. 50. Athen. ii. p. 45.

³ Dan. chap. xi. ver. 2.

minion, and do according to his will.”¹ In this part of the prophecy we may easily trace Alexander the Great.

“And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken,” by his death, “and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled; for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others besides those;”² namely, besides the four greater princes. We have already seen the vast empire of Alexander parcelled out into four great kingdoms;³ without including those foreign princes who founded other kingdoms in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, Heraclea, and on the Bosphorus. All this was present to Daniel.

The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage we have already mentioned.

“The king of the South shall be strong, and one of his princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king’s daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement; but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but he shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.”⁴

It will be necessary to observe, that Daniel, in this passage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of Egypt and Syria, because they were the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of God.

“The king of the South shall be strong.”⁵ This “king of the South” was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, king of Egypt; and “the king of the North” was Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria. And, indeed, such was their exact situation with respect to Judea, which has Syria to the north, and Egypt to the south.

According to Daniel, the king of Egypt, who first reigned in that country after the death of Alexander, was Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls “the king of the South,” and declares that “he shall be strong.” The exactness of this character is fully justified by what we have seen in this history; for he was master of Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, Arabia, Palestine, Coelosyria, and most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor; with the island of Cyprus; as also several isles in the Ægean Sea, which is now called the Archipelago; and even some cities of Greece, as Sicyon and Corinth.

The prophet, after this, mentions another of the four successors to this empire, whom he calls princes, or governors. This was Seleucus Nicator, “the king of the North;”⁶ of whom he declares, “that he shall be more powerful than the king of the South, and his dominion more extensive;” for this is the import of the prophet’s expression, “He shall be strong above him, and have dominion.” It is easy to prove, that his territories were of greater extent than those of the king

¹ Dan. chap. xi. ver. 2.

² Ver. 4.

³ Tum maximum in terris Macedonium regnum nomenque, inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt lacerantes viribus.—Liv. l. xiv. n. 9.

⁴ Dan. c. xi. v. 5, 6.

⁵ Ver. 5.

⁶ Ver. 6.

of Egypt; for he was master of all the east, from Mount Taurus to the river Indus; and also of several provinces in Asia Minor, between Mount Taurus and the Ægean Sea, to which he added Thrace and Macedonia, a little before his death.

Daniel then informs us, "that the daughter of the king of the South came to the king of the North," and mentions the treaty of peace, which was concluded on this occasion between the two kings.¹ This evidently points out the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and the peace concluded between them in consideration of this alliance; every circumstance of which exactly happened according to the prediction before us. The sequel of this history will show us the fatal event of this marriage, which was also foretold by the prophet.

In the remaining part of the chapter, he relates the most remarkable events of future times, under these two races of kings, to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jewish nation. I shall be careful, as these events occur in the series of this history, to apply the prophecy of Daniel to them, that the reader may observe the exact accomplishment of each prediction.

In the mean time, I cannot but acknowledge in this place, with admiration, the divinity so visible in the Scriptures, which have related, in so particular a manner, a variety of singular and extraordinary facts, more than three hundred years before they were transacted. What an immense chain of events extends from the prophecy to the time of its accomplishment! By the breaking of any single link, the whole would be disconcerted! With respect to the marriage alone, what hand, but that of the Almighty, could have conducted so many different views, intrigues, and passions, to the same point? What knowledge but this could, with so much certainty, have foreseen such a number of distinct circumstances, subject not only to the freedom of will, but even to the irregular impressions of caprice? And what man but must adore that sovereign power which God exercises, in a secret, certain manner, over kings and princes, whose very crimes he renders subservient to the execution of his sacred will, and the accomplishment of his eternal decrees; in which all events, both general and particular, have their appointed time and place fixed beyond the possibility of failing, even those which depend most on the choice and liberty of mankind?

Ptolemy was as curious, to an uncommon degree, in the statues, designs, and pictures of excellent masters, as he was in books; he saw, during the time he continued in Syria, a statue of Diana, in one of the temples, which suited his taste exceedingly. Antigonus made him a present of it, at his request, and he carried it into Egypt. Some time after his return, Arsinoe was seized with an indisposition, and dreamed that Diana had appeared to her, and acquainted her that Ptolemy was the occasion of her illness, by his having taken her statue out of the temple where it was consecrated to her divinity. Upon this, the statue was sent back, as soon as possible, to Syria, in order

to be replaced in the proper temple. It was also accompanied with rich presents to the goddess, and a variety of sacrifices were offered up to appease her displeasure; but they were not succeeded by any favourable effect. The queen's distemper was so far from abating, that she died in a short time, and left Ptolemy inconsolable at her loss; and more so, because he imputed her death to his own indiscretion, in removing the statue of Diana out of the temple.¹

This passion for statues, pictures, and other excellent curiosities of art, may be very commendable in a prince, and other great men, when indulged to a certain degree; but when a person abandons himself to it entirely, it degenerates into a dangerous temptation, and frequently prompts him to notorious injustice and violence. This is evident by what Cicero relates of Verres, who practised a kind of piracy in Sicily, where he was prætor, by stripping private houses and temples of all their finest and most valuable curiosities. But though a person should have no recourse to such base extremities, it is still very shocking and offensive, says Cicero, to say to a person of distinction, worth, and fortune, "Sell this picture or this statue," since it is, in effect, declaring, "you are unworthy to have such an admirable piece in your possession, which suits only a person of my rank and taste."² I mention nothing of the enormous expenses into which a man is drawn by this passion; for these exquisite pieces have no price but what the desire of possessing sets upon them, and that we know has no bounds.³

Though Arsinoë was older than Ptolemy, and too infirm to have any children when he espoused her; he however retained a constant and tender passion for her to the last, and rendered all imaginable honours to her memory after her death. He gave her name to several cities, which he caused to be built, and performed a number of other remarkable things, to testify how well he loved her.

Nothing could be more extraordinary than the design he formed of erecting a temple to her at Alexandria, with a dome rising above it, the concave part of which was to be lined with adamant, in order to keep an iron statue of that queen suspended in the air. This plan of building was invented by Dinocrates, a famous architect of that time: and the moment he proposed it to Ptolemy, that prince gave orders for beginning the work without delay. The experiment, however, remained imperfect, for want of sufficient time; for Ptolemy and the architect dying within a very short time after this resolution, the project was entirely discontinued. It has long been said, and even believed, that the body of Mahomet was suspended in this manner, in an iron coffin, by a loadstone fixed in the vaulted roof of the chamber where his corpse was deposited after his death; but this is a mere vulgar error, without the least foundation.⁴

Ptolemy Philadelphus survived his beloved Arsinoë but a short

¹ A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 248. Liban. Orat. xi.

² Superbum est et non ferendum, dicere prætorem in provincia homini honesto, locupletè, splendido, vende mihi vasa cœlata. Hoc est enim dicere; non es dignus tu, qui habeas quæ tam bene facta sunt. Mese dignitatis ista sunt.—Cic. Orat. de Signis, n. 45.

³ Etenim, qui modus est cupiditatis idem est æstimationis. Difficile est enim finem facere pretio nec libidini feceris.—Id. n. 14.

⁴ Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14.

time. He was naturally of a tender constitution, and the soft manner of life he led contributed to the decay of his health. The infirmities of old age, and his affliction for the loss of a consort whom he loved to adoration, brought upon him a languishing disorder, which ended his days, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.¹ He left two sons and a daughter, whom he had by his first wife Arsinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus, a different person from the last-mentioned queen of that name. His eldest son, Ptolemy Evergetes, succeeded him in the throne; the second bore the name of Lysimachus, his grandfather by the mother, and was put to death by his brother for engaging in a rebellion against him. The name of the daughter was Berenice, whose marriage with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, has already been related.²

SECTION IX. — CHARACTER AND QUALITIES OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

PTOLEMY Philadelphus had certainly great and excellent qualities; and yet we cannot propose him as a perfect model of a good king, because those qualities were counterpoised by defects altogether as considerable. The first period of his reign was dishonoured by his resentment against a man of uncommon merit, (I mean Demetrius Phalereus,) because he had given some advice to his father, in opposition to the interest of Philadelphus, but entirely conformable to equity and natural right. His immense riches soon drew after them a train of luxury and effeminate pleasures, the usual concomitants of such high fortunes, which contributed not a little to emasculate his mind. He was not very industrious in cultivating the military virtues; but we must acknowledge at the same time, that a remissness of this nature is not always a misfortune to a people.

He, however, made ample compensation for this neglect, by his love of the arts and sciences, and his generosity to learned men. The fame of his liberalities invited several illustrious poets to his court, particularly Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus; the last of whom gives him very lofty praises in some of his Idyllia. We have already seen his extraordinary taste for books; and it is certain, that he spared no expense in the augmentation and embellishment of the library founded by his father, and from whence both those princes have derived as much glory as could have redounded to them from the greatest conquests. As Philadelphus had abundance of wit, and his happy genius had been carefully cultivated by great masters, he always retained a peculiar taste for the sciences, but in such a manner as suited the dignity of a prince; as he never suffered them to engross his whole attention, but regulated his propensity to those grateful amusements, by prudence and moderation. In order to perpetuate this taste in his dominions, he erected public schools and academies at Alexandria, where they long flourished in great reputation. He loved to converse with men of learning; and as the greatest masters in every kind of science were emulous of obtaining his favour, he

extracted from each of them, if I may use the expression, the flower and quintessence of the sciences in which they excelled. This is the inestimable advantage which princes and great men possess; and happy are they when they know how to use the opportunity of acquiring, in agreeable conversations, a thousand things, not only curious, but useful and important with respect to government.

This intercourse of Philadelphus with learned men, and his care to place the arts in honour, may be considered as the source of those measures he pursued, through the course of his long reign, to make commerce flourish in his dominions; and in which attempt no prince ever succeeded more effectually than himself. The greatest expenses, in this particular, could never discourage him from persisting in what he proposed to accomplish. We have already observed, that he built whole cities, in order to protect and facilitate his intended traffic; that he opened a very long canal through deserts destitute of water; and maintained a very numerous and complete navy in each of the two seas, merely for the defence of his merchants. His principal point in view was to secure to strangers all imaginable safety and freedom in his ports, without any impositions on trade, or the least intention of turning it from its proper channel, in order to make it subservient to his own particular interest; as he was persuaded that commerce was like some other springs, which soon ceased to flow when diverted from their natural course.

These were views worthy of a great prince and a consummate politician, and their lasting effects were exceedingly beneficial to his kingdom. They have even continued to our days, strengthened by the principles of their first establishment, after a duration of above two thousand years; opening a perpetual flow of new riches, and new commodities of every kind, into all nations; drawing continually from them a return of voluntary contributions; uniting the east and the west by the mutual supply of their respective wants; and establishing on this basis a commerce that has constantly supported itself from age to age without interruption. Those great conquerors and celebrated heroes, whose merit has been so highly extolled, not to mention the ravages and desolation they have occasioned to mankind, have scarcely left behind the many traces of the conquests and acquisitions they have made for aggrandizing their empires; or at least those traces have not been durable, and the revolutions to which the most potent states are liable, divest them of their conquests in a short time, and transfer them to others. On the contrary, the commerce of Egypt, established thus by Philadelphus, instead of being shaken by time, has rather increased through a long succession of ages, and become daily more useful and indispensable to all nations; so that when we trace it up to its source, we shall be sensible that this prince ought to be considered not only as the benefactor of Egypt, but of all mankind in general, to the latest posterity.

What we have already observed, in the history of Philadelphus, with respect to the inclination of the neighbouring people to transplant themselves in crowds into Egypt, preferring a residence in a foreign land to the natural affection of mankind for their native soil, is an-

other glorious panegyric on this prince; as the most essential duty of kings, and the most grateful pleasure they can possibly enjoy, amid the splendours of a throne, is to gain the love of mankind, and to make their government desirable. Ptolemy was sensible, as an able politician, that the only sure expedient for extending his dominions, without any act of violence, was to multiply his subjects, and attach them to his government, by their interest and inclination; to cause the land to be cultivated in a better manner; to make arts and manufactures flourish; and to augment, by a thousand judicious measures, the power of a prince and his kingdom, whose real strength consists in the multitude of his subjects.

CHAPTER III.

THE third chapter comprehends the history of twenty-five years, including the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes.

SECTION I.—ANTIOCHUS THEOS IS POISONED BY HIS QUEEN LAODICE. THE DEATH OF SELEUCUS.

AS soon as Antiochus Theos had received intelligence of the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his father-in-law, he divorced Berenice, and recalled Laodice and her children. This lady, who knew the variable disposition and inconstancy of Antiochus, and was apprehensive that the same levity of mind would induce him to supplant her, by receiving Berenice again, resolved to improve the present opportunity to secure the crown for her son. Her own children were disinherited by the treaty made with Ptolemy; by which it was also stipulated, that the issue Berenice might have by Antiochus should succeed to the throne, and she then had a son. Laodice, therefore, caused Antiochus to be poisoned; and when she saw him expiring, she placed in his bed a person, named Artemon, who very much resembled him both in his features and the tone of his voice. He was there to act the part she had occasion for, and acquitted himself with great dexterity; taking great care, in the few visits that were rendered him, to recommend his dear Laodice and her children to the lords and people. In his name were issued orders, by which his eldest son Seleucus Callinicus was appointed his successor. His death was then declared, upon which Seleucus peaceably ascended the throne, and enjoyed it for the space of twenty years. It appears by the sequel, that his brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, had the government of the provinces of Asia Minor, where he commanded a very considerable body of troops.¹

Laodice, not believing herself safe as long as Berenice and her son lived, concerted measures with Seleucus to destroy them also; but that princess, being informed of their design, escaped the danger for some time by retiring with her son to Daphne, where she shut herself

¹ A. M. 3758. Ant. J. C. 246. Hieron. in Daniel. Plin. vi. c. 12. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 14. Solin. c. 1. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

up in the asylum built by Seleucus Nicator; but being at last betrayed by the perfidy of those who besieged her there, by the order of Laodice, first her son, and then herself, with all the Egyptians who had accompanied her to that retreat, were murdered in the basest and most inhuman manner.

This event was an exact accomplishment of what the prophet Daniel had foretold with relation to this marriage: "The king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement; but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times."¹ I am not surprised that Porphyry, who was a professed enemy to Christianity, should represent these prophecies of Daniel as predictions made after the several events to which they refer; for could they possibly be clearer if he had even been a spectator of what he foretold?

What probability was there that Egypt and Syria, which, in the time of Daniel, constituted part of the Babylonian empire, as tributary provinces, should each of them be governed by kings who originally sprang from Greece? And yet the prophet saw them established in those dominions above three hundred years before that event happened! He beheld these two kings in a state of war, and saw them afterwards reconciled by a treaty of peace ratified by a marriage. He also observed that it was the king of Egypt, and not the king of Syria, who cemented the union between them by the gift of his daughter. He saw her conducted from Egypt to Syria, in a pompous and magnificent manner; but was sensible that this event would be succeeded by a strange catastrophe. In a word, he discovered that the issue of this princess, notwithstanding all the express precautions in the treaty for securing their succession to the crown, in exclusion of the children by a former marriage, were so far from ascending the throne, that they were entirely exterminated; and that the new queen herself was delivered up to her rival, who caused her to be destroyed, with all the officers who conducted her out of Egypt into Syria, and till then had been her strength and support. "Great God! how worthy are thy oracles to be believed and revered!" "Testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis."

While Berenice was besieged and blocked up in Daphne, the cities of Asia Minor, who had received intelligence of her treatment, were touched with compassion at her misfortune; in consequence of which they formed a confederacy, and sent a body of troops to Antioch for her relief. Her brother, Ptolemy Evergetes, was also as expeditious as possible to advance thither with a formidable army; but the unhappy Berenice and her children were dead before any of these auxiliary troops could arrive at the place where the siege had been carried on against her. When they, therefore, saw that all their endeavours to save the queen and her children were rendered ineffectual, they immediately determined to revenge her death in a remarkable man-

¹ Dan. xi. 6.

ner. The troops of Asia joined those of Egypt, and Ptolemy, who commanded them, was as successful as he could desire to be in the satisfaction of his just resentment. The criminal proceeding of Laodice, and of the king, her son, who had made himself an accomplice in her barbarity, soon alienated the affection of the people from them, and Ptolemy not only caused Laodice to suffer death, but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia; after which he passed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as far as Babylon and the Tigris; and, if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition which obliged him to return to Egypt, he would certainly have subdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He, however, left Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had gained on this side Mount Taurus, and Xantippus was intrusted with those that lay beyond it. Ptolemy then marched back to Egypt, laden with the spoils he had acquired by his conquests.

This prince carried off forty thousand talents of silver, with a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, and two thousand five hundred statues, part of which were those Egyptian idols that Cambyzes, after his conquest of this kingdom, had sent into Persia. Ptolemy gained the hearts of his subjects by replacing those idols in their ancient temples, when he returned from this expedition; for the Egyptians, who were more devoted to their superstitious idolatry than all the rest of mankind, thought they could not sufficiently express their veneration and gratitude to a king who had restored their gods to them in such a manner. Ptolemy derived from this action the title of Evergetes, which signifies a benefactor, and is infinitely preferable to all appellations which conquerors have assumed from a false idea of glory. An epithet of this nature is the true characteristic of kings, whose solid greatness consists in the inclination and ability to improve the welfare of their subjects; and it is to be wished that Ptolemy had merited this title by actions more worthy of it.

All this was also accomplished exactly as the prophet Daniel had foretold, and we need only cite the text to prove what we advance. "But out of a branch of her root"—intimating the king of the South, who was Ptolemy Evergetes, the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus—"shall one stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the North," Seleucus Callinicus, "and shall deal against them, and shall prevail; and shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the North. So the king of the South shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land;"¹ namely, into that of Egypt.

When Ptolemy Evergetes first set out on this expedition, his queen, Berenice, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he would be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair, if he should happen to return in safety. This was undoubtedly a sacrifice of the ornament she most esteemed; and when she

¹ Dan. xi. 7—9.

at last saw him return with so much glory, the accomplishment of her promise was her immediate care; in order to which she caused her hair to be cut off, and then dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had founded in honour of his beloved Arsinoë, on Zephyrium, a promontory in Cyprus, under the name of the Zephyrian Venus. This consecrated hair being lost soon after by some unknown accident, Ptolemy was extremely offended with the priests for their negligence; upon which Conon of Samos, an artful courtier, and also a mathematician, being then at Alexandria, took upon him to affirm that the locks of the queen's hair had been conveyed to heaven; and he pointed out seven stars near the lion's tail, which till then had never been part of any constellation, declaring, at the same time, that these were the hair of Berenice. Several other astronomers, either to make their court as well as Conon, or that they might not draw upon themselves the displeasure of Ptolemy, gave those stars the same name, which is used to this day. Callimachus, who had been at the court of Philadelphus, composed a short poem on the hair of Berenice, afterwards translated into Latin by Catullus, which version has come down to us.¹

Ptolemy, in his return from this expedition, passed through Jerusalem, where he offered a great number of sacrifices to the God of Israel, in order to render homage to him, for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria; by which action he evidently discovered his preference of the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel were shown to that prince, and he might conclude, from what they contained, that all his conquests and successes were owing to that God who had caused them to be foretold so exactly by his prophets.²

Seleucus had been detained for some time in his kingdom by the apprehension of domestic troubles; but when he received intelligence that Ptolemy was returning to Egypt, he set sail with a considerable fleet, to reduce the revolted cities. His enterprise was, however, ineffectual; for, as soon as he advanced into the open sea, his whole navy was destroyed by a violent tempest; as if heaven itself, says Justin,³ had made the winds and waves the ministers of his vengeance on this patricide. Seleucus, and some of his attendants, were almost the only persons who were saved, and it was with great difficulty that they escaped naked from the wreck. But this dreadful stroke, which seemed intended to overwhelm him, contributed, on the contrary, to the re-establishment of his affairs. The cities of Asia which had revolted, through the horror they conceived against him, after the murder of Berenice and her children, no sooner received intelligence of the great loss he had now sustained, than they imagined him sufficiently punished; and as their hatred was then changed into compassion, they all again declared for him.⁴

This unexpected change having reinstated him in the greatest part of his dominions, he was industrious to raise another army to recover

¹ Hygin. Poet. Astron. l. ii. Nonnus in Hist. Synag. Catullus de Coma Beren.

² Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii.

³ Velut diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus.

⁴ A. M. 3759. Ant. J. C. 245. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

the rest. This effort, however, proved as unsuccessful as the former; his army was defeated by the forces of Ptolemy, who cut off the greatest part of his troops.¹ He saved himself at Antioch, with the small number of men who left him when he escaped shipwreck at sea; as if, says a certain historian, he had recovered his former power, only to lose it a second time with the greater mortification, by a fatal vicissitude of fortune.²

After this second overthrow of his affairs, the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia, in Asia Minor, were induced, by mere affection to Seleucus, to form a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him. They were greatly attached to his family, from whom they undoubtedly had received many extraordinary favours: they had even rendered divine honours to his father, Antiochus Theos, and also to Stratonice, the mother of this latter. Callinicus retained a grateful remembrance of the regard these cities had testified for his interest, and afterwards granted them several advantageous privileges. They caused the treaty we have mentioned to be engraven on a large column of marble, which still exists, and is now in the area before the theatre at Oxford. This column was brought out of Asia, by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, at the commencement of the reign of Charles I., and, with several other antique marbles, were presented to the University of Oxford by his grandson, Henry, Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles II. All the scientific world ought to think themselves indebted to noblemen who are emulous to adorn and enrich universities in such a generous manner; and I wish the same zeal had been even testified for that of Paris, the mother of all the rest, and whose antiquity and reputation, in conjunction with the abilities of her professors, and her attachment to the sacred persons of kings, have rendered her worthy of being favoured in a peculiar manner by princes and great men. The establishment of a library in this illustrious seminary would be an immortal honour to the person who should lay the foundation of such a work.

Seleucus, in the extremities to which he was reduced, had made application to his brother Antiochus, whom he promised to invest with the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia Minor, provided he would join him with his troops, and act in concert with him. The young prince was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and though he was but fourteen years of age, yet, as he had all the ambition and malignity of mind that appear in men of an advanced age, he immediately accepted the offers made him, and advanced in quest of his brother, not with any intention to secure to him the enjoyment of his dominions, but to seize them for himself.³ His avidity was so great, and he was always so ready to seize for himself whatever came in his way, without the least regard to justice, that he acquired the

¹ A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244.

² Quasi ad ludibrium tantum fortunæ natus esset, nec propter aliud opes regni recepisset, quam ut amitteret.—Justin.

³ Antiochus, cum esset annos quatuordecim natus, supra ætatem regni avidus, occasionem non tam pi animo, quam offerebatur, arripuit: sed, latronis more, totum fratri eripere cupiens, puer sceleratam virilemque sumit audaciam. Unde Hierax est cognominatus: quia, non hominis sed accipitris ritu, in alieni cripindis vitam sectaretur.—Justin.

surname of Hierax (a kite) which signifies a bird that preys on all things he finds, and thinks every thing good upon which he lays his talons.

When Ptolemy received intelligence, that Antiochus was preparing to act in concert with Seleucus against him, he reconciled himself with the latter, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, that he might not have both those princes for his enemies at the same time.¹

Antigonus Gonatus died about a year after this event, at the age of eighty, or eighty-three years; after he had reigned ten years, and had conquered Cyrenaica and all Libya.² Demetrius first married the sister of Antiochus Hierax; but Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, engaged him, after the death of her husband Alexander, who was likewise her brother, to espouse her daughter Phthia. The first wife being unable to support this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother Antiochus, and earnestly pressed him to declare war against her faithless husband; but his attention was then taken up with other views and employments.³

This prince still continued his military preparations, as if he designed to assist his brother, in pursuance of the treaty between them; but his real intention was to dethrone him, and he concealed the virulent disposition of an enemy under the name of a brother.⁴ Seleucus penetrated his scheme, and immediately passed Mount Taurus, in order to check his progress. Antiochus founded his pretext on the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia Minor, as a compensation for assisting his brother against Ptolemy; but Seleucus, who then saw himself disengaged from that war without the aid of his brother, did not conceive himself obliged to perform that promise. Antiochus resolving to persist in his pretensions, and Seleucus refusing to allow them, it became necessary to decide the difference by arms. A battle was accordingly fought near Ancyra in Galatia, wherein Seleucus was defeated, and escaped with the utmost difficulty from the enemy. Antiochus was also exposed to great dangers, notwithstanding his victory. The troops on whose valour he chiefly relied, were a body of Gauls whom he had taken into his pay, and they were undoubtedly some of those who had settled in Galatia. These traitors, upon a confused report that Seleucus had been killed in the action, had formed a resolution to destroy Antiochus, persuading themselves that they should be absolute masters of Asia, after the death of those two princes. Antiochus therefore was obliged, for his own preservation, to distribute all the money of the army among them.⁵

Eumenes, prince of Pergamus, being desirous of improving this conjuncture, advanced with all his forces against Antiochus and the Gauls, in full expectation to ruin them both, in consequence of their division. The imminent danger to which Antiochus was then reduced obliged him to make a new treaty with the Gauls, wherein he stipulated to renounce the title of their master, which he had before

¹ A. M. 3761. Ant. J. C. 243.

² A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242.

³ Polyb. l. ii. p. 131. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 1.

Pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hostem, imploratus exhibuit. ⁴ Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2

assumed, for that of their ally; and he also entered into a league offensive and defensive with that people. This treaty, however, did not prevent Eumenes from attacking them; and as he came upon them in such a sudden and unexpected manner as did not allow them any time to recover after their fatigues, or to furnish themselves with new recruits, he obtained a victory over them which cost him but little, and laid all Asia Minor open to him.¹

Eumenes, upon this fortunate event, abandoned himself to intemperance and excess at his table, and died after a reign of twenty years. As he left no children, he was succeeded by Attalus, his cousin-german, who was the son of Attalus, his father's younger brother. This prince was wise and valiant, and perfectly qualified to preserve the conquests that he inherited. He entirely reduced the Gauls, and then established himself so effectually in his dominions, that he took upon himself the title of king; for though his predecessors had enjoyed all the power, they had never ventured to assume the style of sovereigns. Attalus, therefore, was the first of his house who took it upon him, and transmitted it, with his dominions, to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation.²

While Eumenes, and, after him, Attalus, were seizing the provinces of the Syrian empire in the West, Theodotus and Arsaces were proceeding by their example in the East. The latter, hearing that Seleucus had been slain in the battle of Ancyra, turned his arms against Hyrcania, and annexed it to Parthia, which he had dismembered from the empire. He then erected these two provinces into a kingdom, which, in process of time, became very formidable to the empire of the Romans. Theodotus dying soon after, Arsaces made a league offensive and defensive with his son, who bore the same name, and succeeded his father in Bactria; and they mutually supported themselves in their dominions by this union. The two brothers, notwithstanding these transactions, continued the war against each other with the most implacable warmth, not considering that while they contended with each other for the empire their father had left them, the whole would be gradually wrested from them by their common enemies.³

The treasure and forces of Antiochus being exhausted by the several overthrows and losses he had sustained, he was obliged to wander from one retreat to another, with the shattered remains of his party, till he was at last entirely driven out of Mesopotamia. Finding, therefore, that there was no place in all the empire of Syria where he could possibly continue in safety, he retired for refuge to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had espoused.⁴ Ariarathes, notwithstanding this alliance, was soon weary of entertaining a son-in-law who became a burden to him; for which reason he determined to destroy him. Antiochus being informed of his design, avoided the danger by a speedy retreat into Egypt, where he rather chose to deliver himself up to the power of Ptolemy, the pro-

¹ Justin. l. xxvii. c. 3.

² A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. Athen. l. x. p. 445. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Valer. Excerpt. ex Polyb

³ Justin. l. xli. c. 4.

⁴ A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230.

fessed enemy of his house, than to trust a brother whom he had so highly offended. He, however, had reason to repent of this proceeding, for, immediately after his arrival in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be seized and imprisoned. He also placed a strong guard over him, and detained him several years in that confinement, till at last he found means to escape, by the assistance of a courtesan; but, as he was quitting that kingdom, he had the misfortune to be assassinated by a band of robbers.¹

Ptolemy, in the meantime, devoted the sweets of peace to the cultivation of the sciences in his dominions, and the enlargement of his father's library at Alexandria with all sorts of books; but as a proper collection could not well be made without an able librarian, to whose care it would be likewise necessary to consign them, Evergetes, upon the death of Zenodotus, who had exercised that function from the time of Ptolemy Soter, the grandfather of that prince, sent to Athens for Eratosthenes the Cyrenian, who was then in great reputation, and had been educated by Callimachus, a native of the same country. He was a man of universal learning, but none of his works have been transmitted to us, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes, in Egypt, with the years of their respective reigns, from Menes, or Misraim, who first peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the Trojan war. This catalogue contains a succession of thirty-eight kings, and is still to be seen in Syncellus.²

When Seleucus saw himself extricated from the troubles his brother had occasioned, his first cares were employed in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in the dominions he possessed; and when he had accomplished this, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the Oriental provinces which had revolted from him. This last attempt, however, was not attended with success; for Arsaces had been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpation. Seleucus, therefore, after many ineffectual endeavours to recover those territories, was obliged to discontinue his enterprise in a dishonourable manner. He, perhaps, might have succeeded better in time, if new commotions, which had been excited in his dominions during his absence, had not compelled him to make a speedy return, in order to suppress them. This furnished Arsaces with a new opportunity of establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts were incapable of reducing it.³

Seleucus, however, made a new attempt as soon as his affairs would admit; but this second expedition proved more unfortunate than the first, for he was not only defeated, but taken prisoner by Arsaces, in a great battle.⁴ The Parthians celebrated for many succeeding years the anniversary of this victory, which they considered as the first day of their liberty, though in reality it was the first era of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than those Parthian kings to whom they were subjected. The Macedonian yoke

¹ A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226.

² A. M. 3765. Ant. J. C. 239. Suid. in voc. Ζηνόδοτος. Id. in voc. Απολλόνιος et Ερατοσθένης

³ A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236.

⁴ A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230. Justin l. xli. c. 4 et 5.

would have been much more tolerable than their oppressive government, if they had continued to submit to it. Arsaces now began to assume the title of king, and firmly established this empire of the East, which, in process of time, was a check to the Roman power, and became a barrier which all the armies of that people were incapable of forcing. All the kings who succeeded Arsaces made it an indispensable law, and counted it an honour, to be called by his name; in the same manner as the kings of Egypt retained that of Ptolemy, as long as the race of Ptolemy Soter governed that kingdom. Arsaces raised himself to a throne from the lowest condition of life, and became as memorable among the Parthians as Cyrus had been among the Persians, Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans.¹ This verifies that passage in Holy Scripture which declares, "That the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."²

Onias, the sovereign pontiff of the Jews, had neglected to send to Ptolemy the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had always paid to the kings of Egypt, as a testimony of the homage they rendered to that crown. The king sent Athenion, one of his courtiers, to Jerusalem to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a great sum; and to threaten the Jews, in case of refusal, with a body of troops, who should be commissioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themselves. The alarm was very great at Jerusalem on this occasion, and it was thought necessary to send a deputation to the king, in the person of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was universally esteemed for his prudence, probity, and justice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jerusalem, had conceived a great regard for his character, and as he set out for Egypt before him, he promised to render him all the good offices in his power with the king. Joseph followed him in a short time, and on his way met with several considerable persons of Coelosyria and Palestine, who were also going to Egypt, with an intention to offer terms for farming the great revenues of those provinces. As the equipage of Joseph was far from being so magnificent as theirs, they treated him with little respect, and considered him as a person of no great capacity. Joseph concealed his dissatisfaction at their behaviour, but drew from the conversation that passed between them all the circumstances he could desire with relation to the affair that brought them to court, and without seeming to have any particular view in the curiosity he expressed.³

When they arrived at Alexandria, they were informed that the king had gone to Memphis, and Joseph was the only person among them who set out from thence, in order to wait upon that monarch, without losing a moment's time. He had the good fortune to meet him, as he was returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in his

¹ Arsaces, quæsito simul constitutoque regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis (fuit), quam Persis Cyros, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus. — Justin. ² Dan. iv. 17.

³ A. M. 3771. Ant. J. C. 233. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3 et 4.

chariot. The king, who had received impressions in his favour from Athenion, was extremely delighted at his presence, and invited him into his chariot. Joseph, to excuse his uncle, represented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardiness of his disposition, in such an engaging manner, as satisfied Ptolemy, and created in him an extraordinary esteem for the advocate who had so effectually pleaded the cause of that pontiff. He also ordered him an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at his table.

When the appointed day came for purchasing, by auction, the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joseph in his journey to Egypt offered no more than eight thousand talents for the provinces of Coelosyria, Phoenicia, Judea, and Samaria. Upon which Joseph, who had discovered, in the conversation that passed between them in his presence, that this purchase was worth double the sum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and offered twice as much as they had done. Ptolemy was well satisfied to see his revenues so considerably increased; but being apprehensive that the person who proffered so large a sum would be in no condition to pay it, he asked Joseph what security he would give him for the performance of his agreement? The Jewish deputy replied, with a calm air, that he had such persons to offer for his security on that occasion, as he was certain his majesty could have no objections to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themselves; and added, that they would be his securities to each other. The king could not avoid smiling at this little pleasantry, which put him into so good a humour, that he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other security than his verbal promise for payment. Joseph acted in that station for the space of ten years, to the mutual satisfaction of the court and provinces. His rich competitors, who had farmed those provinces before, returned home in the utmost confusion, and had reason to be sensible, that a magnificent equipage is a very inconsiderable indication of merit.

King Demetrius died, about this time, in Macedonia, and left a son named Philip, in an early state of minority; for which reason his guardianship was consigned to Antigonus, who having espoused the mother of his pupil, ascended the throne, and reigned for the space of twelve years.¹ He was magnificent in promises, but extremely frugal in performance, which occasioned his being surnamed Dosedon.²

Five or six years after this period, Seleucus Callinicus, who for some time had continued in a state of captivity in Parthia, died in that country by a fall from his horse.³ Arsaces had always treated him as a king during his confinement. His wife was Leodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of his generals, and he had two sons and a daughter by that marriage. He espoused his daughter to Mithridates king of Pontus, and consigned Phrygia to her for dowry. His sons were Se-

¹ A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 3. Dexipp. Porphy. Euseb.

² This name signifies in the Greek language, "One who will give," that is to say, a person who promises to give, but never gives what he promises.

³ A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Justin. l. vii. c. 3. Athen. p. 153.

leucus and Antiochus; the former of whom, surnamed Ceraunus, succeeded him in the throne.

We are now arrived at the period wherein the republic of the Achæans begins to appear with lustre in history, and was in a condition to sustain wars, particularly against that of the Lacedæmonians. It will therefore be necessary for me to represent the state of these two republics; and I shall begin with that of the Achæans.

SECTION II. — CHARACTER OF ARATUS, WHO DELIVERS SICYON FROM TYRANNY. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ACHÆANS.

THE republic of the Achæans was not considerable at first, either for the number of its troops, the immensity of its riches, or the extent of its territory, but derived its power from the great reputation it acquired for the virtues of probity, justice, love of liberty; and this reputation was very ancient.¹ The Crotonians and Sabarites adopted the laws and customs of the Achæans for the re-establishment of good order in their cities. The Lacedæmonians and Thebans had such an esteem for their virtue, that they chose them, after the celebrated battle of Leuctra, to arbitrate the differences which subsisted between them.

The government of this republic was democratical, that is to say, in the hands of the people. It likewise preserved its liberty to the times of Philip and Alexander; but under those princes, and in the reigns of those who succeeded them, it was either in subjection to the Macedonians, who had made themselves masters of Greece, or was oppressed by cruel tyrants.

It was composed of twelve cities,² all in Peloponnesus, but together not equal to a single one of considerable rank. This republic did not signalize herself immediately by any thing great and remarkable, because, among all her citizens, she produced none of any distinguished merit. The sequel will discover the extraordinary change a single man was capable of introducing among them, by his great qualities. After the death of Alexander, this little state was involved in all the calamities inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, and each city was solely attentive to its particular interest. Their state had lost its former solidity, because they changed their masters as often as Macedonia became subject to new sovereigns. They first submitted to Demetrius; after him, to Cassander; and at last to Antigonus Gonatus, who left them in subjection to tyrants of his own establishing, that they might not withdraw themselves from his authority.

Toward the beginning of the 124th Olympiad, about the time of the death of Ptolemy Soter, the father of Philadelphus, and the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy, the republic of the Achæans resumed their former customs, and renewed their ancient concord.³ The inhabitants of Patræ and Dymæ laid the foundations of this happy change. The

¹ Polyb. l. viii. p. 126—130.

² Those twelve cities were, Patræ, Dymæ, Phææ, Tritæa, Leontium, Ægira, Pellene, Ægium, Bura, Ceraunia, Olenus, and Helice.

³ A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 230.

tyrants were expelled from the cities, which then united, and again formed a republic: all affairs were decided by a public council; the registers were committed to a common secretary; the assembly had two presidents, who were nominated by the cities in their respective turns; but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one.

The good order which reigned in this little republic, where freedom and equality, with a love of justice and the public good, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew into their community several neighbouring cities, who received their laws and associated themselves into their privileges. Sicyon was one of the first that acceded in this manner; by which means Aratus, one of its citizens, had an opportunity of acting a very great part, and became very illustrious.

Sicyon, which had long groaned under the yoke of her tyrants, attempted to shake it off, by placing Clinias, one of her first and bravest citizens, at her head; and the government already began to flourish and assume a new form, when Abantidas found means to disconcert this plan, in order to seize the tyranny into his own hands. Some of his relations and friends he expelled from the city, and took off others by death; he also searched for Aratus, the son of Clinias, who was then but seven years of age, in order to destroy him; but the infant escaped, with some other persons, in the disorder that filled the house when his father was killed; and as he was wandering about the city, in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered unseen into a house which belonged to the tyrant's sister. This lady was naturally generous, and as she also believed that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof, by the impulse of some deity, she carefully concealed him; and when night came, caused him to be secretly conveyed to Argos.¹

Aratus being thus preserved from so imminent a danger, conceived in his soul from thenceforth an implacable aversion to tyrants, which constantly increased with his age. He was educated with the utmost care, by some hospitable friends of his father, at Argos.

The new tyranny in Sicyon had passed through several hands in a short time, when Aratus, who began to approach the state of manhood, was solicitous to deliver his country entirely from oppression. He was greatly respected, as well for his birth as his courage, which was accompanied with a gravity superior to his age, and a strong and clear understanding. These qualities, which were well known at that time, caused the exiles from Sicyon to cast their eyes upon him in a peculiar manner, and to consider him as a person destined to be their future deliverer; in which conjecture they were not deceived.

Aratus, who was then in the twentieth year of his age, formed a confederacy against Nicocles, who was tyrant at that time; and though the spies he sent to Argos kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that he scaled the walls of Sicyon, and entered the city by night. The tyrant was fortunate enough to secure himself a retreat, through subterranean

¹ Plut. in Arato. p. 1027—1031.

passages; and when the people assembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, a herald cried with a loud voice, that "Aratus, the son of Clinias, invited the citizens to resume their liberty." Upon which the crowd immediately flocked to the palace of the tyrant, and burned it to ashes in a few moments; but not a single man was killed or wounded on either side; the good genius of Aratus not suffering an action of this nature to be polluted with the blood of his citizens; and in which circumstance he made his joy and triumph consist. He then recalled all those who had been banished, to the number of five hundred.¹

Sicyon then began to enjoy some repose, but Aratus was not fully relieved from inquietude and perplexity. With respect to the situation of affairs without, he was sensible that Antigonus cast a jealous eye on the city, and had meditated expedients for making himself master of it, from its having recovered its liberty. He beheld the seeds of sedition and discord sown within, by those who had been banished, and was extremely apprehensive of their effects. He imagined, therefore, that the safest and most prudent conduct in this delicate juncture, would be to unite Sicyon in the Achæan league, in which he easily succeeded; and this was one of the greatest services he was capable of rendering his country.

The power of the Achæans was indeed but inconsiderable; for, as I have already observed, they were only masters of three very small cities. Their country was neither good nor rich, and they inhabited a coast which had neither ports nor any other maritime stations of security. But, with all this mediocrity and seeming weakness, they of all people made it most evident, that the forces of the Greeks could be always invincible, when under good order and discipline, and with a prudent and experienced general to direct them. Thus did those Achæans, who were so inconsiderable in comparison with the ancient power of Greece, by constantly adhering to good counsels, and continuing strictly united together, without blasting the merit of their fellow-citizens with the malignant breath of envy, not only maintain their liberties, among so many potent cities, and such a number of tyrants, but restored freedom and safety to most of the Grecian states.

Aratus, after he had engaged his city in the Achæan league, entered himself among the cavalry, for the service of that state, and was not a little esteemed by the generals, for the promptitude and vivacity he discovered in the execution of their orders; for though he had infinitely contributed to the power and credit of the league, by strengthening it with his own reputation, and all the forces of the country, he yet appeared as submissive as the meanest soldier to the general of the Achæans, notwithstanding the obscurity of the city from whence that officer was selected for such an employment. This is certainly an excellent example for young princes, and noblemen, when they serve in armies, which will teach them to forget their birth on those

¹ A. M. 3767. Ant. J. C. 252.

occasions, and pay an exact submission to the orders of their commanders.

The conduct and character of Aratus are undoubtedly worthy of admiration. He was naturally polite and obliging; his sentiments were great and noble; and he entirely devoted himself to the good of the state, without any interested views. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants, and regulated his friendship and enmity by the public utility. He was qualified, in many particulars, to appear at the head of affairs; his expressions in discourse were always proper; his thoughts just, and even his silence judicious. He conducted himself with a complacency of temper, in all differences that arose in any deliberations of moment, and had no superior in the happy art of contracting friendships and alliances. He had a wonderful facility in forming enterprises against an enemy; in making his designs impenetrable secrets, and in executing them happily by his patience and intrepidity. It must, however, be acknowledged, that this celebrated Aratus did not seem to be the same man, at the head of an army; nothing could then be discovered in him, but protraction, irresolution, and timidity; while every prospect of danger was insupportable to him. Not that he really wanted courage and boldness, but these qualities seemed to be struck languid by the greatness of the execution, and he was only timorous on certain occasions, and at intervals. It was from this disposition of his, that all Peloponnesus was filled with the trophies of his conquerors, and the monuments of his own defeats. In this manner, says Polybius, his nature compounded different and contrary qualities together, not only in the bodies of men, but even in their minds; and hence it is that we are to account for the surprising diversity we frequently perceive in the same persons. On some occasions they appear lively, heroic, and undaunted; and at others, all their vigour, vivacity, and resolution, entirely abandon them.¹

I have already observed, that those citizens who had been banished gave Aratus great perplexity. His disquiet was occasioned by their pretensions to the lands and houses they possessed before their exile; the greatest part of which had been consigned to other persons, who afterwards sold them, and disappeared upon the expulsion of the tyrant. It was reasonable that these exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions, after their recall from banishment, and they made application to that effect with great importunity. On the other hand, the greatest part of what they claimed had been alienated to fair purchasers, who consequently expected to be reimbursed, before they delivered up such houses and lands to the claimants. The pretensions and complaints on this occasion were vigorously urged on both sides, and Sicyon was in the utmost danger of being ruined by a civil war which seemed inevitable. Never was any affair more difficult than this. Aratus was incapable of reconciling the two parties, whose demands were equally equitable, and it was impossible to satisfy them both at the same time, without expending very considerable sums, which the state was in no condition to furnish. In this

¹ Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. Polyb. l. iv. p. 277, 278.

emergency he could think of no resource but the goodness and liberality of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, which he himself had experienced on the following occasion.¹

That prince was extremely curious in portraits and other paintings; Aratus, therefore, who was an excellent judge of such performances, collected all the works of the greatest masters which he could possibly procure, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus, and sent them to the king. Sicyon was still in great reputation for the arts, and painting in particular, the true taste of which was preserved there in all its ancient purity. It is even said, that Apelles, who was then admired by all the world, had been to Sicyon, where he frequented the schools of two painters, to whom he gave a talent, equal to a thousand crowns, not for acquiring a perfection in the art from them, but in order to obtain a share in their great reputation. When Aratus had reinstated his city in its former liberties, he destroyed all the pictures of the tyrants; but when he came to that of Aristratus, who reigned in the time of Philip, and whom the painter had represented in the attitude of standing in a triumphant chariot, he hesitated a long time whether he should deface it or not; for all the capital disciples of Melanthus had contributed to the completion of that piece, and it had even been touched by the pencil of Apelles. This work was so inimitable in its kind, that Aratus was enchanted with its beauties; but his aversion for tyrants prevailed over his admiration for the picture, and he accordingly ordered it to be destroyed.

The fine taste of Aratus for painting, had recommended him to the good graces of Ptolemy; and he therefore thought he might take the liberty to implore the generosity of that prince, in the melancholy situation to which he was then reduced. With this view he embarked for Egypt; but was exposed to many dangers and disappointments, before he could arrive in that kingdom. He had a long interview with Ptolemy, who esteemed him the better, the more he knew him; and presented him with one hundred and fifty talents for the benefit of his city. Aratus carried away forty talents when he set out for Peloponnesus, and the king remitted him the remainder in separate payments.

His fortunate return occasioned universal joy in Sicyon, and he was invested with full power to decide the pretensions of the exiles, and regulate the partitions to be made in their favour. But as a wise politician, who is not for engrossing the decision of all affairs to himself, is not afraid of diminishing his reputation by admitting others to share it with him, he firmly refused the honours designed him, and nominated for his coadjutors fifteen citizens of the greatest repute, in conjunction with whom he at last restored harmony and peace among the inhabitants, and refunded to the several purchasers all the sums they had expended for the lands and houses they had actually bought. It has always been observed, that glory pursues those who are industrious to decline it. Aratus, therefore, who thought himself in need of good counsels to assist him in the determination of this important

¹ A. M. 3753. Ant. J. C. 251. Plut. in Arat. p. 1031—1038.

business, (and persons of the greatest merit always entertain the same diffidence of themselves,) had all the honour of this affair. His conduct was highly applauded; statues were erected to him, and the people, by public inscriptions, declared him the father of the people, and the deliverer of his country. These are qualities that infinitely transcend those of the most celebrated conquerors.

His illustrious success gave Antigonus jealousy, and even fear; in consequence of which, at a public entertainment, he artfully enhanced the merit and capacity of this young man by extraordinary praises, possibly with an intention either to gain him over to his own interest, or to render him suspected to Ptolemy. He insinuated, in terms sufficiently intelligible, that Aratus having discovered, by his own experience, the vanity of the Egyptian pride, intended to attach himself to his service; and that he therefore was resolved to employ him in his affairs; he concluded this strain of artifice with entreating all the lords of his court, who were then present, to regard him for the future as their friend. The particulars of this discourse were soon repeated to Ptolemy, who was not a little surprised and afflicted when he heard them; and he complained to Aratus of this injurious change, but the latter easily justified himself to that monarch.

Aratus having been elected general of the Achæans, for the first time, ravaged Locris, and all the territory of Calydon, and advanced with a body of ten thousand men to succour the Boeotians; but was so unfortunate as not to arrive among them till after the battle of Chæronea,¹ in which they were defeated by the Ætolians.

Eight years after this transaction, he was elected general of the Achæans a second time, and rendered great service to all Greece, by an action which, according to Plutarch, was equal to any of the most illustrious enterprises of the Grecian leaders.²

The isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus; the citadel also of Corinth, distinguished by the name of Acro-Corinthus, is situated on a high mountain, exactly in the middle of those two continents, which are there divided from each other by a very narrow neck of land; by which means this fortress, when furnished with a good garrison, cuts off all communication, by land and sea, from the inner part of the isthmus, and renders the person who possesses it with a good body of troops, absolute master of all Greece. Philip called this citadel "the Shackles of Greece;" and, as it was capable of being rendered such, it created jealousy in all the neighbouring states, and especially in kings and princes, who consequently were desirous of seizing it for their own use.

Antigonus, after a long impatience to render himself master of this place, was so fortunate as to carry it by surprise, and made no scruple to congratulate himself as much on this success as on a real triumph. Aratus, on the other hand, entertained hopes of wresting this fortress from him in his turn, and while all his thoughts were employed to

¹ Philip, more than forty years before this event, had obtained a celebrated victory over the Athenians and Thebans, near the same place.

² A. M. 1760. Ant. J. C. 244.

that effect, an accidental circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of accomplishing his design.

Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had taken a journey to Sicyon, in order to transact some affairs in that city; and had there contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel happened to be the subject of one of their conversations, Erginus told his friend, that, when he went to visit his brother, who was a soldier of that garrison, he had observed a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led to that part of the summit where the wall of the citadel was very low. The banker was very attentive to this account, and, with a smile, desired his friend to tell him whether he and his brother would be disposed to gain a large sum of money, and make their fortunes? Erginus immediately comprehended the bent of this question, and promised to sound his brother Diocles on that head. Some few days after this conversation he returned to the banker, and engaged to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the height of the wall did not exceed fifteen feet, adding at the same time, that himself and his brother would assist him in executing the rest of the enterprise. Aratus promised, on his part, to give them sixty talents, if the affair should happen to succeed; but as it became requisite to deposit that sum in the hands of the banker, for the security of the two brothers, and as Aratus was neither master of so many talents, nor had any inclination to borrow them, for fear of giving rise to suspicion by that proceeding, which would have entirely defeated his enterprise, he pledged all his gold and silver plate, with his wife's jewels, to the banker as a security for the promised sum.

Aratus was so magnanimous, says Plutarch, and had such an ardour for great actions, that when he considered with himself, how universally the famous Epaminondas and Phocion had been reputed the most worthy and just men in all Greece, for refusing the presents that had been offered to them, and preferring virtue to all the riches in the world, he was solicitous to refine upon their generosity and disinterested spirit. There is certainly a wide difference between the mere refusal of presents, and the sacrifice of a person's self and fortune for the service of the public. Aratus parted with all his fortune, and that too without its being known, for an enterprise, wherein he alone was exposed to all the danger. Where is the man, exclaims Plutarch, in the enthusiasm into which this noble action had wrought him, who can possibly be incapable of admiring so uncommon and surprising an instance of magnanimity! Who, even at this time, can forbear to interest himself in this great exploit, and to combat in imagination by the side of so great a man, who paid so dearly for so extraordinary a danger, and pledged the most valuable part of his fortune, only to procure an opportunity of advancing into the midst of his enemies in the dead of night, when he knew he should be compelled to engage for his own life, without any other security than the hopes of performing a great action!

It may justly be remarked on this occasion, that the taste for glory, disinterestedness, and the public good, were perpetuated among the

Greeks, by the remembrance of those illustrious men, who had distinguished themselves in former ages by such glorious sentiments. This is the great advantage which attends history, written like that of the Greeks, and the principal advantage derived from it.

The preparations for the enterprise were disconcerted by a variety of obstructions, any one of which seemed sufficient to have rendered it ineffectual; but when all these were at last surmounted, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms. He then selected four hundred men, most of whom were unacquainted with the design he intended to execute; they were all furnished with scaling-ladders, and he led them directly to the gates of the city by the walls of Juno's temple. The sky was then unclouded, and the moon shone extremely bright, which filled the adventurers with just apprehensions of being discovered. But in a little time, a dark fog rose very fortunately from the sea, and shed a thick gloom over all the adjacent parts of the city. All the troops then seated themselves on the ground, to take off their shoes, as well to lessen the noise, as to facilitate their ascent by the scaling-ladders, from which they would not then be so liable to slip. In the mean time, Erginus, with seven resolute young men, habited like travellers, passed through the gate without being perceived, and killed the sentinel and guards who were there upon duty. The ladders were then fixed upon the wall, and Aratus ascended with one hundred of his boldest troops, giving orders to the rest to follow him as fast as they were able; and when they had all mounted the wall, he descended into the city with the utmost joy, as having already succeeded, by passing undiscovered.

As they were proceeding in their march, they saw a small guard of four men, with lights in their hands, by whom they were not perceived, because the darkness of the night shrouded them from their view. Aratus and his men shrunk back into a line, against some walls and ruins that were near, where they disposed themselves into an ambuscade, from whence they started as the four men were passing by, and killed three of their number. The fourth, who received a deep wound on his head, fled from the place, and cried out as loud as he was able, that the enemy had entered the city. The trumpets in a moment sounded the alarm, and all the inhabitants crowded together at the noise. The streets were already filled with people, who flocked from all quarters by the blaze of innumerable lights which were immediately set up in the city, and also on the ramparts of the castle, while every place resounded with confused cries that were not to be distinguished.

Aratus still continued his progress, notwithstanding the alarm, and endeavoured to climb the steep rocks, which at first were very difficult of ascent, because he had missed the path that led to the wall through numberless windings, which it was almost impracticable to trace out. While he was thus perplexed, the clouds dispersed, as if a miracle had interposed in his favour; the moon then appeared in its former brightness, and discovered all the intricacies of the path, till he arrived on the spot of ground at the foot of the wall, which had been

formerly described to him. The skies were then happily covered with clouds again, and the moon was once more immersed in darkness.

The three hundred soldiers whom Aratus had left without, near the temple of Juno, having entered the city, which was then filled with confusion and tumult, and also illuminated with a prodigious number of lights; and not being able to find the path which Aratus had taken, drew up into a close body, under a bended rock, which shaded them, at the bottom of the precipice, and where they waited in the utmost anxiety and distress. Aratus was then skirmishing on the ramparts of the citadel, and the noise of the combatants might easily be heard; but as the sound was repeated by the echoes of the neighbouring mountains, it was impossible to distinguish the place from whence it proceeded. Those soldiers, therefore, not knowing which way to bend their course, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, having drawn out a considerable number of troops, mounted the ascent with loud shouts, and a great blast of trumpets, with an intention to assault Aratus in his rear, and passed by those three hundred men without perceiving them; but when he had advanced a little beyond them, they started from the place of their concealment, as if they had been planted expressly in ambuscade, and fell upon him with great resolution, killing all who first came in their way. The rest of the troops, and even Archelaus himself, were then seized with such a consternation, that they fled from their enemies, who continued to attack them in their retreat, till they had all dispersed themselves in the city.

This defeat was immediately succeeded by the arrival of Erginus, who had been sent by those that were fighting on the walls of the citadel, to acquaint them that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, who made a very vigorous defence, and was in great need of immediate assistance. The troops then desired him to be their conductor that moment, and as they mounted the rocks, they proclaimed their approach by loud cries, to animate their friends, and redouble their ardour. The beams of the moon, which was then in the full, played upon their armour, and, in conjunction with the length of the way by which they ascended, made them appear more numerous, while the midnight silence rendered the echoes much more strong and audible; by which means their shouts seemed those of a much greater body of men than they really were. In a word, when they at last joined their companions, they charged their enemies with a vigour that soon dispersed them, upon which they posted themselves on the wall, and became absolute masters of the citadel by break of day; so that the sun's first rays saw them victorious. The rest of their troops arrived at the same time from Sicyon; and the Corinthians, after they had willingly thrown open the city gates to receive them, assisted in making the troops of Antigonus prisoners of war.

Aratus, when he had effectually secured his victory, descended from the citadel into the theatre, which was then crowded with a vast concourse of people, drawn thither by their curiosity to see him, and to hear him speak. After he had posted his Achæans in two lines, in the avenues of the theatre, he advanced from the bottom of the stage,

completely armed, with a countenance extremely changed by his want of rest, and the long fatigue he had sustained. The bold and manly joy with which this extraordinary success had inspired him, was obscured by the languor his extreme weakness and decay of spirits had occasioned. The moment he appeared in the theatre, all the people were emulous to testify their profound respect and gratitude by repeated applause and acclamations. Aratus, in the mean time, shifted his lance from his left to his right hand; and then rested upon it, with his body bent a little toward the audience, in which posture he continued for some time.

When the whole theatre was at last silent, he exerted all the vigour he had left, and acquainted them, in a long discourse, with the particulars of the Achæan league; after which he exhorted them to accede to it. He likewise delivered to them the keys of their city, which, till then, had never been in their power from the time of Philip. As to the captains of Antigonos, he restored Archelaus, whom he had taken prisoner, to his liberty, but caused Theophrastus to suffer death for refusing to quit the city.

Aratus made himself master of the temple of Juno, and of the port, where he seized twenty-five of the king's ships. He also took five hundred war-horses, and four hundred Syrians, whom he afterwards sold. The Achæans kept the citadel, in which they placed a garrison of four hundred men.

An action so bold and successful as this, must undoubtedly be productive of very fortunate events. The inhabitants of Megara quitted the party of Antigonos, and joined Aratus. Their example was soon followed by the people of Træzene and Epidaurus, who acceded to the Achæan league.

Aratus also brought Ptolemy, king of Egypt, into the confederacy, by assigning the superintendency of the war to him, and electing him generalissimo of their troops by land and sea. This event acquired him so much credit and reputation, that though the nomination of any man to the post of captain-general for a succession of years was expressly prohibited by the laws, Aratus was however elected every other year, and he, either by his counsels or personal conduct, enjoyed that command without any discontinuance; for it was evident to all mankind, that neither riches, nor the friendship of kings, nor even the particular advantage of Sicyon, his native place, nor any other consideration whatever, had the least competition in his mind, with the welfare and aggrandizement of the Achæans. He was persuaded, that all weak cities resemble those parts of the body which only thrive and exist by their mutual union; and must infallibly perish when once they are separated, as the sustenance by which they subsist will be discontinued from that moment. Cities soon sink into ruin, when the social bands which connect them are once dissolved; but they are always seen to flourish, and improve in power and prosperity, when they become parts of a large body, and are associated by a unity of interest. A common precaution then reigns through the whole, and is the happy source of life, from whence all the vigour that supports them is derived.

All the views of Aratus, while he continued in his employment, tended entirely to the expulsion of the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus, and the abolition of all kinds of tyranny; the re-establishment of the cities in their ancient liberty, and the exercise of their laws. These were the only motives which prompted him to oppose the enterprises of Antigonus Gonatus, during the life of that prince.¹

He also pursued the same conduct with respect to Demetrius, who succeeded Antigonus, and reigned for the space of ten years. The Ætolians had at first joined Antigonus Gonatus, with an intention to destroy the Achæan league; but embroiled themselves with Demetrius, his successor, who declared war against them.² The Achæans, forgetting on this occasion the ill-treatment they had received from that people, marched to their assistance, by which means a strict union was re-established between them, and became very advantageous to all the neighbouring cities.³

Illyrium was then governed by several petty kings, who subsisted chiefly by rapine, and exercised a sort of piracy against all the neighbouring countries. Agron, the son of Pleurates, Scerdiledes, Demetrius of Pharus, so called from a city of Illyrium subject to him, were the petty princes who infested all the neighbouring parts; and attacked Corcyra, and the Arcarnanians in particular.⁴ Teuta reigned after the death of her husband Agron, who ended his days by intemperance, and left a young son named Pinæus. These people, harassed in the manner I have mentioned, had recourse to the Ætolians and Achæans, who readily undertook their defence; and their good services were not repaid with ingratitude. The people of Corcyra made an alliance with the Illyrians soon after this event, and received Demetrius of Pharus, with his garrison, into their city.⁵

The Romans were so offended at the piracies with which this people infested their citizens and merchants, that they sent an embassy to Teuta, to complain of these injurious proceedings. That princess caused one of the ambassadors to be slain, and the other to be thrown into prison, which provoked the Romans to declare war against her, in revenge for so outrageous an insult. The two consuls, L. Posthumus Albinus, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, set out with a commission to invade Illyrium by land and sea. The people of Corcyra, in concert with Demetrius of Pharus, delivered up to the consul, Fulvius, the garrison they had received into their city; and the Romans, after they had reinstated Corcyra in its former liberties, advanced into Illyrium, and conquered great part of the country; but consigned several cities to Demetrius, as a compensation for his treacherous conduct in their favour.⁶

Teuta, reduced to the utmost extremity, implored peace of the Romans, and obtained it, on her engagement to pay a yearly tribute, and deliver up all Illyrium, except a few places, which she was permitted to enjoy: but the most advantageous article for the Greeks

¹ Polyb. l. ii. p. 130.

² A. M. 3762 Ant. J. C. 242. Polyb. l. ii. p. 91—101. Appian. de Bell. Illyr. p. 760.

³ A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 234.

⁴ A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232.

⁵ A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228.

⁶ A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

was, her being restrained from sailing beyond the city of Lissus with more than two small vessels, and even those were not to carry any arms. The other petty kings, who seemed to have been subordinate to Teuta, were comprehended in this treaty, though it expressly mentioned none but that princess.¹

The Romans then caused themselves to be respected in Greece by a solemn embassy, and this was the first time that their power was known in that country. They also sent ambassadors to the Ætolians and Achæans, to communicate to them the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. Others were also despatched to Corinth and Athens; and the Corinthians then declared for the first time, by a public decree, that the Romans should be admitted to celebrate the Isthmian games, with the same privileges as the Greeks. The freedom of the city was also granted them at Athens, and they were permitted to be initiated into their solemn mysteries.

Aratus, after the death of Demetrius, who reigned only ten years, found the dispositions of the people very favourable to his designs. Several tyrants, whom that prince had supported with all his credit, and to whom he paid large pensions, having lost their support by his death, made a voluntary resignation of the authority they had usurped over their citizens: others of them, either intimidated by the menaces of Aratus, or prevailed upon by his promises, followed their example; and he procured several advantages for them all, that they might have no temptation to repent of their conduct.

Aratus, who beheld with regret the subjection of the people of Argos to the tyrant Aristomachus, undertook their deliverance; and made it a point of honour to restore liberty to that city, as a recompense for the education he had received there; and he also considered the accession of so potent a city to the Achæan league as highly advantageous to the common cause; but his measures to this effect were rendered unsuccessful at that time. Aristomachus was soon after slain by his domestics; and, before there could be any opportunity to regulate affairs, Aristippus, a tyrant more detestable than his predecessor, seized the supreme power into his own hands, and had the dexterity to maintain himself in that usurpation, even with the consent of the Argives; but as he beheld a mortal enemy in Aratus, during whose life he imagined his own would always be in danger, he resolved to destroy him by the assistance of king Antigonus, Doson, who agreed to be the minister of his vengeance. He had already prepared assassins in all parts, who watched an opportunity for executing their bloody commission. No prince or commander can ever have a more effectual guard, than the firm and sincere affection of those they govern; for when once the nobility and people have been accustomed not to fear their prince, but to fear for him, innumerable eyes and ears are attentive to all that passes. Aratus was so happy as to experience this in the present conjuncture.²

Plutarch, on this occasion, draws a fine contrast between the troubles and anxieties of Aristippus, and the peace and tranquillity of Aratus. The tyrant, says he, who maintained such a body of troops for the

¹ A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

² Plut. in Arat. p. 1038—1041.

security of his person, and who had shed the blood of all those of whom he entertained any dread, was incapable of enjoying a moment's repose, either by night or day. Every circumstance alarmed him; his soul was the seat of terror and anxiety that knew no intermission; and he even trembled at his own shadow. A very strong guard continually watched round his house with drawn swords; and as his life was perpetually in their power, he feared them more than all the rest of mankind. He never permitted them to enter his palace, but ordered them to be stationed in the porticoes, which completely surrounded that structure. He sent away all his domestics as soon as he had supped; after which, he shut the gate of his court with his own hands, and then retired with his concubine into an upper apartment, which he entered by a trapdoor. When this was let down, he placed his bed upon it, and slept, if we may suppose a man to sleep in his condition, whose soul is a perpetual prey to trouble, terror, and apprehension. The mother of the concubine removed, each night, the ladder by which he ascended into his chamber, and replaced it in its former situation the next morning. Aratus, on the other hand, who had acquired a perpetual power, not by the force of arms, but merely by his virtue and in effect of the laws, appeared in public with a plain robe, and a mind void of fear; and as all those who possess fortresses, and maintain guards, with the additional precaution of arms, gates, and traps, as so many ramparts for their safety, seldom escape a violent death, Aratus, on the contrary, who always showed himself an implacable enemy to tyrants, left behind him a posterity which exists, says Plutarch, to this day, and is still honoured and respected by all the world.¹

Aratus attacked the tyrant with open force, but acted with no extraordinary resolution in the first engagement, when even one of the wings of his army had defeated the enemy; for he caused a retreat to be sounded very unseasonably, and resigned the victory to the foe, which drew upon him a number of severe reproaches. He however made amends for his fault in a second battle, wherein Aristippus, and above fifteen hundred of his men, lost their lives. Aratus, though he had obtained so signal a victory, and without losing one man, was however unable to make himself master of the city of Argos, and was equally incapable of restoring liberty to the inhabitants, as Agias, and the young Aristomachus, had thrown a body of the king's troops into the place.

He succeeded better with respect to the city of Megalopolis, where Lysiades had usurped the supreme power. This person had nothing in his character of the violent and inhuman qualities of tyrants, and had seized the sovereignty from no other inducement than a false idea of the happiness and glory which he imagined inseparable from supreme power; but he resigned the tyranny, either through fear, or a conviction of his error, upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and caused his city to accede to the Achæan league. That league was affected to such a degree by so generous an action, that they immediately chose

¹ Polycrates, to whom Plutarch addresses the life of Aratus, was one of his descendants, and had two sons, by whom the race was still continued, three hundred and fifty years after the death of Aratus.

him for their general; and as he at first was emulous of surpassing Aratus, he engaged in several enterprises which seemed necessary at that juncture, and, among the rest, declared war against the Lacedæmonians. Aratus employed his utmost influence to oppose him in those measures, but his endeavours were misinterpreted as the effects of envy. Lysiades was elected general a second time, and then a third, and each of them commanded alternately. But when he was observed to act in opposition to his rival on all occasions, and, without the least regard to decency, was continually repeating his injurious treatment of a virtue so solid and sincere as that of Aratus, it became evident that the zeal he affected was no more than a plausible outside, which concealed a dangerous ambition, and they deprived him of the command.

As the Lacedæmonians will, for the future, have a considerable share in the war sustained by the Achæans, it seems necessary to give a brief account of the condition of that people in this place.

SECTION III.—AGIS ATTEMPTS TO REFORM SPARTA. HE IS CONDEMNED TO DIE, AND EXECUTED ACCORDINGLY.

WHEN the love of wealth had crept into the city of Sparta, and had afterwards introduced luxury, avarice, sloth, effeminacy, profusion, and all those pleasures which are generally inseparable attendants of riches; and when these had broken down all the barriers which the wisdom of Lycurgus had formed, with the view of excluding them forever, Sparta beheld herself fallen from her ancient glory and power, and was reduced to an abject and humble state, which continued to the reign of Agis and Leonidas, of whom we now treat.

Agis, the son of Eudamidas, was of the house of the Eurytionidæ, and the sixteenth descendant from Agesilaus, who made an expedition into Asia. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of the family of the Agidæ, and the eighth prince that reigned in Sparta, after Pausanias, who defeated Mardonius in the battle of Platææ.¹

I have already related the divisions which arose in Sparta between Cleonymus and Areus,² in regard to the sovereignty, which was obtained by the latter; and he afterwards caused Pyrrhus to raise the siege of Lacedæmon. He was succeeded by his son Acrotates, who reigned seven or eight years, and left a young son, named Areus, from his grandfather. This prince was under the tuition of Leonidas, but died in a short time; upon which Leonidas rose from the regency to the throne.

Though all the Spartans had been depraved and perverted by the general corruption into which the government was fallen, this depravity and remoteness from the ancient manners of that people was most conspicuous in the conduct of Leonidas, who had resided for several years in the palaces of the satraps, and had for many years made his court to Seleucus; he had even espoused a wife in Asia, contrary to the laws

¹ Plut. in Agid. p. 796—801.

² Josephus relates, that Areus king of Lacedæmon sent letters to Onias the high priest of the Jews, in which he acknowledged an affinity between that people and the Lacedæmonians. The origin of this relation is not easily to be distinguished, nor is it less difficult to reconcile the time of Areus with that of Onias.

of his country, and had afterwards employed his utmost endeavours to introduce all the pomp and pride of princes into a free country, and a government founded on moderation and justice.

Agis was the reverse of this character. He was then in the twentieth year of his age, and though he had been educated in the midst of riches,¹ and the luxury of a house, remarkable for being equally voluptuous and haughty, he, from the first, renounced all those ensnaring pleasures; and instead of testifying the least regard for the splendid vanities of dress, he made it his glory to appear in a plain habit, and to re-establish the ancient form of public meals, baths, and all the ancient discipline of Sparta. He even declared openly, "that he should not value being king, if it were not for the hopes of reviving the ancient laws and discipline of Sparta." These noble sentiments were a demonstration, that Agis had formed a solid judgment of regal power; the most essential duty and true glory of which are derived from the establishment of good order in all the branches of a state, by giving due force to customs established by wise laws.

This severe discipline was disregarded the moment Sparta had ruined the Athenian government, and began to abound in gold. The same partition, however, of lands, which had been made by Lycurgus, and the number of hereditary possessions established by him, having been preserved through all successions of descent, and each father transmitting his part in the same manner as he had received it himself; this order and equality, which had been preserved without interruption, suspended in some measure, the ill effects of those abuses which then prevailed. But as soon as this prudent institution began to be struck at, by a law which permitted every man to dispose of his house and patrimony in his own lifetime, or to make a testamentary donation of them to whom he pleased, this new law effectually sapped the best foundation of the Spartan polity. Epitades, one of the ephori, introduced this law, to avenge himself on one of his sons, whose conduct had displeased him.

It is, indeed, surprising, that a whole state should so easily be induced to change such an ancient and fundamental custom as this, merely to gratify the passion of one man. The pretext for this change was undoubtedly the augmentation of paternal authority in their several families, since it was not then possessed of any motives of filial respect; the children of that community having nothing to hope or fear, as they received alike all the fortune they could expect immediately from the state, and with an absolute independency of their parents. This domestic inconvenience, in which every father thought himself concerned, and which seemed to regard all good order in families, created strong impressions in those who had the greatest share in the administration, and rendered them incapable of considering the much greater inconveniences which would inevitably result from this change, and whose pernicious effects would be soon felt by the state.

This proceeding is sufficient to convince us how dangerous it is to

¹ Plutarch informs us, that his mother Agesistrate, and his grandmother Archidamia, possessed more gold and silver than all the other Lacedæmonians together.

change ancient laws,¹ on which basis a state, or community, has long subsisted, and what precautions ought to be taken against bad impressions, which may arise through particular inconveniences, from which the wisest institutions cannot be exempted. What prudence, penetration into future events and experience, are necessary to those who take upon them to balance and compare the advantages and defects of ancient customs, with any new regulations which are proposed to be substituted in their stead!

It may be justly affirmed, that the ruin of Sparta was occasioned by the new law, which authorized the alienation of hereditary estates. The great men were daily enlarging their fortunes, by dispossessing the heirs to whom they belonged; in consequence of which all patrimonial possessions were soon engrossed by a very inconsiderable number of persons; the poverty, which then prevailed through the whole city, sunk the people into a mean indolence of mind, by extinguishing that ardour for virtue and glory, which, till then, had rendered the Spartans superior to all the other states of Greece, and by infusing into the hearts of the people an implacable envy and aversion for those who had unjustly divested them of all their possessions.

The number of native Spartans in that city was reduced to about seven hundred; and not many more than one hundred of these had preserved their family estates. All the rest were a starving populace, destitute of revenues, and excluded from a participation in honours and dignities; these acted with reluctance and indifference in wars against a foreign enemy, because they were sensible the rich would be the only gainers by their victories; in a word, they were constantly waiting for an opportunity to change the present situation of affairs, and withdraw themselves from the oppressions they sustained.

Such was the state of Sparta, when Agis entertained the design of redressing the abuses which then prevailed: at the same time, Aratus was employing his endeavours for the deliverance of his country.² The enterprise was noble, but extremely hazardous. He discovered, contrary to his expectation, that all the young men were disposed to enter into his views, while the generality of those in years, in whose minds corruption had taken the deepest root, trembled at the very name of Lycurgus and reformation. He began by conciliating his uncle Agesilaus, a man of great eloquence and reputation, but strongly impressed with a passion for riches; which was the very circumstance that rendered him the more favourable to the designs of Agis. He was ready to sink under a load of debts, and hoped to discharge them without any expense to himself, by changing the form of government.

Agis then endeavoured, by his means, to bring over his own mother, who was the sister of Agesilaus. Her power was very great in the city, by a large party of friends, and the vast number of her slaves and debtors; and her credit gave her an extraordinary influence in

¹ Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est; veteribus, nisi quæ usus evidenter arguit, stari malunt.—Liv. l. xxxiv. p. 54.

² A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 348.

the most important affairs: when Agis had opened his design to her, she was struck with consternation on the first ideas it presented to her mind, and employed all the arguments she could invent, to dissuade him from it; but when Agesilaus joined his own reflections with those of the king, and had made his sister comprehend the advantages that would accrue to Sparta from the execution of such a design, and represented to her the glory which her family would for ever derive from it, this lady, as well as those of her sex with whom she was most intimate, being then animated by the noble ambition of the young prince, immediately changed their sentiments and were so affected with the beauty of the project, that they themselves pressed Agis to enter upon the execution of it as soon as possible. They likewise sent to all their friends, and exhorted them to concur with him in that affair.

Application was also made by them to the other ladies of that city, as they were very sensible that the Lacedæmonians had always expressed the greatest deference to their wives, whom they allowed to exercise more authority in all transactions of state, than they themselves assumed in their private and domestic affairs. Most of the riches of Sparta were at that time in the hands of women, which proved a great obstruction to the designs of Agis. They unanimously opposed his scheme, rightly foreseeing, that the plain manner of life he was endeavouring to re-establish, and on which so many commendations were bestowed, would not only be destructive to all their luxurious pleasures, but divest them of all the honours and power they derived from their riches.

In the consternation excited by this proposal, they addressed themselves to Leonidas, and conjured him, as his age gave him an ascendant over Agis, to employ his whole authority in dissuading his colleague from the accomplishment of his plan. Leonidas was greatly inclined to support the rich, but as he dreaded the indignation of the people, who were desirous of this change, he could not presume to oppose Agis in an open manner, but contented himself with crossing his designs by indirect measures. He had a private conference with the magistrates, wherein he took the liberty to calumniate Agis, as a person who was offering to the poor the properties of the rich, with a partition of lands, and a general abolition of debts, as a compensation to them for the tyranny he was preparing to usurp: in consequence of which proceedings, instead of forming citizens for Sparta, he was only raising a body of guards for the security of his own person.

Agis, in the mean time, having succeeded so far as to cause Lysander, who concurred with him in his views, to be elected one of the ephori, brought into the council a decree, which he himself had drawn up, the principal articles of which were these. 1. All the debtors were to be discharged from their debts. 2. All the lands which extended from the valley of Pellene to Mount Thygetus, and the promontory of Malea, and likewise to Selasia, should be parcelled out into four thousand five hundred lots. 3. The lands which lay beyond those limits should be comprehended in fifteen thousand lots. 4. The last portions were to be distributed to those inhabitants of the adjacent

parts, who were in a condition to bear arms. 5. Those lands which lay within the limits already mentioned, should be reserved for the Spartans, whose due number, which was then considerably diminished, should be recruited out of such of the neighbouring people, and strangers, as had received an honest and generous education, and were then in the flower of their age, and not disqualified for that class by any bodily defect. 6. All these should, at the times of repast, be disposed into fifty halls, distinguished by the name of phidicies, the least of which should contain two hundred, and the largest four hundred; and lastly, they were all to observe the same manner of life and discipline as their ancestors.

This decree being opposed by the senators whose sentiments differed from those of Agis, Lysander caused the people to be assembled, and in the strongest terms exhorted the citizens to consent to it. He was seconded by Mandroclides, a young Spartan, whose heart glowed with zeal for the public welfare; and he represented to the people, with all the energy he could possibly express, every motive that could most affect them, particularly the respect they owed to the memory of their illustrious legislator, Lycurgus; the oath their ancestors had taken, in the names of themselves and all their posterity, to preserve those sacred institutions in the most inviolable manner; the glory and honour Sparta had enjoyed during the time she strictly adhered to them; and the infamous degeneracy into which she had sunk ever since they had been disregarded by her. He then set forth the miserable condition of the Spartans, those ancient masters of Greece, those triumphant conquerors of Asia, those mighty sovereigns by sea and land, who once could make the great king¹ tremble on his throne, but were now divested of their cities and houses, by the insatiable avarice of their own citizens, who had reduced them to the lowest extremes of poverty and shameful indigence, which might be considered as the completion of all their calamities, as, by these means, they were exposed to the insult and contempt of those to whom it was their right to prescribe laws. He then concluded with entreating them not to be so far influenced by their obsequiousness to a handful of men, who even trampled them under their feet like so many despicable slaves, as to behold, with eyes of indifference, the dignity of their city entirely degraded and lost; but that they would recall to their remembrance those ancient oracles which had more than once declared, that the love of riches would prove fatal to Sparta, and occasion its total ruin.

King Agis then advanced into the middle of the assembly, and declared, after a concise discourse (for he thought his example would have more efficacy than any words he could utter), that he was determined to deliver up, for the common welfare, all his effects and estate, which were very considerable, consisting of large tracts of arable and pasture lands, besides six hundred talents of current money; and that his mother and grandmother, together with the

¹ This was the usual appellation of the Persian monarchs

rest of his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would do the same.

The magnanimity of the young prince astonished all the people, who, at the same time, were transported with joy that they at last were so happy as to behold a king worthy of Sparta. Leonidas then took off the mask, and opposed him to the utmost of his power; for as he knew that it would otherwise be necessary for him to make the same offer they had heard from Agis, so he was sensible that the citizens would not think themselves under the same obligation to him as they were to his colleague, who, when each of their estates should be appropriated to the public, would engross all the honour of that action, by rendering it the effect of his own example. He, therefore, demanded aloud of Agis, whether he did not think that Lycurgus was a just and able man, and one who had zealously consulted the welfare of his country? Agis then replied that he had always considered him as such. "Where do you find, then," retorted Leonidas, "that Lycurgus ever ordained an abolition of debts, or gave the freedom of Sparta to strangers, since, on the contrary, it was his firm persuasion, that the city would never be safe till all strangers were expelled from its walls?" Agis answered, "that he was not surprised that such a person as Leonidas, who had been brought up in foreign countries, and had married into the house of a Persian grandee, should be so little acquainted with Lycurgus as not to know that he had swept away all actual and possible debts, by banishing gold and silver from the city; that, with respect to strangers, his precautions were intended against none but those who could not accommodate themselves to the manners and discipline he had established; that these were the only persons he expelled from the city, not by any hostilities against their persons, but from a mere apprehension that their method of life and corruption of manners might insensibly inspire the Spartans with the love of luxury and softness, and an immoderate passion for riches."

He then produced several examples of poets and philosophers, particularly Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, who had been highly esteemed and honoured at Sparta, because they taught the same maxims as Lycurgus had established.

This discourse won all the common people over to the party of Agis, but the rich men ranged themselves under Leonidas, and entreated him not to abandon them. They likewise addressed themselves to the senators, who had the principal power in this affair, as they alone were qualified to examine all proposals before they could be received and confirmed by the people; and their solicitations were so effectual, that those who had opposed the decree of Agis carried their point by a unanimous concurrence of voices; upon which Lysander, who still continued in his employment, immediately determined to proceed against Leonidas, in virtue of an ancient law, by which "each descendant from Hercules was prohibited from espousing any foreign woman, and which made it death for any Spartan to settle among strangers." Sufficient proofs of delinquency in these particulars were produced against Leonidas, and Cleombrotus was

prevailed upon at the same time to assist in the prosecution, and demand the crown, as being himself of the royal race, and the son-in-law of Leonidas.

Leonidas was so confounded at this proceeding, and so apprehensive of the event, that he took sanctuary in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioicos; upon which the wife of Cleombrotus separated herself from her husband, and became a suppliant for her father. Leonidas was summoned to appear; but as he refused to render obedience in that particular, he was divested of his royalty, and it was then transferred to his son-in-law, Cleombrotus.

Lysander relinquished his employment about the close of these transactions, the usual time for holding it being then expired. The new ephori took this opportunity to commence a prosecution against him and Mandroclides, for having voted for the abolition of debts and a new distribution of lands, contrary to the laws. Lysander and Mandroclides, finding themselves in danger of being condemned, persuaded the two kings, that if they would only be united with each other, they would have no cause to be disquieted by any decrees of the ephori, who were privileged, indeed, to decide between them when they were divided in their sentiments, but had no right to interpose in their affairs when they concurred in the same opinions.

The two kings, in order to improve this remonstrance, entered the assembly, where they compelled the ephori to quit their seats, and substituted others in their stead — one of whom was Agesilaus. They then caused a band of young men to arm themselves, and gave orders for the releasing of the prisoners: in a word, they rendered themselves very formidable; but not one person was killed on this occasion, and when Agis even knew that Agesilaus intended to cause Leonidas to be assassinated in his retreat to Tegea, he ordered him to be safely conducted thither by a sufficient guard.

When the affair was on the point of being absolutely concluded without any opposition, so great was the terror which then prevailed, it was suddenly obstructed by a single man. Agesilaus had one of the largest and best estates in the whole country, and at the same time was deeply involved in debt; but as he was incapable of paying his creditors, and had no inclination to incorporate his estate into the common property, he represented to Agis that the change would be too great and violent, and even too dangerous, should they attempt to carry their two points at the same time — namely, the abolition of debts and the distribution of lands; whereas, if they began with gaining over the landed proprietors, by the annihilation of the debts, it would be easy for them to accomplish the partition of lands. The specious turn of this reasoning ensnared Agis, and even Lysander himself was won over to this expedient by the artifice of Agesilaus; in consequence of which, all contracts and obligations were taken from the several creditors, and carried into the public place, where they were placed in a large heap and burned to ashes. As soon as the flames mounted into the air, the rich men and bankers, who had lent their money, returned home extremely dejected, and Agesilaus

cried, with an insulting air, "that he had never seen so fine and clear a fire before."

The people, immediately after this transaction, demanded a distribution of the lands, and each of the kings gave orders for its accomplishment; but Agesilaus still continued to start fresh difficulties, and found out a variety of pretexts to prevent the execution of that affair; by which means he gained time, till Agis was obliged to take the field at the head of an army; for the Achæans, who were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, had sent to demand their assistance against the Ætolians, who threatened an irruption into the territories of the Megareans in Peloponnesus.

Aratus, who was then general of the Achæans, had already assembled his troops to oppose the enemy, and had also written to the ephori, who, upon the receipt of his letters, immediately sent Agis to their assistance. This prince set out with all possible expedition, and the soldiers testified an incredible joy at their marching under his command. The generality of them were young men, in very low circumstances, who now saw themselves discharged from all their debts, and free, and also in expectation of sharing the lands at their return from this expedition; for which reasons, they testified the utmost affection for Agis. The cities were charmed to see these troops pass through Peloponnesus, without committing the least disorder; and so quietly, that the sound of their march was hardly to be distinguished. The Greeks were entirely surprised, and made the following reflection: "What admirable discipline and order must formerly have been observed by the armies of Lacedæmon, when they were commanded by Agesilaus, Lysander, or the ancient Leonidas; as they even discover at this time so much awe and respect for their general, though younger than any soldier in his camp!"

Agis joined Aratus at Corinth, at the very time when he was deliberating in a council of war, whether he should hazard a battle, and in what manner he should dispose his troops. Agis declared for a battle, and thought it not advisable to allow the enemy a passage into Peloponnesus; but added, at the same time, that he intended to act as Aratus should judge proper, as he was the elder officer of the two, and general of the Achæans, whereas he himself was only general of the auxiliary troops; and was not come thither to exercise any command over the league, but only to engage the enemy in conjunction with them, for whose assistance he had been sent. The officers of Aratus, instead of treating him with so much deference as Agis had expressed, took the liberty to reproach him in sharp terms, for his aversion to a battle; ascribing that to timidity, which in reality was the effect of prudence. But the vain fear of false infamy did not make him abandon his wise view for the public good. He justified his conduct by the memoirs he wrote on that occasion; wherein he observes, that as the husbandmen had already carried in their harvest, and gathered in all the fruits of the season, he judged it more advisable to let the enemy advance into that country, than to hazard an unnecessary battle at that juncture, when the welfare of the whole league lay at stake. When he had determined not to enter upon action, he dis-

missed his allies, after he had bestowed the greatest commendations upon them; and Agis, who was astonished at his conduct, set out for Sparta with his troops.

The Ætolians entered Peloponnesus without any obstruction, and in their march seized the city of Pellene, where their troops, who were intent on nothing but plunder, immediately dispersed themselves without the least order, and began to contend with each other for the spoils. Aratus, informed of these proceedings, would not suffer so favourable an opportunity to escape him. He then ceased to be the same man, and, without losing a moment's time, or waiting till his troops joined him, advanced with those he then had, against the enemy, who were become weak even by their victory; he attacked them in the very place they had so lately taken, and forced them to abandon it, after having lost seven hundred men. This action did him great honour, and changed the injurious reproaches he had patiently suffered, into the highest applauses and panegyric.¹

Several states and princes having now entered into a confederacy against the Achæans, Aratus endeavoured to contract a friendship and alliance with the Ætolians, in which he easily succeeded; for a peace was not only concluded between them, but he also effectually negotiated an offensive and defensive league between the two nations of Ætolia and Achæa.

Agis, when he arrived at Sparta, found a great change in the state of affairs. Agesilaus, who was one of the ephori, being no longer restrained by fear as formerly, and entirely intent upon the gratification of his avarice, committed the greatest violence and injustice; when he found himself universally detested, he raised and maintained a body of troops, who served him as a guard when he went to the senate; and caused a report to be spread, that he intended to continue in his office the succeeding year. His enemies, in order to elude the calamities with which they were threatened, caused Leonidas to be sent for, in the most public manner, from Tegea, and replaced him upon the throne, to the general satisfaction of the people, who were greatly irritated to see themselves abused in the hopes they had entertained of the partition which had never been carried into execution.²

Agesilaus saved himself by the assistance of his son, who was universally beloved; and the two kings took sanctuary, Agis in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioicos, and Cleombrotus in that of Neptune. As Leonidas seemed to be most exasperated against the latter, he left Agis, and advanced at the head of a band of soldiers into the temple, where Cleombrotus had fled for refuge. He then reproached him with great warmth, for assuming the regal powers in violation of the ties of affinity between them, and for expelling him from his own country in so ignominious a manner. Cleombrotus, who had nothing to answer to these reproaches, continued seated in a profound silence, and with an aspect that sufficiently testified his confusion. His wife Chelonida stood near, with her two children at her feet. She had been equally unfortunate as a wife and daughter, but was equally faithful in each of those capacities, and had always ad-

¹ Plut. in Arat. p. 1041.

² A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244. Plut. in Agis. p. 800—804.

hered to the unfortunate. She had accompanied her father Leonidas during his exile, and now returned to her husband, whom she tenderly embraced, and, at the same time, became a suppliant for him with her father.

All those who were then present, melted into tears at so moving a sight, and were struck with admiration at the virtue and tenderness of Chelonida, and the amiable force of conjugal love. This unfortunate princess, pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled tresses, "Believe me, O my father," said she, "this habit of wo which I now wear, this dejection which appears in my countenance, and these sorrows into which you see me fallen, are not the effects of that compassion I entertain for Cleombrotus, but the sad remains of my affliction for the calamities you have sustained in your flight from Sparta. On what, alas! shall I now resolve? While you reign, for the future, in Sparta, and triumph over the enemies who opposed you, shall I continue to live in the desolate state to which you now see me reduced? Or is it my duty to array myself in the robes of royalty and magnificence, when I behold the husband whom I received from you, in the flower of my youth, on the point of perishing by your dagger? Should he be unable to disarm your resentment, and move your soul to compassion, by the tears of his wife and children, permit me to assure you, that he will be punished with more severity for his imprudence, than was even intended by yourself, when he shall see a wife who is so dear to him, expiring at his feet; for you are not to think, that in my present condition I will ever consent to survive him. What appearance shall I make among the Spartan ladies, after my inability to inspire my husband with compassion for my father, or to soften my father into pity for my husband! What, indeed, shall I appear to them, but a daughter and a wife, always afflicted and condemned by her nearest relations!" Chelonida, at the conclusion of these expressions, reclined her cheek on that of Cleombrotus, while with her eyes, which spoke her sorrow in their tears, she cast a languid look on those who were present.

Leonidas, after a few moments discourse with his friends, ordered Cleombrotus to rise, and immediately quit Sparta; but earnestly importuned his daughter to continue there, and not forsake a father, who gave her such a peculiar proof of tenderness, as to spare the life of her husband. His solicitations were however ineffectual, and the moment Cleombrotus rose from his seat, she placed one of her children in his arms, and clasped the other in her own; and when she had offered up her prayers to the goddess, and kissed her altar, she became a voluntary exile with her husband. How extremely affecting was this spectacle; and how worthy the admiration of all ages is such a model of conjugal love! If the heart of Cleombrotus, says Plutarch, had not been entirely depraved by vain glory, and a boundless ambition to reign, he would have been sensible, that even banishment itself, with so virtuous a companion, was a felicity preferable to the condition of a sovereign.

When Leonidas had expelled Cleombrotus from Sparta, and substituted new ephori instead of the former, whom he had deposed, he bent

all his endeavours to ensnare Agis; and began with persuading him to quit the asylum to which he had retired, and reign in conjunction with himself. He assured him, that his citizens had pardoned all past proceedings, because they were sensible that his youth and inexperience, with his predominant passion for glory, had laid him open to the insinuations of Agesilaus. But as Agis suspected the sincerity of those expressions, and persisted in his resolution to continue in the temple, Leonidas no longer attempted to deceive him with plausible pretences. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus, who had frequently visited the young prince, continued their assiduities to him, and sometimes conducted him from the temple to the baths, and from thence conveyed him in safety to the temple; for each of them was his intimate friend.

This fidelity, however, was not of long continuance. Amphares had lately borrowed of Agesistrata, the mother of Agis, several rich suits of tapestry, and a magnificent set of silver plate. These costly ornaments tempted him to betray the king, with his mother and grandmother. It was even said, that he was much more inclined than either of his two companions, to listen to the suggestions of Leonidas; and that no one was more industrious than he to excite the ephori, to which body he belonged, against Agis. As this prince went sometimes from the temple to the bath, they resolved to take that opportunity to surprise him; and when he was one day returning from thence, they came up with him, and after having embraced him with an air of affection, they attended him in his way, and entertained him with their usual familiarity of conversation. One of the streets through which they passed, turned off in one quarter to the prison, and, as soon as they arrived at that passage, Amphares seized Agis with an air of authority, and cried, "Agis, I must conduct you to the ephori, to whom you are to be accountable for your behaviour." At the same instant, Demochares, who was tall and strong, threw his mantle round his neck, and dragged him along, while the others pushed him forward, as they had previously agreed; and as no person came to assist him, because there was nobody in the street at that time, they accomplished their design, and threw him into prison.

Leonidas arrived at the same time with a great number of foreign soldiers, and surrounded the prison; the ephori likewise came, and when they had sent for such of the senators as concurred with their opinion, they proceeded to examine Agis, as if he had been arraigned at a competent tribunal, and ordered him to justify himself, with respect to his intended innovations in the republic. One of the ephori, pretending to have discovered an expedient for disengaging him from his criminal affair, asked him whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not compelled him to have recourse to those measures. To which Agis replied, that he had not acted in consequence of any compulsion; but that his admiration of Lycurgus, and a sincere desire to imitate his conduct, were his only motives for attempting to restore the city to the same condition in which that legislator had left it. The same officer then demanding of him, if he had repented of that proceeding, the young prince answered with an air of steadiness, "That he never should repent of so virtuous, so noble, and glorious an undertaking,

though death itself were presented to his view in all its terrors." His pretended judges then condemned him to die, and immediately commanded the public officers to carry him to that part of the prison, where those on whom the sentence of condemnation had passed were usually strangled.

When Demochares saw that the officers of justice did not dare to lay their hands on Agis, and that even the foreign soldiers turned their eyes from such a spectacle of horror, and refused to assist in so inhuman an execution, he loaded them with threats and reproaches, and with his own hands dragged Agis to the dungeon. The people, who by this time were informed of the manner in which he had been seized, crowded to the gates of the prison, and began to be very tumultuous. The whole street was already illuminated with innumerable tapers; and the mother and grandmother of Agis ran from place to place, filling the air with their cries, and entreating the people that the king of Sparta might at least have an opportunity to defend himself, and be judged by his own citizens. The zeal of the people did but animate the murderers the more to hasten the execution of Agis, lest he should be released by force that very night, if the people should have sufficient time allowed them for assembling.

As the executioners were leading him to the place where they intended to strangle him, he beheld tears flowing from the eyes of one of them, who was touched with his misfortune; upon which he turned to him, and said, "Weep not for me, my friend, for, as I am cut off in this manner, contrary to all laws and justice, I am much happier, and more to be envied, than those who have condemned me." When he had said these words, he offered his neck to the fatal cord, without the least air of reluctance.

As Amphares came from the prison, at the close of this tragic scene, the first object he beheld was the desolate mother of Agis, who threw herself at his feet: he raised her from the earth, and assured her, that Agis had nothing to fear; entreating her, at the same time, as a proof of his sincerity, to enter the prison and see her son. She then desired him to permit her aged mother to attend her in that mournful visit. "Your request," said he, "is reasonable;" and he immediately conducted them into the prison, but ordered the door to be shut the moment they entered. He then commanded the executioner to seize Archidamia, the grandmother of Agis, who had lived to a venerable old age among her citizens, with as much dignity and reputation as any lady at her time. When the executioner had performed this fatal office, the inhuman Amphares ordered the mother of Agis to enter the dungeon. This unhappy princess was obliged to obey him, and the moment she came into that dismal place, she beheld her son lying dead on the ground, and, at a little distance from him, her dead mother, with the fatal cord still twisted about her neck. She assisted the executioners in disengaging her parent from that instrument of cruelty, after which she laid the corpse by her son, and decently covered it with linen. When this pious office was completed, she cast herself upon the body of Agis, and after she had tenderly kissed his cold lips, "O my son," said she, "the excess of thy humanity and

sweet disposition, and thy too great circumspection and lenity, have undone thee, and been fatal to us!"

Amphares, who from the door had beheld and heard all that passed, entered that moment, and addressing himself with a savage air to the mother of Agis, "Since you knew," said he, "and approved the designs of your son, you shall share in his punishment." Agesistrata rose at those words, and running to the fatal cord, "May this," cried she, "at least be useful to Sparta."

When the report of these executions was dispersed through the city, and the inhabitants beheld the bodies brought out of the prison, the indignation occasioned by this barbarity was universal, and every one declared, that from the time the Dorians had first established themselves in Peloponnesus, so horrible an action had never been committed. It must indeed be acknowledged, that all the blackest crimes in nature united in the circumstances which aggravated this; and we may even add too, that the murder of the king included and surpassed them all; so barbarous an execution, in opposition to that respect with which nature inspires the most savage people for the sacred person of their sovereign, is such a blemish on a nation, as all succeeding ages can never obliterate.

Agis having been destroyed in this manner, Leonidas was not sufficiently expeditious in seizing his brother Archidamus, who saved himself by flight; but he secured Agiatis, the consort of that unhappy king, forcing her to reside in his own house, with the young child she had by him, and then compelled her to espouse his son Cleomenes, who was not marriageable at that time; but Leonidas was determined that the widow of Agis should not be disposed of to any other person, as she inherited a very large estate from her father Gylippus, and likewise excelled all the Grecian ladies in beauty, as well as wisdom and virtue. She endeavoured to avoid this marriage by all means in her power, but to no effect. And when she at last was obliged to consent to her nuptials with Cleomenes, she always retained a mortal aversion to Leonidas, but behaved with the utmost complacency and softness to her young spouse, who, from the first day of his marriage, conceived a most sincere and passionate esteem and affection for her; and even sympathized with her in the tenderness she preserved for Agis, and the regard she expressed for his memory, and that too, in such a degree, that he would frequently listen to her with the greatest attention, while she related to him the great designs he had formed for the regulation of the government.¹

SECTION IV. — CLEOMENES ASCENDS THE THRONE OF SPARTA. HE REFORMS THE GOVERNMENT, AND RE-ESTABLISHES THE ANCIENT DISCIPLINE.

CLEOMENES was possessed of a noble soul, an ardent passion for glory, and the same inclination for temperance and simplicity of manners as Agis had always expressed; but had not that peculiar suavity of disposition, accompanied with the timidity and precaution of that

¹ Plut. in Cleom. p. 805.

prince. Nature, on the contrary, had infused into him a vigour and activity of mind, which ardently prompted him to whatever appeared great and noble. Nothing seemed so desirable to him, as the government of the citizens agreeably to their own will: but, at the same time, he did not think it inconsistent with the glory of a wise administration, to employ some force in reducing to the public utility an inconsiderable number of obstinate and unjust persons, who opposed it merely from the view of private interest.¹

He was far from being satisfied with the state of affairs which then prevailed in Sparta. All the citizens had long been enervated by indolence, and a voluptuous life; and the king himself, who was fond of tranquillity, had entirely neglected public affairs. No person whatever had testified any regard for the public good, every individual being solely intent upon his particular interest, and the aggrandizement of his family at the public expense. Instead of any care in disciplining the young people, and forming them to temperance, patience, and the equality of freemen, it was even dangerous to mention any thing of that nature, as Agis himself had perished by attempting to introduce it among them.

It is also said that Cleomenes, who was still very young, had heard some philosophical lectures at the time when Spherus, who came from the banks of the Boristhenes, settled in Lacedæmon, and applied himself, in a very successful manner, to the instruction of youth. This person was one of the principal disciples of Zeno the Citian.² The Stoic philosophy, which he then professed, was exceedingly proper to infuse courage and noble sentiments in the mind; but, at the same time, was capable of dangerous effects in a disposition naturally warm and impetuous; and on the other hand, might be rendered very beneficial, by being grafted on a mild and moderate character.

After the death of Leonidas, who did not long survive the condemnation and murder of Agis, his son Cleomenes succeeded him in the throne; and though he was then very young, it gave him pain to consider that he had only the empty title of king, while the whole authority was engrossed by the ephori, who shamefully abused their power. He then grew solicitous to change the form of government; and as he was sensible that few persons were disposed to concur with him in that view, he imagined the accomplishment of it would be facilitated by a war, and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achæans, who, very fortunately for his purpose, had given Sparta some occasions of complaint against them.³

Aratus, from the first moments of his administration, had been industrious to negotiate a league between all the states of Peloponnesus, through a persuasion, that if he succeeded in that attempt, they would have nothing to fear for the future from a foreign enemy; and this was the only point to which all his measures tended. All the other states, except the Lacedæmonians, the people of Elis, and those of Arcadia, who had espoused the party of the Lacedæmonians, had ac-

¹ Plut. in Cleom. p. 805—811.

² So called from Citium, a city of Cyprus.

³ A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242.

ceded to this league. Aratus, soon after the death of Leonidas, began to harass the Arcadians, in order to make an experiment of the Spartan courage, and at the same time to make it evident that he despised Cleomenes, as a young man without the least experience.

When the ephori received intelligence of this act of hostility, they caused their troops to take the field, under the command of Cleomenes; they indeed were not numerous, but the consideration of the general by whom they were commanded, inspired them with all imaginable ardour for the war. The Achæans marched against them with twenty thousand foot, and one thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes came up with them near Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, and offered them battle; but Aratus was so intimidated with the bravery of this proceeding, that he prevailed upon the general not to hazard an engagement, and then made a retreat, which drew upon him very severe reproaches from his own troops, and sharp raillery from the enemy, whose troops did not amount to five thousand men. The courage of Cleomenes was so much raised by this retreat, that he assumed a loftier air among his citizens, and reminded them of an expression used by one of their ancient kings, who said, "That the Lacedæmonians never inquired after the number of their enemies, but where they were." He afterwards defeated the Achæans in a second encounter; but Aratus, taking advantage even of his defeat, like an experienced general, turned his arms immediately against Mantinea, and before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that city, and placed a garrison in it.

Cleomenes, after his return to Sparta, began to think seriously on the execution of his former design, and had sufficient influence to cause Archidamus, the brother of Agis, to be recalled from Messene. As that prince was descended from the royal house of Sparta, he had an incontestible right to the crown; and Cleomenes was persuaded, that the authority of the ephori would receive a much greater diminution, when the throne of Sparta should be filled by its two kings, whose union would enable them to counterbalance their power. But, unhappily for his purpose, the same persons who had been guilty of the death of Agis, found means to assassinate his brother Archidamus.¹

Cleomenes, soon after this event, gained a new advantage over the Achæans, in an action near Megalopolis, wherein Lysiadès was slain, in consequence of engaging too far in the pursuit of the Lacedæmonians, who had been repulsed in an early period of the encounter. This victory was very honourable to the young king, and increased his reputation to a great degree. He then imparted his design to a small number of select and faithful friends, who served him in a very seasonable manner. When he returned to Sparta, he concerted his march so as to enter the city when the ephori were at supper; at which time, persons who had been selected for that purpose, entered the hall with drawn swords, and killed four of these magistrates, with ten of those who had taken arms for their defence.² Agesilaus was

¹ Polypius declares, that Cleomenes himself caused him to be assassinated, l. v. p. 383, et l. viii. p. 513.

² The magistracy was composed of five ephori.

left for dead on the spot, but found means to save himself; after which no other person sustained any violence; and, indeed, what had been already committed was sufficient.

The next day Cleomenes caused the names of eighty citizens, whom he intended to banish, to be fixed up in places of public resort. He also removed from the hall of audience all the seats of the ephori, except one, where he determined to place himself, in order to administer justice; and after he had convoked an assembly of the people, he explained to them his reasons for the conduct he had pursued; representing to them, in what an enormous manner the ephori had abused their power, by suppressing all lawful authority, and not only banishing their kings, but even causing them to be destroyed without the least form of justice; and menacing those who were desirous of beholding Sparta happy in the most excellent form of government. He then added, that the conduct he pursued, rendered it sufficiently evident, that, instead of consulting his own particular interest, his whole endeavours were employed to promote that of the citizens, and revive among them the discipline and equality which the wise Lycurgus had formerly established, and from which Sparta had derived all its glory and reputation.

When he had expressed himself in this manner, he immediately consigned his whole estate to the people as their common property, and was seconded in that action by Megistones, his father-in-law, who was very rich. The rest of his friends, in conjunction with all the other citizens, then complied with this example, and the lands were distributed agreeably to the intended plan. He even assigned a portion to each of those who had been banished, and promised to recall them as soon as affairs could be settled in a state of tranquillity. He then filled up the proper number of citizens with persons of the best character in all the adjacent parts, and raised four thousand foot, whom he taught to use lances instead of javelins, and to wear bucklers with good handles, and not with leather straps buckled on, as had before been the custom.

His next cares were devoted to the education of children, which he endeavoured to re-establish according to the Laconic discipline, and in which he was greatly aided by the philosopher Sperus. The exercises and public meals soon resumed their ancient order and gravity; most of the citizens voluntarily embracing this wise, noble, and regular method of life, to which the rest, whose number was very inconsiderable, were soon obliged to conform. In order also to soften the name of monarch, and to avoid exasperating the citizens, he appointed his brother Euclidas king with him; which is the first instance of the simultaneous administration of the Spartan government by two kings of the same house.

Cleomenes, under the impression that Aratus and the Achæans were persuaded he would not presume to quit Sparta, while the dissatisfaction occasioned by the novelties he had introduced into the government existed, thought nothing could be more honourable and advantageous to him, than to let them see how much he was esteemed by his troops, and beloved by his citizens, and what confidence he

entertained, that the new changes had not alienated the minds of the people from him. He first advanced into the territories of Megalopolis, where his troops committed great devastations, and gained a very considerable booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing public games and shows to be exhibited for the space of a whole day, in the sight of the enemy; not deriving any real satisfaction from such conduct, but only intending to convince them, by this contemptuous bravado, how confident he was of being victorious over them.

Though it was very customary, in those times, to see troops of comedians and dancers in the train of other armies, his camp was perfectly free from all such dissolute proceedings. The youths of his army passed the greatest part of their time in exercising themselves, and the old men were industrious to form and instruct them. Even their relaxations from those employments were devoted to instructive and familiar conversations, interspersed with fine and delicate raileries, which were always modest, and never rendered offensive by injurious reflections. In a word, they were entirely conformable to the laws by which the wise legislator of Sparta had been careful to regulate conversations.

Cleomenes himself appeared like the master, who thus formed the citizens not so much by his discourse, as by his example in leading a frugal life, which had nothing in it superior to that of the meanest of his subjects; an affecting model of wisdom and abstinence, which facilitated beyond expression his accomplishment of the great things he performed in Greece. For, those whose affairs carried them to the courts of other kings, did not admire their riches and magnificence, so much as they detested their imperious pride, and the haughtiness with which they treated those who approached them. On the contrary, no such offensive manners were ever experienced in the court of Cleomenes. He appeared in a very plain habit, and almost without officers; the audiences he gave, were as long as the people who applied to him could desire; he kindly received all persons without treating any with an air of austerity. This affable and engaging behaviour gained him the universal love and veneration of his people, in which the true grandeur and merit of a king undoubtedly consist.

His table was extremely simple and frugal, and truly Laconic. No music was ever introduced there, nor did any one desire it, as his conversation well supplied its place; and it is certain that those who are capable of distinguishing well, may pass their time very agreeably without hearing songs. Cleomenes never failed to enliven those repasts, either by proposing curious and important questions, or relating some useful and agreeable piece of history; seasoning the whole with a delicate vein of wit and gayety. He thought it neither an argument of a prince's merit or glory, to attach men to his interest by the attractions of riches, and splendid tables; whereas the ability of gaining their hearts by the amiable power of discourse, and the charms of a commerce, in which freedom of thought and sincerity of manners always prevailed, was considered by him as a truly royal quality.

This affable and engaging disposition of Cleomenes secured him the affection of all the troops, and inspired them with such an ardour for his service, as seemed to have rendered them invincible. He took several places from the Achæans, ravaged the territories of their allies, and advanced almost as far as Pheræ, with an intention either to give them battle, or discredit Aratus as a pusillanimous leader, who had fled from his enemy, and abandoned all their low country to be plundered. The Achæans having taken the field with all their troops, and encamped in the territories of Dymæ, Cleomenes followed them thither, and harassed them perpetually with so much intrepidity, as at last compelled them to come to a battle, wherein he obtained a complete victory; for he put their army to flight, killed a great many men, and took a great number of prisoners.¹

The Achæans were extremely dejected at these severe losses, and began to be apprehensive of the greatest calamities from Sparta, especially if she should happen to be supported by the Ætolians, according to the rumour which then prevailed. Aratus, who had usually been elected general every other year, refused to charge himself with that commission when he was chosen again, and Timoxenes was substituted in his stead. The Achæans severely censured the conduct of Aratus on this occasion, and with great justice, as he, who was considered by them as their pilot, had now abandoned the helm of his vessel at the moment of a threatening tempest, wherein it would have been proper and glorious for him to have seized it into his own hands, even by force, in imitation of several great examples related in history, and when he ought to have been solely solicitous to save the state at the expense of his own life. If he had even despaired of retrieving the affairs of the Achæans, he ought rather to have submitted to Cleomenes, who was a Grecian by birth, and king of Sparta, than to call in the assistance of foreigners, and make them masters of Peloponnesus, as will soon appear to have been the event. Jealousy, however, extinguishes all prudent reflections, and is a malady not to be cured by reason alone.²

The Achæans, being reduced to the last extremities, and especially after the loss of the first battle, sent ambassadors to Cleomenes to negotiate a peace.³ The king seemed at first determined to impose very rigid terms upon them; but afterwards despatched an embassy on his part, and only demanded to be appointed general of the Achæan league, promising on that condition to accommodate all differences between them, and restore the prisoners and places he had taken from them. The Achæans, who were very willing to accept a peace on these terms, desired Cleomenes to be present at Lerna, where they were to hold a general assembly, in order to conclude the treaty. The king accordingly set out for that place, but an unexpected accident, which happened to him, prevented the interview; and Aratus endeavoured to improve it in such a manner as to hinder the negotiation from being renewed. He imagined, that as he had possessed the chief authority in the Achæan league for the space of thirty-three years,

¹ A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228.

² Plut. in Cleom. p. 811. Idem. in Arat. p. 1044.

³ A. M. 3777. Ant. J. C. 227.

it would be very dishonourable in him to suffer a young man to graft himself upon, and divest him of all his glory and power, by supplanting him in a command he had acquired, augmented, and retained for so many years. These considerations induced him to use all his efforts to dissuade the Achæans from the conditions proposed to them by Cleomenes; but as he had the mortification to find himself incapable of conciliating them with this view, because they dreaded the bravery and uncommon success of Cleomenes, and likewise thought the Lacedæmonians were very reasonable in their intentions to restore Peloponnesus to its ancient state, he had recourse to an expedient which no Grecian ought to have approved, and was extremely dishonourable in a man of his rank and character. His design was to call in the assistance of Antigonus king of Macedonia, and by inevitable consequence make him master of Greece.

He had not forgotten that Antigonus had great cause to be dissatisfied with his former proceedings; but he was sensible, that princes may be properly said to have neither friends nor enemies, and that they form their opinions of things by the standard of their own interest. He, however, would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, nor propose it as from himself; because he knew, that if it should happen to prove unsuccessful, he must inevitably incur all the odium; and besides, it would be making a plain declaration to the Achæans, that if he had not absolutely despaired of retrieving their affairs, he would not advise them to have recourse to their professed enemy. He therefore concealed his real views, like an artful and experienced politician, and proceeded by indirect and secret methods. As the city of Megalopolis was nearest to Sparta, it lay most exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and the inhabitants began to think themselves sufficient sufferers by the war, as the Achæans were so far from being in a condition to support them, that they were unable to defend themselves. Nicophanes and Cercides, two citizens of Megalopolis, whom Aratus had brought over to his scheme, made a proposal in the council of that city, for demanding permission of the Achæans, to implore the assistance of Antigonus. This motion was immediately assented to, and the Achæans granted them the permission they desired. These two citizens were then deputed to be the messengers of that proposal, and Aratus had been careful to furnish them previously with sufficient instructions. When they received audience of Antigonus, they lightly touched upon the particulars which related to their city, and then strongly insisted, in conformity to their instructions, on the imminent danger to which the king himself would be exposed, should the alliance which was then spoken of between the Ætolians and Cleomenes take effect. They then represented to him, that if the united forces of these two states should have those advantages over the Achæans which they expected to obtain, the towering ambition of Cleomenes would never be satisfied with the mere conquest of Peloponnesus, as it was evident that he aspired to the empire of all Greece, which it would be impossible for him to seize, without entirely destroying the authority of the Macedonians. To these remonstrances they added, that if the Ætolians should not happen to join Cleomenes,

the Achæans would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces, and should have no cause to trouble the king with their importunities for his assistance; but if, on the other hand, fortune should prove averse to them, and permit the confederacy between those two states to take effect, they must then entreat him not to be an unconcerned spectator of the ruin of Peloponnesus, which might even be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They also took care to insinuate to the king, that Aratus would enter into all his measures, and give him, in due time, sufficient security for his own fidelity and good intentions.¹

Antigonus highly approved all these representations, and seized with pleasure the opportunity that was now offered him for engaging in the affairs of Greece. This had always been the policy of the successors of Alexander, who, by declaring themselves kings, had converted the form of their respective governments into monarchy. They were sensible that it nearly concerned them to oppose all such states as had any inclination to retain their liberty, and the form of popular government; and wherever they found themselves in no condition to extinguish these, they attempted to weaken them at least, and to render the people incapable of forming any considerable enterprises, by sowing the seeds of division between republics and free states, and engaging them in wars against each other, in order to render themselves necessary to them, and prevent their shaking off the Macedonian yoke, by uniting their forces. Polybius, speaking of one of these princes, declares in express terms, that he had paid large pensions to several tyrants in Greece, who were professed enemies to liberty.²

It cannot therefore be thought surprising, that Antigonus should prove so tractable to the solicitations and demands of the Megalopolitans. He wrote them an obliging letter, wherein he promised to assist them, provided the Achæans would consent to that proceeding. The inhabitants of Megalopolis were transported at the happy result of their negotiation, and immediately despatched the same deputies to the general assembly of the Achæans, in order to inform that people of the good intentions of Antigonus, and to press them to put their interests immediately into his hands.

Aratus did not fail to congratulate himself in private for the masterly stroke by which he had succeeded in his intrigue, and to find Antigonus not possessed with any impressions to his prejudice, as he had reason to apprehend. He wished, indeed, to have had no occasion for his assistance; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, he was willing to guard against the imputation of those measures, and for having them seem to have been concerted by the Achæans, without any privity of his.

When the deputies from Megalopolis were introduced into the assembly, they read the letter of Antigonus, and related all the particulars of the obliging reception he had given them; with the affection and esteem he had expressed for the Achæans, and the advanta-

¹ Polyb. l. ii. p. 133—140.

² Δημήτριος ἦν αὐτοῖς (μονάρχαις) διονεὶ χορηγὸς καὶ μισθοδοτὴς.—Lib. ii. p. 137.

geous offers he made them. They concluded with desiring, in the name of their city, that the Achæans would invite Antigonus to be present as soon as possible, in their assembly; and every one seemed to approve of that motion. Aratus then rose up, and after he had represented the voluntary goodness of the king in the strongest light, and commended the sentiments that prevailed in the assembly, he intimated to them, that there was no necessity for precipitating any thing; that it would be very honourable for the republic to endeavour to terminate her wars by her own forces; and that if any calamitous accident should render her incapable of doing so, it would then be time enough to have recourse to her friends. This advice was generally approved; and it was concluded that the Achæans should employ their own forces in supporting the present war.

The events of it were, however, very unfavourable to them, for Cleomenes made himself master of several cities of Peloponnesus,¹ the most considerable of which was Argos, and at last seized Corinth,² with the exception of the citadel. The Achæans had then no longer time for deliberation. Antigonus was called in to their assistance, and they came to a resolution to deliver up the citadel to him, without which he would never have engaged in that expedition; for he wanted a place of strength, and there was none which suited him so effectually as that, as well on account of its advantageous situation between two seas, as its fortifications, which rendered it almost impregnable. Aratus sent his son to Antigonus among the other hostages. That prince advanced by long marches, with an army of twenty thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse. Aratus set out by sea, with the principal officers of the league, to meet Antigonus at the city of Pegæ, unknown to the enemy; and when that prince was informed of his arrival in person, he advanced to him, and rendered him all the honours due to a general of distinguished rank and merit.

Cleomenes, instead of attempting to defend the passage of the Isthmus, thought it more advisable to throw up trenches, and raise strong walls to fortify the passes of the Onian mountains,³ and to harass the enemy by frequent attacks, rather than hazard a battle with such well-disciplined and warlike troops. This conduct of the king of Sparta reduced Antigonus to great extremities; for he had not provided himself with any considerable quantity of provisions, and found it not very practicable to force the passes defended by Cleomenes. The only expedient, therefore, to which Antigonus could have recourse in this perplexity, was to advance to the promontory of Heræa, and from thence to transport his army by sea to Sicyon, which would require a considerable time, as well as great preparations, which could not easily be made.

While Antigonus was embarrassed in this manner, some friends of Aratus arrived at his camp one night, by sea, and informed him

¹ A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Plut. in Cleom. p. 814, 815. Plut. in Arat. p. 1047.

² A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

³ These were a ridge of mountains which extended from the rocks of Sciron, in the road to Attica, as far as Bœotia and mount Citheron. — Strab. l. viii.

that the people of Argos had revolted against Cleomenes, and were then besieging the citadel. Aratus having likewise received fifteen hundred men from Antigonus, set out by sea, and arrived at Epidaurus.¹

Cleomenes receiving intelligence of these proceedings about nine or ten in the evening, immediately detached Megistones, with two thousand men, to succour his party at Argos as soon as possible; after which he industriously watched the motions of Antigonus, and, to animate the Corinthians, assured them that the disorders which had lately happened at Argos were no more than a slight commotion excited by a few mutinous persons, which would easily be suppressed. In this, however, he was deceived, for Megistones having been slain in a skirmish, as soon as he entered Argos, the Lacedæmonian garrison was soon reduced to the last extremity, and several couriers had been sent from those troops to demand immediate assistance from the Spartan army. Cleomenes being then apprehensive that the enemies, if they should happen to make themselves masters of Argos, would shut up all the passes against him, and by that means be in a condition to ravage all Laconia with impunity, and even to form the siege of Sparta, which would then be without defence, therefore thought it advisable to decamp, and marched with all his army from Corinth.

Antigonus, soon after this retreat of the Lacedæmonians, entered the place, and secured it to himself with a good garrison. Cleomenes, in the meantime, arrived at Argos, before the revolters had any suspicion of his approach, and at first succeeded so far as to scale several parts of the town, where he forced some of the enemy's troops to save themselves by flight; but Aratus having entered the city on one side, and king Antigonus appearing with all his troops on the other, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

During the continuance of this march, he received advice in the evening from couriers at Tegea, which affected him as much as all his former misfortunes. They acquainted him with the death of his consort, Agiatis, from whom he had never been able to absent himself a whole campaign, even when his expeditions were most successful; and such was his tenderness and esteem for her, that it had always been customary for him to make frequent returns to Sparta to enjoy the pleasure of her company. The next morning he renewed his march by dawn, and arrived early at Sparta, where, after he had devoted some moments in pouring out his sorrows to his mother and children in his own house, he resumed the management of public affairs.

About the same time, Ptolemy, who had promised to assist him in the war, sent to him to demand his mother and children as hostages. It was a long time before Cleomenes could presume to acquaint his parent with the king of Egypt's demand; and though he frequently went to visit her, with an intention to explain himself, he never had resolution enough to enter upon the subject. His mother, observing the perplexity in which he appeared, began to entertain some suspicion of the cause; for mothers have usually a great share of pene-

¹ A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224.

tration, with reference to their children. She inquired of those who were most intimate with him, whether her son did not desire something from her, which he could not prevail upon himself to communicate to her? And when Cleomenes had at last the resolution to open the affair to her, "How, my son!" said she, with a smile, "is this the secret you wanted courage to disclose to me? Why, in the name of heaven, did you not immediately cause me to be put on board some vessel, and sent, without a moment's delay, to any part of the world, where my person may be useful to Sparta, before old age consumes and destroys it in languor and inaction?"

When the preparations for her voyage were completed, Cratesiclea, the mother of Cleomenes, took her son aside, before she entered the vessel, and led him into the temple of Neptune. There she held him a great while clasped in her arms, and after she had bathed his face with a tender flow of tears, she recommended the liberty and honour of his country to his care. When she saw him weep in the excess of his anguish at that melancholy parting, "King of Lacedæmon," said she, "let us dry up our tears, that no person, when we quit the temple, may see us weep, or do any thing unworthy of Sparta; for this is in our power: events are in the hands of God. When she had expressed herself to this effect, she composed her countenance, led her infant grandson to the ship, and commanded the pilot to sail that moment from the port.

As soon as she arrived in Egypt, she was informed that Ptolemy, having received an embassy from Antigonus, was satisfied with the proposals made by that prince; and she had likewise intelligence that her son, Cleomenes, was solicited by the Achæans to conclude a treaty with them and Sparta, but that he durst not put an end to the war without the consent of Ptolemy, because he was apprehensive of his mother, who was then in the power of that king. When she had been fully instructed in these particulars, she sent express orders to her son, to transact, without the least fear or hesitation, whatever he imagined would prove beneficial or glorious to Sparta, and not to suffer himself to be disconcerted by his apprehensions of the treatment an aged woman and a little infant might sustain from Ptolemy. Such were the sentiments which even the women of Sparta thought it their glory to cherish.

Antigonus, in the mean time, having made himself master of Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomene, and several other cities; Cleomenes, who was then reduced to the necessity of defending Laconia, permitted all the helots who were capable of paying five minæ, to purchase their freedom. From this contribution he raised five hundred talents, and armed two thousand of these helots after the Macedonian manner, in order to oppose them to the leucaspides of Antigonus; he then formed an enterprise, which certainly no one could have expected from him. The city of Megalopolis was very considerable at that time, and even not inferior to Sparta in power and extent. Cleomenes concerted measures for surprising this city, and to take it without any opposition; and as Antigonus had sent most of his troops into winter quarters in Macedonia, while he himself continued at Egium, to assist

in the assembly of the Achæans, the king of Sparta justly supposed that the garrison of the city could not be very strong at that time, nor the guards very strict in their duty, as they were not apprehensive of any insult from an enemy so weak as himself; and consequently, that if he proceeded with expedition in his design, Antigonus, who was then at the distance of three days march from the place, would be incapable of affording it any assistance. The event succeeded according to the plan he had projected; for as he arrived at the city by night, he scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without any opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before their enemies had any thoughts of pursuing them; and Antigonus was not informed of this accident till it was too late to retrieve it.¹

Cleomenes, with a generosity of mind which has few examples in history, sent a herald to acquaint the people of Megalopolis, that he would restore them the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the Achæan league, and enter into a friendship and confederacy with Sparta; but, however advantageous this offer seemed, they could not prevail on themselves to accept it, but rather chose to be deprived of their estates, as well as of the monuments of their ancestors, and the temples of their gods; in a word, to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the faith they had sworn to their allies. The famous Philopœmen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, and who was then at Messene, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. Who could ever expect to discover so much greatness of soul, and such a nobleness of thought, from the very dregs of Greece; for, by that name, the times of which we now treat may justly be described, when we compare them with the glorious ages of Greece, united and triumphant, when even the lustre of its victories was lost in the splendour of its virtues!

This refusal of the Megalopolitans highly enraged Cleomenes, who, till the moment he received their answer, had not only spared the city, but had even been careful to prevent the soldiers from committing the least disorder; but his anger was then inflamed to such a degree, that he abandoned the place to pillage, and sent all the statues and pictures to his own city. He also demolished the greatest part of the walls, with the strongest quarters, and then marched his troops back to Sparta. The desolation of the city extremely afflicted the Achæans, who considered their inability to assist such faithful allies, as a crime for which they ought to reproach themselves.

This people were soon sensible, that by imploring the aid of Antigonus, they had subjected themselves to an imperious master, who made their liberties the price of his aid. He compelled them to pass a decree, which prohibited them from writing to any king, or sending any embassy, without his permission; and he obliged them to furnish provisions and pay, for the garrison he had put into the citadel of Corinth, which, in reality, was making them pay for their own chains;

¹ A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. l. ii. p. 149. Plat. in Cleom. p. 815—817. Id. in Arat. p. 1048.

for this citadel was the very place which kept them in subjection. They had abandoned themselves to slavery in so abject a manner, as even to offer sacrifices and libations, and exhibit public games, in honour of Antigonus; and Aratus was no longer regarded by them. Antigonus set up in Argos all the statues of those tyrants which Aratus had thrown down, and destroyed all those which had been erected in honour of the persons who surprised the citadel of Corinth, except one, which was that of Aratus himself; and all the entreaties of this general could not prevail upon the king to desist from such a proceeding. The sight of these transactions gave him the utmost anxiety; but he was no longer master of affairs, and suffered a just punishment for subjecting himself and his country to a foreign yoke. Antigonus also took the city of Mantinea, and when he had most inhumanly murdered a great number of the citizens, and sold the rest into captivity, he abandoned the place to the Argives, in order to its being repopled by them; and even charged Aratus with that commission, who had the meanness to call this new-inhabited city Antigonia, in honour of him who had shown himself its most cruel enemy. A sad, and at the same time, a salutary example, which shows, that when once a person has consented to stoop to a state of servitude, he sees himself daily compelled to descend lower, without knowing where or how to stop.

Aratus, by employing his own endeavours to load his republic with shackles, was guilty of an unpardonable crime, the enormity of which, no great quality nor shining action can ever extenuate. He acted thus merely through jealousy of his rival Cleomenes, whose glory, and the superiority which that young prince had obtained over him by the success of his arms, were insupportable to him. What, says Plutarch, did Cleomenes demand of the Achæans, as the sole preliminary to the peace he offered them? Was it not their election of him for their general? And did he not demand that with a view to complete the welfare of their cities, and secure to them the enjoyment of their liberties, as a testimony of gratitude for so signal an honour, and so glorious a title? If, therefore, continues Plutarch, it had been absolutely necessary for them to have chosen either Cleomenes or Antigonus, or, in other words, a Greek or a barbarian, for the Macedonians were considered as such; in a word, if they were obliged to have a master, would not the meanest citizen of Sparta have been preferable to the greatest of the Macedonians; at least, in the opinion of those who had any regard to the honour and reputation of Greece? Jealousy, however, extinguished all those sentiments in the mind of Aratus; so difficult is it to behold superior merit with an eye of satisfaction and tranquillity.

Aratus, therefore, that he might not seem to submit to Cleomenes, nor consent that a king of Sparta, descended from Hercules, and a king who had lately re-established the ancient discipline of that city, should add to his other titles that of captain-general of the Achæans, called in a stranger, to whom he had formerly professed himself a mortal enemy; in consequence of which, he filled Peloponnesus with those very Macedonians, whom he had made it his glory to expel.

from thence in his youth. He even threw himself at their feet, and all Achaia, by his example, fell prostrate before them, as an indication of their promptitude to accomplish the commands of their imperious masters. In a word, from a man accustomed to liberty, he became an abject and servile flatterer; he had the baseness to offer sacrifices to Antigonus, and placed himself at the head of a procession, crowned with chaplets of flowers, joining at the same time in hymns to the honour of that prince, and rendering, by these low adulations, that homage to a mortal man, which none but the Divinity can claim, and even to a man who then carried death in his bosom, and was ready to sink into putrefaction; for he at that time was reduced to the last extremity by a slow consumption. Aratus was, however, a man of great merit in other respects, and had shown himself to be an extraordinary person, altogether worthy of Greece. In him, says Plutarch, we see a deplorable instance of human frailty; which, amidst the lustre of so many rare and excellent qualities, could not form the plan of a virtue exempted from blame.

We have already observed, that Antigonus had sent his troops into winter quarters in Macedonia. Cleomenes, at the return of spring, formed an enterprise, which, in the opinion of the vulgar, was the result of temerity and folly, but, according to Polybius, a competent judge in affairs of that nature, it was concerted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity. As he was sensible that the Macedonians were dispersed in their quarters, and that Antigonus passed the winter season with his friends at Argos, without any other guard than an inconsiderable number of foreign troops; he made an irruption into the territories of Argos in order to lay them waste. He was of opinion, at the same time, that if Antigonus should be so much affected with the apprehensions of ignominy as to hazard a battle, he would certainly be defeated; and that, on the other hand, if he should decline fighting, he would lose all his reputation with the Achæans, while the Spartans, on the contrary, would be rendered more daring and intrepid. The event succeeded according to his expectations; for as the whole country was ruined by the devastations of his troops, the people of Argos, in their rage and impatience, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace-gate, and with a murmuring tone, pressed the king either to give their enemies battle, or resign the command of his troops to those who were less timorous than himself. Antigonus, on the other hand, who had so much of the prudence and presence of mind essential to a great general, as to be sensible that the dishonourable part of one in his station, did not consist in hearing himself reproached, but in exposing himself rashly, and without reason, and in quitting certainties for chance, refused to take the field, and persisted in his resolution not to fight. Cleomenes, therefore, led up his troops to the walls of Argos, and when he had laid the low country waste, marched his army back to Sparta.¹

This expedition redounded very much to his honour, and even obliged his enemies to confess that he was an excellent general, and a person of the highest merit and capacity in the conduct of the most

¹ Plut. in Cleom. p. 816, 817. Polyb. l. ii. p. 149.

arduous affairs. In a word, they could never sufficiently admire his manner of opposing the forces of a single city to the whole power of the Macedonians, united with that of Peloponnesus, notwithstanding the immense supplies which had been furnished by the king; and especially when they considered, that he had not only preserved Laconia free from all insults, but had even penetrated into the territories of his enemies, where he ravaged the country, and made himself master of several great cities. This they were persuaded could not be the effect of any ordinary abilities in the art of war, nor of any common magnanimity of soul. A misfortune, however, unhappily prevented him from reinstating Sparta in her ancient power, as will be evident in the sequel.

SECTION V. — BATTLE OF SELASIA, WHEREIN ANTIGONUS DEFEATS CLEOMENES. A GREAT EARTHQUAKE AT RHODES.

THE Macedonians and Achæans having quitted their quarters in the summer season, Antigonus put himself at the head of them, and advanced into Laconia. His army was composed of twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse; but that of Cleomenes did not amount to more than twenty thousand men. As the latter of these two princes expected an irruption from the enemy, he had fortified all the passes, by posting detachments of his own troops in them, and by throwing up intrenchments, and cutting down trees; after which he formed his camp at Selasia. He rightly imagined that the enemies would endeavour to force a passage into that country through this avenue, and was not deceived. This defile was formed by two mountains, one of which had the name of Eva, and the other that of Olympus. The river Oeneus ran between them, on the banks of which was the road to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted his brother Euclidas on the eminence of Eva, at the head of the allies, and planted himself on Olympus, with the Lacedæmonians, and a party of the foreign troops, placing, at the same time, along each bank of the river, a detachment of the cavalry and foreign auxiliaries.¹

Antigonus, when he arrived there, saw all the passes fortified, and was sensible, by the manner in which Cleomenes had posted his troops, that he had neglected no precaution for defending himself and attacking his enemies, and that he had formed his camp in such an advantageous position, as rendered all approaches to it extremely difficult. All this abated his ardour for a battle, and caused him to encamp at a small distance, where he had an opportunity of covering his troops with a rivulet. He continued there for several days, in order to view the situation of the different posts, and sound the disposition of the people who composed the enemy's army. Sometimes he seemed to be forming designs, which kept the enemy in suspense how to act. They however were always on their guard, and the situation of each army equally secured them from insults. At last both sides resolved upon a decisive battle.

¹ A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. l. ii. p. 150—154. Plut. in Cleom. p. 818, 819. Ibid. in Philon. n. 358.

It is not easy to comprehend why Cleomenes, who was posted so advantageously at that time, and whose troops were inferior to those of the enemy by one-third, and were secure of a free communication in their rear with Sparta, from whence they might easily be supplied with provisions, should resolve, without the least apparent necessity, to hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon.

Polybius indeed seems to intimate the cause of this proceeding, when he observes, that Ptolemy caused Cleomenes to be acquainted, that he no longer would supply him with money, and exhorted him at the same time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus. As Cleomenes, therefore, was incapable of defraying the expense of this war, and was not only in arrear with his foreign troops to the amount of a very considerable sum, but found it extremely difficult to maintain his Spartan forces, we may consequently suppose that this situation of his affairs was his inducement to venture a battle.

When the signals were given on each side, Antigonus detached a body of troops, consisting of Macedonian and Illyrian battalions, alternately disposed, against those of the enemy, posted on mount Eva. His second line consisted of Acarnanians and Cretans, and in the rear of these two thousand Achæans were drawn up as a body of reserve. He drew up his cavalry along the bank of the river, in order to confront those of the enemy, and caused them to be supported by a thousand of the Achæan foot, and the same number of Megalopolitans. He then placed himself at the head of the Macedonians, and the light-armed foreign troops, and advanced to Mount Olympus to attack Cleomenes. The foreigners were disposed in the first line, and marched immediately before the Macedonian phalanx, which was divided into two bodies, the one in the rear of the other, because the ground would not admit their forming a larger front.

The action began at Mount Eva, when the light-armed troops, who had been posted with an intention to cover and support the cavalry of Cleomenes, observing that the remotest cohorts of the Achæan forces were uncovered, immediately wheeled about and attacked them in the rear. Those who endeavoured to gain the summit of the mountain, found themselves vigorously pressed by the enemy, and in great danger, being threatened in front by Euclidas, who was in a higher situation, at the same time that they were charged in their rear by the foreign troops, who attacked them with the greatest impetuosity. Philopœmen and his citizens were posted among the cavalry of Antigonus, who were supported by the Illyrians, and had orders not to move from that post till a particular signal should be given. Philopœmen observing that it would not be difficult to fall upon this light infantry of Euclidas, and rout them entirely, and that this was the critical moment for the charge, immediately communicated his opinion to such of the king's officers as commanded the cavalry. They, however, would not so much as hear him, merely because he had never commanded, and was then very young; and even treated what he said as a chimera. Philopœmen was not diverted from his purpose by that conduct, but at

the head of his own citizens, whom he prevailed upon to follow him, he attacked and repulsed that body of infantry with great slaughter.

The Macedonians and Illyrians, being disengaged by this operation from what before had retarded their motions, boldly marched up the hill to their enemies. Euclidas was then to engage with a phalanx, whose whole force consisted in the strict union of its parts, the closeness of its ranks, the steady and equal force of its numerous and pointed spears, and the uniform impetuosity of that heavy body, which, by its weight, overthrew and bore down all before it.

In order to prevent this inconvenience, an able officer would have marched down the mountain with such of his troops as were lightest armed and most active, to have met the phalanx. He might easily have attacked those troops as soon as they began to ascend, and would then have harassed them on every side. The inequalities of the mountain, with the difficulty of ascending it entirely uncovered, would have enabled him to have opened a passage through this body of men, and to have interrupted their march, by putting their ranks into confusion, and breaking their order of battle; he might also have fallen back by degrees, in order to regain the summit of the mountain, as the enemy advanced upon him; and after he had deprived them of the only advantage they could expect from the quality of their arms, and the disposition of their troops, he might have improved the advantage of his post in such a manner, as to have easily put them to flight.

Euclidas, instead of acting in this manner, continued on the top of the mountain, flattering himself, that victory would infallibly attend his arms; he imagined, in all probability, that the higher he permitted the enemy to advance, the easier it would be for him to precipitate their troops down the steep declivity; but, as he had not reserved for his own forces a sufficient extent of ground for any retreat that might be necessary for avoiding the formidable charge of the phalanx, which advanced upon him in good order, his troops were crowded together in such a manner, as obliged him to fight on the summit of the mountain, where they could not long sustain the weight of the Illyrian arms, and the order of battle into which that infantry formed themselves on the eminence; and as his men could neither retreat nor change their ground, they were soon defeated by their enemies.

During this action the cavalry of each army had also engaged. That of the Achæans behaved themselves with great bravery, and Philopœmen in particular; because they were sensible that the liberties of their republic would be decided by this battle. Philopœmen, in the heat of the action, had his horse killed under him, and while he fought, his armour was pierced through with a javelin; the wound, however, was not mortal, nor attended with any ill consequences.

The two kings began the engagement on Mount Olympus, with their light-armed troops and foreign soldiers, of whom each had about five thousand. As this action was performed in the sight of the sovereigns and the armies, the troops emulated each other in signaling themselves, as well in parties, as when the battle became general. Man to man, and rank to rank, all fought with the utmost vigour and obstinacy. Cleomenes, when he saw his brother defeated, and his cavalry

losing ground in the plain, was apprehensive that the enemy would pour upon him from all quarters; and therefore thought it advisable to level all the intrenchments around his camp, and cause his whole army to march out in front. The trumpets having sounded a signal for the light-armed troops to retreat from the tract between the two camps, each phalanx advanced with loud shouts, shifting their lances at the same time, and began the charge. The action was very hot. The Macedonians sometimes fell back before the valour of the Spartans; and these, in their turn, were unable to sustain the weight of the Macedonian phalanx; till at last the troops of Antigonus, advancing with their lances lowered and closed, charged the Lacedæmonians with all the impetuosity of a phalanx that had doubled its ranks, and drove them from their intrenchments. The defeat then became general; the Lacedæmonians fell in great numbers, and those who survived fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. Cleomenes, with only a few horse, retreated to Sparta. Plutarch assures us, that most of the foreign troops perished in this battle, and that no more than two hundred Lacedæmonians escaped out of six thousand.

It may justly be said, that Antigonus derived his success, in some measure, from the prudence and bravery of the young Philopœmen. His bold resolution to attack the light infantry of the enemy with so few forces as those of his own troops, contributed to the overthrow of the wing commanded by Euclidas, and that drew on the general defeat. This action, undertaken by a private captain of horse, not only without orders, but in opposition to the superior officers, and even contrary to the command of the general, seems to be a transgression of military discipline; but it ought to be remembered, that the welfare of an army is a circumstance superior to all other considerations. Had the general been present, he himself would have given directions for that motion, and the delay even of a single moment, might occasion the impossibility of its success. It is evident that Antigonus judged of the action in this manner; for when the battle was over, he assumed an air of seeming displeasure, and demanded of Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, what his reason could be for beginning the attack before the signal, contrary to the orders he had issued? Alexander then replying, that it was not himself, but a young officer of Megalopolis, who had transgressed his commands in that manner, "That young man," said Antigonus, "in seizing the occasion, behaved like a great general, but you, the general, like a young man."

Sparta, on this disaster, showed that ancient steadiness and intrepidity, which seemed to have something of a savage air, and had distinguished her citizens on all occasions. No married woman was seen to mourn for the loss of her husband. The old men celebrated the death of their children; and the children congratulated their fathers who had fallen in battle. Every one deplored the fate which prevented them from sacrificing their lives to the liberty of their country. They opened their hospitable doors to those who returned covered with wounds from the army; they attended them with peculiar care, and supplied them with all the accommodations they needed. No

trouble or confusion was seen through the whole city, and every individual lamented more the public calamity, than any particular loss of their own.

Cleomenes, upon his arrival at Sparta, advised his citizens to receive Antigonos; assuring them, at the same time, that whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country with the utmost pleasure, whenever it should happen to be in his power. He then retired into his own house, but would neither drink, though very thirsty, nor sit down, though extremely fatigued. Charged as he then was with the weight of his armour, he leaned against a column, with his head reclined on his arm; and after he had deliberated with himself for some time on the different measures in his power to take, he suddenly quitted the house, and went with his friends to the port of Gythium, where he embarked in a vessel prepared for that purpose, and sailed for Egypt.

A Spartan, having made a lively representation to him of the melancholy consequences that might attend his intended voyage to Egypt, and the indignity a king of Sparta would sustain by crouching in a servile manner to a foreign prince, took that opportunity to exhort him in the strongest manner, to prevent those just reproaches by a voluntary and glorious death, and to vindicate, by that action, those who had sacrificed their lives in the fields of Selasia for the liberty of Sparta. "You are deceived," cried Cleomenes, "if you imagine there is any bravery in confronting death, merely through the apprehension of false shame, or the desire of empty applause; say rather, that such an action is mean and pusillanimous. The death we may be induced to covet, instead of being the evasion of an action, ought to be an action itself,¹ since nothing can be more dishonourable than either to live or die, merely for one's self. For my part, I shall endeavour to be useful to my country, to my latest breath; and whenever this hope shall fail us, it will be easy for us to have recourse to death, if such should be then our inclination."

Cleomenes had scarcely set sail, before Antigonos arrived at Sparta, and made himself master of the city. He seemed to treat the inhabitants more like a friend than a conqueror; and declared to them, that he had not engaged in a war against the Spartans, but against Cleomenes, whose flight had satisfied and disarmed his resentment. He likewise added, that it would be glorious to his memory, to have it said by posterity, that Sparta had been preserved by the prince who alone had the good fortune to take it. He reckoned he had saved that city by abolishing all that the zeal of Cleomenes had accomplished, for the re-establishment of the ancient laws of Lycurgus; though that conduct was the real cause of its ruin. Sparta lost all that was valuable to her, by the overthrow and involuntary retreat of Cleomenes. One fatal battle blotted out that happy dawn of power and glory, and for ever deprived him of the hopes of reinstating his

¹ The ancients maintained it as a principle, that the death of the persons employed in the administration of a state ought neither to be useless nor inactive, with respect to the public; but a natural consequence of their ministry, and one of their most important actions — Plut. in Lycurg. p. 57.

city in her ancient splendour and original authority, which were incapable of subsisting after the abolition of those ancient laws and customs on which her welfare was founded. Corruption then resumed her former course, and daily gathered strength, till Sparta sunk to her last declension in a very short space of time. It may therefore be justly said, that the bold views and enterprises of Cleomenes were the last struggles of her expiring liberty.¹

Antigonus left Sparta three days after he had entered it, and his departure was occasioned by the intelligence he had received, that a war had broken out in Macedonia, where the barbarians committed dreadful ravages. If this news had arrived three days sooner, Cleomenes might have been saved. Antigonus was already afflicted with a severe indisposition, which at last ended in a consumption and total defluxion of humours, that carried him off two or three years after. He, however, would not suffer himself to be dejected by this ill state of health, and had even spirit enough to engage in new battles in his own kingdom. It was said, that after he had been victorious over the Illyrians, he was so transported with joy, that he frequently repeated these expressions, "O the glorious, happy battle!" And that he uttered this exclamation with so much ardour, that he burst a vein, and lost a large quantity of blood; his accident was succeeded by a violent fever, which ended his days. Some time before his death he settled the succession to his dominions in favour of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was then fourteen years of age; or it may rather be said, that he returned him the sceptre, which had only been deposited in his hand.

Cleomenes, in the mean time, arrived at Alexandria, where he met with a very cold reception from the king, when he was first introduced into his presence. But after he had given that monarch proofs of his admirable sense, and shown in his common conversation, the generous freedom, openness, and simplicity of the Spartan manners, attended with a graceful politeness, in which there was nothing mean, and even a noble pride that became his birth and dignity, Ptolemy was then sensible of his merit, and esteemed him infinitely more than all those courtiers who were only solicitous to please him by abject flatteries. He was even struck with confusion and remorse for his neglect of so great a man, and for his having abandoned him to Antigonus, who had raised his own reputation, and enlarged his power to an infinite degree, by his victory over that prince. The king of Egypt then endeavoured to comfort and relieve Cleomenes, by treating him with the utmost honour, and giving him repeated assurances that he would send him into Greece with such a fleet and a supply of money, as, with his other good offices, should be sufficient to re-establish him on the throne. He also assigned him a yearly pension of twenty-four talents, with which he supported himself and his friends with the utmost frugality, reserving all the remainder of that allowance for

¹ A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Plut. in Cleom. p. 819. Polyb. l. ii. p. 155. Justin. l. xlviii. c. 4.

the relief of those who retired into Egypt from Greece.¹ Ptolemy, however, died before he could accomplish his promise to Cleomenes.² This prince had reigned twenty-five years, and was the last of that race in whom any virtue and moderation was conspicuous: for the generality of his successors were monsters of debauchery and wickedness.³ The prince, whose character we are now describing, had made it his principal care to extend his dominions to the south, from concluding the peace with Syria.⁴ Accordingly, he had extended it the whole length of the Red Sea, as well along the Arabian as the Ethiopian coasts, and even to the strait, which forms a communication with the Southern Ocean.⁵ He was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his son Ptolemy, surnamed Philopater.

Some time before this period, Rhodes suffered very considerable damages from a great earthquake.⁶ The walls of the city, with the arsenals, and the narrow passes in the haven, where the ships of that island were laid up, were reduced to a very ruinous condition; and the famous Colossus, considered one of the wonders of the world, was thrown down, and entirely destroyed. It is natural to suppose, that this earthquake spared neither private houses nor public structures, nor even the temples of the gods. The loss sustained by it amounted to immense sums; and the Rhodians, reduced to the utmost distress, sent deputations to all the neighbouring princes, to implore their relief in that melancholy conjuncture. An emulation worthy of praise, and not to be paralleled in history, prevailed in favour of that deplorable city; and Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, signalized themselves in a peculiar manner on that occasion. The two former of these princes contributed above one hundred talents, and erected two statues in the public place; one of which represented the people of Rhodes, and the other those of Syracuse: the former was crowned by the latter, to testify, as Polybius observes, that the Syracusans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation to themselves. Ptolemy, besides his other expenses, which amounted to a very considerable sum, supplied that people with three hundred talents, a million of bushels of corn, and a sufficient quantity of timber for building ten galleys of ten benches of oars, and as many more of three benches, besides an infinite quantity of wood for other buildings; all which donations were accompanied with three thousand talents for again erecting the Colossus. Antigonus, Seleucus, Prusias, Mithridates, and all the princes, as well as cities, signalized their liberality on this occasion. Even private persons emulated each other in sharing in this glorious act of humanity; and historians have recorded, that a lady, whose name was Chryseis,⁷ and who truly merited that appellation, furnished from her own estate one hundred thousand bushels of corn. "Let the princes of these times," says Polybius, "who imagine they have done

¹ A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222.

² A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221.

³ Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

⁴ Monum. Adulit.

⁵ Strait of Babelmandel.

⁶ A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Polyb. l. v. p. 428—431.

⁷ Chryseis signifies golden.

gloriously in giving four or five thousand crowns, only consider how inferior their generosity is to that we have now described." Rhodes, in consequence of these liberalities, was re-established in a few years, in a more opulent and splendid state than she had ever experienced before, if we only except the Colossus.

This Colossus was a brazen statue of a prodigious size. I have formerly observed; and some authors have affirmed, that the money arising from the contributions already mentioned, amounted to five times as much as the loss which the Rhodians had sustained. This people, instead of employing the sums they had received, in replacing that statue, according to the intention of the donors, pretended that the oracle of Delphos had forbidden it, and given them a command to preserve that money for other purposes, by which they enriched themselves.¹ The Colossus lay neglected on the ground for the space of eight hundred and ninety-four years; at the expiration of which, that is to say, in the year of our Lord six hundred and fifty-three, Moawyas,² the sixth caliph or emperor of the Saracens, made himself master of Rhodes, and sold this statue to a Jewish merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal; which, computed by eight quintals for each load, after a deduction of the diminution the statue had sustained by rust, and very probably by theft, amounted to more than thirty-six thousand pounds, or seven thousand two hundred quintals.

¹ Strab. l. xiv. p. 652.

² Zonar. sub regno Constantis Imperat. et Cedrenus.

BOOK SEVENTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS, CONTINUED.

PLAN.

THIS Book includes the history of twenty-seven years, during which Ptolemy Philopater reigned.

SECTION I.

ANTIOCHUS TAKES THE STRONGEST CITIES IN CŒLOSYPRIA. HE IS ENTIRELY DEFEATED AT THE BATTLE OF RAPHA.

I OBSERVED in the preceding book, that Ptolemy Philopater had succeeded Ptolemy Evergetes, his father, in Egypt.¹ On the other side, Seleucus Callinicus was dead in Parthia. He had left two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus; and the first, who was the elder, succeeded his father on the throne, and assumed the surname of Κεραυνος, Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, which no way suited his character; for he was a very weak prince, both in body and mind, and never did any actions that corresponded with the idea of that name. His reign was short, and his authority but ill established, either in the army or the provinces. What prevented his losing it entirely was, that Achæus, his cousin, son to Andromachus, his mother's brother, a man of courage and abilities, assumed the management of his affairs, which his father's ill conduct had reduced to a very low ebb. As for Andromachus, he was taken by Ptolemy, in a war with Callinicus, and kept prisoner in Alexandria during all his, and the following reign.

Attalus, king of Pergamus, having seized upon all Asia Minor, from Mount Taurus as far as the Hellespont, Seleucus marched against him, and left Hermias, the Carian, regent of Syria. Achæus accompanied him in that expedition, and did him all the good services the ill state of his affairs would admit.²

Having no money to pay the forces, and the king being despised by the soldiers for his weakness, Nicanor and Apaturius, two of the chief

¹ A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Polyb. l. iv. p. 315, et l. v. p. 386. Hieron. in Daniel. Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Justin. l. xix. c. 1.

² A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224.

officers, formed a conspiracy against him during his absence in Phrygia, and poisoned him.¹ Achæus revenged that horrid action, by putting to death the two ringleaders, and all who had engaged in their plot. He acted afterwards with so much prudence and valour, with regard to the army, that he kept the soldiers in obedience; and prevented Attalus from taking advantage of this accident, which, but for his excellent conduct, would have lost the Syrian empire all it still possessed on that side.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achæus, and several of the provinces did the same. He, however, had the generosity to refuse it at that time, though he afterwards thought himself obliged to act in a different manner. In the present conjuncture, he not only refused the crown, but preserved it carefully for the lawful heir, Antiochus, the brother of the deceased king, who was but in his fifteenth year. Seleucus, at his setting out for Asia Minor, had sent him into Babylonia,² where he was when his brother died. He was now brought from thence to Antioch, where he ascended the throne, and enjoyed it thirty-six years. For his illustrious actions he had been surnamed the Great. Achæus, to secure the succession in his favour, sent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, with Epigenes, one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the forces he kept for the service of the state, in that part of the country where he himself was.

As soon as Antiochus was possessed of the crown, he sent Molo and Alexander, two brothers, into the east; the former as governor of Media, and the latter of Persia.³ Achæus was appointed to preside over the provinces of Asia Minor. Epigenes had the command of the troops which were kept about the king's person; and Hermias the Carian was declared his prime minister, as he had been under his brother. Achæus soon recovered all the territories which Attalus had taken from the empire of Syria, and forced him to confine himself within the kingdom of Pergamus. Alexander and Molo, despising the king's youth, were no sooner fixed in their governments, than they refused to acknowledge him; and each declared himself sovereign in the province over which he had been appointed lieutenant. Hermias, by his ill treatment of them, had very much contributed to their revolt.

This minister possessed a cruel disposition. The most inconsiderable faults were by him made crimes, and punished with the utmost rigour. He was a man of very little genius, but haughty, conceited, tenacious of his own opinion, and would have thought it a dishonour to have either asked or followed another man's advice. He could not bear that any person should share with him in credit and authority. Merit of every kind was suspected by, or rather odious to him. But the chief object of his hatred was Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time, and in whom the troops reposed an entire confidence. It was this reputation which gave the

¹ A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223.

² To Seleucia, which was in that province, and the capital of the east instead of Babylon, which was no longer in being, or at least was uninhabited.

A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Polyb. l. v. p. 386.

prime minister umbrage; and it was not in his power to conceal the ill-will he bore him.

News being brought of Molo's revolt, Antiochus assembled his council, in order to consider what was to be done in the present posture of affairs; and whether it would be advisable for him to march in person against that rebel, or turn toward Coelosyria, to check the enterprises of Ptolemy. Epigenes was the first who spoke, and declared, that they had no time to lose; that it was absolutely necessary the king should go in person to the east, in order to take advantage of the most favourable times and occasions for acting against the rebels: that when he should be on the spot, either Molo would not dare to attempt any thing in the sight of the prince and of an army; or, in case he should persist in his design, the people, struck with the presence of their sovereign, in the return of their zeal and affection for him, would not fail to deliver him up; but that the most important point of all was, not to give him time to fortify himself. Hermias could not forbear interrupting him; and cried, in an angry and self-sufficient tone of voice, that to advise the king to march in person against Molo, with so inconsiderable a body of forces, would be to deliver him up to the rebels. The real motive of his speaking in this manner was, his being afraid of sharing in the dangers of that expedition. Ptolemy was to him a much less formidable enemy. There was little to be feared from invading a prince entirely devoted to trivial pleasure. The advice of Hermias prevailed, upon which the command of part of the troops was given to Xenon and Theodotus, with orders to carry on the war against Molo; and the king himself marched with the rest of the army toward Coelosyria.¹

On his arrival at Seleucia near Zeugma, he there found Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, who was brought thither to espouse him. He made some stay there to solemnize the nuptials, the joy of which was soon interrupted by the news brought from the east, viz. that his generals, unable to make head against Molo and Alexander, who had united their forces, had been forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field of battle. Antiochus then saw the error he had committed in not following the advice of Epigenes; and was for laying aside the enterprise against Coelosyria, in order to march with all his troops to suppress that revolt. But Hermias persisted as obstinately as ever in his first opinion. He fancied he spoke wonders, in declaring, in an emphatic, sententious manner, "that it became kings to march in person against kings, and to send their lieutenants against rebels." Antiochus was so weak as to acquiesce again in the opinion of Hermias.

It is scarcely possible to conceive how useless experience of every kind is to an indolent prince, who lives without reflection. This artful, insinuating, and deceitful minister, who knew how to adapt himself to all the desires and inclinations of his master, inventive and industrious in finding out new methods to please and amuse, had the cunning to make himself necessary, by easing his prince of the weight of affairs; so that Antiochus imagined he could not do without him;

¹ A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221. Polyb. l. v. p. 336—395.

and though he perceived several things in his conduct and counsels which gave him disgust, he would not give himself the trouble to examine strictly into them, nor had resolution enough to resume the authority he had in a manner abandoned to him : so that, acquiescing again in his own opinion on this occasion, not from conviction, but weakness and indolence, he contented himself with sending a general and a body of troops into the East, and himself resumed the expedition of Coelosyria.

The general he sent on that occasion was Xenetas the Achæan, in whose commission it was ordered that the two first generals should resign to him the command of their forces, and serve under him. He had never commanded in chief before, and his only merit was his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Raised to an employment which his vanity and presumption could never have hoped, he behaved with haughtiness to the other officers, and with boldness and temerity to the enemy. The success was such as might be expected from so ill a choice. In passing the Tigris, he fell into an ambuscade, into which the enemy drew him by stratagem, and he and all his army were cut to pieces. That victory opened to the rebels the province of Babylonia and all Mesopotamia, of which they, by this means, possessed themselves without any opposition.¹

Antiochus, in the meantime, advanced into Coelosyria, as far as the valley lying between the two ridges of the mountains, Libanus and Anti-Libanus. He found the passes of these mountains so strongly fortified, and so well defended by Theodotus the Ætolian, to whom Ptolemy had confided the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, finding it impossible to advance. There is no doubt that the news of the defeat of his troops in the East hastened, also, his retreat. He assembled his council, and again debated on the rebellion. Epigenes, after saying, in a modest tone, that it would have been most advisable to march immediately against them, to prevent their having time to fortify themselves as they had done, added, that the same reason ought to make them more expeditious now, and devote their whole care and study to a war, which, if neglected, might terminate in the ruin of the empire. Hermias, who thought himself injured by this discourse, began to exclaim against Epigenes in the most opprobrious terms. He conjured the king not to lay aside the enterprise of Coelosyria, affirming, that he could not abandon it without manifesting a levity and inconstancy entirely inconsistent with the glory of a prince of his wisdom and knowledge. The whole council hung down their heads through shame, and Antiochus himself was much dissatisfied. It was unanimously resolved to march with the utmost speed against the rebels ; and Hermias, finding that all resistance would be in vain, became immediately quite another man. He came over with great zeal to the general opinion, and seemed more ardent than anybody for hastening its execution. Accordingly the troops set out toward Apamea, where the rendezvous was fixed.

¹ A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220.

They had scarcely set out, when a sedition arose in the army on account of the soldiers' arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmost consternation and anxiety; and, indeed, the danger was imminent. Hermias, seeing the king in such perplexity, comforted him, and promised to pay immediately the whole arrears due to the army; but at the same time earnestly besought Antiochus not to take Epigenes with him in this expedition, because, after the noise their quarrels had made, it would no longer be possible for them to act in concert in the operations of the war, as the good of the service might require. His view in this was, to begin by lessening the esteem and affection of Antiochus for Epigenes by absence, well knowing that princes soon forget the virtue and services of a man removed from their sight.

This proposal perplexed the king very much, who was perfectly sensible how necessary the presence of a general possessing the experience and ability of Epigenes was in so important an expedition. But, as Hermias had industriously contrived to besiege, and, in a manner, possess him by all manner of methods, such as suggesting to him pretended views of economy, watching his every action, keeping a kind of guard over him, and bribing his affection by the most abandoned complacency and adulation, that unhappy prince was no longer his own master.¹ The king, therefore, consented, though with the utmost reluctance, to what he required; and Epigenes was accordingly ordered to retire to Apamea. This event surprised and terrified all the courtiers, who were apprehensive of the same fate; but the soldiers, having received all their arrears, were very easy; and thought themselves highly obliged to the prime minister, by whose means they had been paid. Having, in this manner, made himself master of the nobles by fear, and of the army by their pay, he marched with the king.

As the disgrace of Epigenes extended only to his removal, it was far from satiating his vengeance; and, as it did not calm his uneasiness with regard to the future, he was apprehensive that he might obtain leave to return; to prevent which he employed effectual means. Alexis, governor of the citadel of Apamea, was entirely at his devotion; and, indeed, how few would be otherwise with regard to an all-powerful minister, the sole dispenser of his master's graces? Hermias ordered this man to despatch Epigenes, and prescribed to him the manner. In consequence of this, Alexis bribed one of the domestics of Epigenes, and by gifts and promises engaged him to slide a letter he gave him among his master's papers. This letter seemed to have been written and subscribed by Molo, one of the chiefs of the rebels, who thanked Epigenes for having formed a conspiracy against the king, and communicated to him the methods by which he might safely put it in execution. Some days after, Alexis went to him, and asked whether he had not received a letter from Molo? Epigenes, surprised at this question, expressed his astonishment, and at

¹ Περιεχόμενος δὲ καὶ προκατειλημμένος οικονομικῆς, καὶ φυλακαίς, καὶ θεραπευτικῆς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑρμιᾶς τακτονθείας, οὐκ ἦν ἑνὶ κυρίῳ. Circumventus es præoccupatus œconomiis, et custodiis, et c. b. sequiis. Herimæ malignitate, sui son erat dominus. — This is a literal translation.

the same time the highest indignation. The other replied that he was ordered to inspect his papers. Accordingly a search being made, the forged letter was found; and Epigenes, without being called to a trial, or otherwise examined, was put to death. The king, at the bare sight of the letter, imagined that the charge had been fully proved against him. The courtiers thought otherwise, but fear kept them all silent. How unhappy, and how much to be pitied, are princes!

Although the season was now very far advanced, Antiochus passed the Euphrates, assembled all his forces, and, that he might be near at hand to open the campaign very early the next spring, he sent them into winter quarters in the neighbourhood.

Upon the return of the season he marched them toward the Tigris, passed that river, forced Molo to come to an engagement, and gained so complete a victory over him, that the rebel, seeing all lost, laid violent hands on himself. His brother Alexander was at that time in Persia, where Neolas, another of their brothers, who escaped out of this battle, brought him that mournful news. Finding their affairs desperate, they first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and at last despatched themselves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who engaged in it. A just reward for all those who dare take up arms against their sovereign.¹

After this victory, the remains of the vanquished army submitted to the king, who only reprimanded them in very severe terms, and afterwards pardoned them. He then sent them into Media, under the command of those to whose care he had committed the government of that province; and returning from thence into Seleucia over the Tigris, he spent some time there in giving the necessary orders for re-establishing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and for settling all things on their former footing.

This being done by persons whom he appointed for that purpose, he marched against the Atropatians, who inhabited the country situated on the west of Media, and which is now called Georgia. Their king, Artabazanes by name, was a decrepit old man, who being greatly terrified by the approach of Antiochus at the head of a victorious army, sent and made his submission, and concluded a peace on such conditions as Antiochus thought proper to prescribe.

News was received at the same time, that the queen was delivered of a son, which proved a subject of joy to the court as well as the army.² Hermias, from that moment, revolved in his mind how he might despatch Antiochus; hoping that, after his death, he should certainly be appointed guardian of the young prince; and that in his name he might reign with unlimited power. His pride and insolence had made him odious to all men. The people groaned under a government which the avarice and cruelty of a prime minister had rendered insupportable. The complaints did not reach the throne, the avenues

¹ A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220.

² A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. v. p. 399—406.

to which were all closed against them. No one dared to inform the king of the oppression under which his people groaned. It was well known that he dreaded inspecting the truth; and that he abandoned to the cruelty of Hermias all who dared to speak against him. Till now he had been an utter stranger to the injustice and violence which Hermias exercised under his name. At last, however, he began to open his eyes; but was himself afraid of his minister, whose dependent he had made himself, and who had assumed an absolute authority over him, by taking advantage of the indolence of his disposition, who, at first, was well pleased with casting the burden of affairs on Hermias.

Apollophanes, his physician, in whom the king reposed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free access to him, took a proper time to represent the general discontent of his subjects, and the danger to which himself was exposed, by the ill conduct of his prime minister. He therefore advised Antiochus to take care of himself, lest the same fate should attend him as his brother had experienced in Phrygia, who fell a victim to the ambition of those on whom he most relied; that it was plain Hermias was meditating some ill design; and that to prevent it, not a moment was to be lost. These were real services, which an officer, who is attached to the person of his king, and who has a sincere affection for him, may and ought to perform. Such is the use he ought to make of the free access which his sovereign vouchsafes, and the confidence with which he honours him.

Antiochus was surrounded by courtiers whom he had loaded with his favours, not one of whom had the courage to hazard his fortune by telling him the truth. It has been very justly said, that one of the greatest blessings which God can bestow on kings, is to deliver them from the tongues of flatterers, and the silence of good men.

This prince, as was already observed, had begun to entertain some suspicions of his chief minister, but did not reveal his thoughts to any person, not knowing whom to trust. He was extremely well pleased that his physician had given him this advice, and concerted measures with him to rid himself of a minister so universally detested, and so dangerous. Accordingly, he removed to a short distance from the army, upon pretence of being indisposed, and took Hermias with him to bear him company; here, taking him to walk in a solitary place where none of his creatures could come to his assistance, he caused him to be assassinated. His death caused a universal joy throughout the whole empire. This haughty and cruel man had governed, on all occasions, with great violence; and whoever dared to oppose either his opinions or designs, was sure to fall a victim to his resentments. Accordingly, he was universally hated; and this hatred displayed itself more strongly in Apamea than in any other place; for the instant the news was brought of his death, all the citizens rose with the utmost fury, and stoned his wife and children.

Antiochus having so happily re-established his affairs in the east, and raised to the government of the several provinces persons of merit, in whom he could repose the greatest confidence, marched

back his army into Syria, and placed it in winter quarters. He spent the remainder of the year in Antioch, in holding frequent councils with his ministers, on the operations of the ensuing campaign.¹

This prince had two other very dangerous enterprises to put in execution, for re-establishing entirely the safety and glory of the empire of Syria; one was against Ptolemy, to recover Coelosyria; and the other against Achæus, who had usurped the sovereignty of Asia Minor.

Ptolemy Evergetes having seized upon all Coelosyria, in the beginning of the reign of Seleucus Callinicus, as was before related, the king of Egypt was still possessed of a great part of that province, and Antiochus not a little incommoded by such a neighbour.

With respect to Achæus, we have already seen in what manner he refused the crown which was offered him after the death of Seleucus Ceraunus, and had placed it on the head of Antiochus the lawful monarch, who, to reward his fidelity and services, had appointed him governor of all the provinces of Asia Minor. By his valour and good conduct he recovered them all from Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had seized upon these countries, and fortified himself strongly in them.

Such a series of successes drew upon him the envy of all the favourites of Antiochus. Upon this a report was spread, that he intended to usurp the crown; and with that view, held a secret correspondence with Ptolemy. Whether these suspicions were well or ill grounded, he thought it advisable to prevent the evil designs of his enemies; and therefore taking the crown, which he had previously refused, he caused himself to be declared king.

He soon became one of the most powerful monarchs of Asia, and all princes very earnestly solicited his alliance. This was evident in a war which then broke out between the Rhodians and Byzantines, on account of a tribute which the latter had imposed on all the ships that passed through the strait; a tribute which was very grievous to the Rhodians, because of the immense trade they carried on in the Black Sea. Achæus, at the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants of Byzantium, had promised to assist them; the report of which, threw the Rhodians into the utmost consternation, as well as Prusias king of Bithynia, whom they had engaged in their party. In the extreme perplexity they were under, they thought of an expedient to disengage Achæus from the Byzantines, and to bring him over to their interest. Andromachus, his father, brother to Leodice, whom Seleucus had married, was actually a prisoner in Alexandria. These sent a deputation to Ptolemy, requesting that he might be set at liberty. The king, who was also very glad to oblige Achæus, as it was in his power to furnish him with considerable succours against Antiochus, with whom he was engaged in war, readily granted the Rhodians their request, and put Andromachus into their hands. This was a very agreeable present to Achæus, and destroyed all the hopes of the Byzantines. They thereupon consented to reinstate things upon their

¹ Polyb. l. v. p. 401.

ancient footing, and take off the new tribute which had occasioned the war. Thus a peace was concluded between the two states, and Achæus had all the honour of it.¹

It was against this prince and Ptolemy that Antiochus was resolved to turn his arms. These were the two dangerous wars he had to sustain; and were the subject of the deliberations of his council, to consider which of them he should undertake first. After weighing all things maturely, it was resolved to march first against Ptolemy, before they attacked Achæus, whom they then only menaced in the strongest terms: and accordingly, all the forces were ordered to assemble in Apamea, and afterwards to march into Coelosyria.²

In a council that was held before the army set out, Apollophanes, the king's physician, represented to him, that it would be a great oversight, should they march into Coelosyria, and leave behind them Seleucia in the hands of the enemy, and so near the capital of the empire. His opinion brought over the whole council by the evident strength of the reasons which supported it; for this city stands on the same river as Antioch, and is but five leagues below, near the mouth of it. When Ptolemy Evergetes undertook the invasion already mentioned, to support the rights of his sister Berenice, he seized that city, and put a strong Egyptian garrison into it, which had kept possession of that important place full twenty-seven years. Among many prejudices it did to the inhabitants of Antioch, one was, cutting off entirely their communication with the sea, and ruining all their trade; for Seleucia, being situated near the mouth of the Orontes, was the harbour of Antioch, which suffered grievously by that means. All these reasons being clearly and strongly urged by Apollophanes, determined the king and council to follow his plan, and to open the campaign with the siege of Seleucia. Accordingly the whole army marched thither, invested it, took it by storm, and drove the Egyptians out of it.

This being done, Antiochus marched with diligence into Coelosyria, where Theodotus the Ætolian, governor of it under Ptolemy, promised to put him in possession of the whole country. We have seen how vigorously he had repulsed him the year before; the court of Egypt however had not been satisfied with his services on that occasion. Those who governed the king expected greater things from his valour, and were persuaded that it was in his power to have done something more. Accordingly he was sent for to Alexandria, to give an account of his conduct; and was threatened with no less than losing his head. After his reasons had been heard, he was acquitted, and sent back to his government. He could not, however, forgive the groundless injury they had done him, and was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it.

The luxury and effeminacy of the whole court, to which he had been an eye-witness, heightened his indignation and resentment. It was intolerable to him to depend on the caprice of so base and contemptible a set of people. And, indeed, it would be impossible for fancy to conceive more abominable excesses than those in which Philopater

¹ Polyb. l. iv. p. 314—319.

² A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. 7. p. 402—405.

plunged himself during his whole reign; and the court imitated but too exactly the example he set them. It was thought that he had poisoned his father, whence he was, by antiphrasis, surnamed Philopater.¹ He publicly caused Berenice his mother, and Magis his only brother, to be put to death. After he had got rid of all those who could either give him good counsel, or excite his jealousy, he abandoned himself to the most infamous pleasures, and was solely intent on gratifying his luxury, brutality, and the most shameful passions. His prime minister was Sosibes, a man every way qualified for the service of such a master as Philopater; and one whose sole view was to support himself in power by any means whatever. The reader will naturally imagine, that, in such a court, the power of women had no bounds.

Theodotus, who was a man of honour, could not bear to depend on such people, and therefore resolved to find a sovereign more worthy of his services. Accordingly, he no sooner returned to his government, than he seized upon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, declared for Antiochus, and immediately despatched the courier above mentioned to invite him thither.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, though he was of the same country with Theodotus, would not desert Ptolemy, but preserved his fidelity to that prince. The instant, therefore, that Theodotus had taken Ptolemais, he besieged him in it; possessed himself of the passes of Mount Libanus, to stop Antiochus, who was advancing to the aid of Theodotus, and defended them to the last extremity. He was afterwards forced to abandon them, by which means Antiochus took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, whose gates were opened to him by Theodotus.

In these two cities were the magazines which Ptolemy had laid up for the use of his army, with a fleet of forty sail. He gave the command of these ships to Diognetus, his admiral, who was ordered to sail to Pelusium, whither the king intended to march by land, with the view of invading Egypt on that side; being informed that this was the season in which the inhabitants used to lay the country under water, by opening the dikes of the Nile, and consequently that it would be impossible for him to advance into Egypt at that time, he abandoned that project and employed the whole force of his arms to reduce the rest of Coelosyria. He seized upon some fortresses, and others submitted to him; and at last he possessed himself of Damascus, the capital of that province, after having deceived Dinon, the governor of it, by a stratagem.²

The last action of this campaign was the siege of Dora, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel. This place, which was strongly situated, had been so well fortified by Nicolaus, that it was impossible for Antiochus to take it; he therefore was forced to agree to a truce for four months, proposed to him in the name of Ptolemy; and this served him as an honourable pretence for marching back his army to Seleucia, on the Orontes, where he placed it in winter quarters

¹ The word signifies, "a lover of his father."

² Polyæn. l. iv. c. 15.

Antiochus appointed Theodotus, the Ætolian, governor of all the places he had conquered in this country.

During the interval of this truce, a treaty was negotiated between the two crowns, in which, however, the only view of both parties was to gain time.¹ Ptolemy had occasion for it, in order to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war; and Antiochus for reducing Achæus. The latter was not satisfied with Asia Minor, of which he was already master; but had no less in view than to dethrone Antiochus, and to dispossess him of all his dominions. To check his ambitious views, it was necessary for Antiochus not to be employed on the frontiers, or engaged in remote conquests.

In this treaty, the main point was to know to whom Coelosyria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judea, had been given, in the partition of Alexander the Great's empire, between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus in the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy laid claim to them, by virtue of their having been assigned by this treaty to Ptolemy Soter, his great grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus pretended that they had been given to Seleucus Nicator; and therefore that they were his right, being heir and successor of that king in the empire of Syria. Another difficulty embarrassed the commissioners. Ptolemy would have Achæus included in the treaty, which Antiochus opposed absolutely, alleging that it was a shameful and unheard-of thing, for a king like Ptolemy to espouse the party of rebels, and countenance revolt.

During these contests, in which neither party would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapsed, and nothing being concluded, it became necessary to have recourse again to arms. Nicolaus, the Ætolian, had given so many proofs of valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that Ptolemy gave him the command in chief of his army, and charged him with every thing relating to the service of the king, in those provinces which occasioned the war. Perigenes, the admiral, put to sea with the fleet, in order to act against the enemy on that side. Nicolaus appointed Gaza for the rendezvous of all his forces, whither all the necessary preparations had been sent from Egypt. From thence he marched to Mount Libanus, where he seized all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, by which Antiochus was obliged to pass, firmly resolved to wait for him there, and stop his march, by the superiority which the advantageous posts he was master of gave him.²

In the meantime Antiochus was not inactive, but prepared all things, both by sea and land, for a vigorous invasion. He gave the command of his fleet to Diognetus, his admiral, and put himself at the head of his land forces. The fleets coasted the armies on both sides; so that their naval as well as land forces met at the passes which Nicolaus had seized. While Antiochus attacked Nicolaus by land, the fleets began to engage, so that the battle began both by sea and land at the same time. At sea, neither party had the superiority; but on land Antiochus had the advantage, and forced Nicolaus

¹ Polæn. l. v. 400—415.

² A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218.

to retire to Sidon, after losing four thousand of his soldiers, who were either killed or taken prisoners. Perigenes followed him thither with the Egyptian fleet, and Antiochus pursued them to that city both by sea and land, with the design of besieging them in it. He, nevertheless, found that conquest would be attended with too many difficulties, because of the great number of troops in the city, where they had a great abundance of provisions and other necessaries; and he was not willing to besiege it in form. He, therefore, sent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee. After having subjected it by the taking of several cities, he passed the river Jordan, entered Gilead, and possessed himself of all that country, formerly the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh.

The season was now too far advanced to prolong the campaign, for which reason he returned back by the river Jordan, left the government of Samaria to Hippolochus and Kereas, who had deserted Ptolemy's service, and come over to him, and he gave them five thousand men to keep it in subjection. He then marched the rest of the forces back to Ptolemais, where he put them into winter-quarters.

The campaign was again opened in the spring. Ptolemy caused seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and sixty-three elephants, to advance toward Pelusium. He was at the head of these forces, and marched them through the deserts which divide Egypt from Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, between Rhinocorura and Gaza, at the latter of which cities the two armies met. That of Antiochus was something more numerous than the other. His forces consisted of seventy-two thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and one hundred and two elephants. He first encamped within ten furlongs, and soon after within five of the enemy. All the time they lay so near one another they were perpetually skirmishing, either when they went to fetch fresh water, or in foraging; many individuals also distinguished themselves on these occasions.¹

Theodotus the Ætolian, who had served many years under the Egyptians, favoured by the darkness of the night, entered their camp, accompanied only by two persons. He was taken for an Egyptian; so that he advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent, with a design to kill him, and by that bold action to put an end to the war; but the king happening not to be in his tent, he killed his first physician, having mistaken him for Ptolemy. He also wounded two other persons, and during the alarm and noise which this attempt occasioned, he escaped to his camp.

But at last the two kings, resolving to decide their quarrel, drew up their armies in order of battle. They rode from one body to another at the head of their lines, to animate their troops. Arsinoe, the sister and wife of Ptolemy, not only exhorted the soldiers to behave manfully before the battle, but did not leave her husband even during the heat of the engagement. The issue of it was, Antiochus, being at the head of his right wing, defeated the enemy's left. But while hurried on by an inconsiderate ardour, he engaged too warmly in the

¹ A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217. Polyb. l. v. p. 241—248.

pursuit. Ptolemy, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged the centre of the army of Antiochus in the flank, which was then uncovered, and broke it before it was possible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer who saw which way the dust flew, concluded that the centre was defeated, and accordingly made Antiochus observe it. But though he faced about that instant, he came too late to amend his fault, and found the rest of his army broken and put to flight. He himself was now obliged to provide for his retreat, and retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loss of ten thousand men killed and four thousand taken prisoners. Finding it would now be impossible for him to continue the campaign against Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conquests and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army. This battle of Raphia was fought at the same time with that in which Hannibal defeated Flaminus the consul, on the banks of the lake Thrasymerne in Hetruria.

After the retreat of Antiochus, all Coelosyria and Palestine submitted with great cheerfulness to Ptolemy. Having been long subject to the Egyptians, they were more inclined to them than to Antiochus. The conqueror's court was in a short time crowded with ambassadors from all the cities, and from Judea among the rest, to pay homage to and offer him presents; and all met with a gracious reception.

Ptolemy was desirous of making a progress through the conquered provinces, and among other cities he visited Jerusalem. He visited the temple there, and even offered sacrifices to the God of Israel; making, at the same time, oblations, and bestowing considerable gifts.¹ Not being satisfied with viewing it from the outward court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to go, he was determined to enter the sanctuary, and even as far as the Holy of Holies, to which no one was allowed access but the high priest, and that but once every year on the third day of the great expiation. The report of this being soon spread, occasioned a great tumult. The high priest informed him of the holiness of the place, and the express law of God, by which he was forbidden to enter it. The priests and Levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. All places now echoed with the lamentations which were made, on account of the profanation to which their temple would be exposed; and the people were lifting up their hands to implore heaven not to suffer it. All this opposition, however, instead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curiosity the more. He forced as far as the second court; but, as he was preparing to enter the temple itself, God struck him with a sudden terror, which threw him into such disorder, that he was carried off half dead. After this, he left the city, highly exasperated against the Jewish nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and highly threatened it with his revenge. He accordingly kept his

¹ The third book of Maccabees, whence this story is extracted, is not admitted by the church among the canonical books of Scripture, any more than the fourth. They are prior, with regard to the order of time, to the two first. Dr. Prideaux, speaking of the third book, says that the groundwork of the story is true, though the author changed some circumstances of it, by intermixing fabulous incidents.

word; and the following year raised a cruel persecution, especially against the Jews of Alexandria, whom he endeavoured to reduce by force to worship false deities.¹

The instant that Antiochus, after the battle of Raphia, arrived at Antioch, he sent an embassy to Ptolemy, to sue for peace. The circumstance which prompted him to this was, his suspecting the fidelity of his people; for he could not but perceive that his credit and authority were very much lessened since his last defeat. Besides, it was high time for him to turn his arms toward Achæus, and check the progress he made, which increased daily. To obviate the danger which threatened him on that side, he concluded that it would be safest for him to make a peace upon any terms with Ptolemy, to avoid being opposed by two such powerful enemies, who, invading him on both sides, would certainly overpower him at last. He, therefore, invested his ambassadors with full powers to give up to Ptolemy those provinces which were the subject of their contest; namely, Coelosyria and Palestine. Coelosyria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Anti-Libanus; and Palestine, all the country which anciently was the inheritance of the children of Israel; and the coast of these two provinces was what the Greeks call Phœnicia. Antiochus consented to resign all this country to the king of Egypt, to purchase a peace at that juncture; choosing rather to give up this part of his dominions, than hazard the losing of them all. A truce was, therefore, agreed on for twelve months; and before the expiration of that time, a peace was concluded on the same terms. Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of this victory for conquering all Syria, was desirous of putting an end to the war, that he might have an opportunity of devoting himself entirely to his pleasures. His subjects, knowing his want of spirit and effeminacy, could not conceive how it had been possible for him to have been so successful; and at the same time they were displeased at his having concluded a peace by which he had tied up his hands. The discontent they conceived on this occasion was the chief source of the disorders in Egypt which at last rose to an open rebellion; so that Ptolemy, by endeavouring to avoid a foreign war, drew one upon himself in the centre of his own dominions.²

Antiochus, after having concluded a peace with Ptolemy, devoted his whole attention to the war against Achæus, and made all the preparations necessary for taking the field. At last he passed Mount Taurus, and entered Asia Minor with an intention to subdue it. Here he concluded a treaty with Attalus, king of Pergamus, by virtue of which they united their forces against the common enemy. They attacked him with so much vigour, that he abandoned the open country to them, and shut himself up in Sardis, to which Antiochus laying siege, Achæus held out about one year.³ He often made sorties, and a great many battles were fought under the walls of the city. At last, by a stratagem of Ligoras, one of his commanders, Sardis was taken.

¹ Maccab. l. iii. c. 1.

² Polyb. l. v. p. 428. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. Hieron. in Dan. c. 11.

³ A. M. 3788. Ant. J. C. 216. Polyb. l. v. p. 444.

Achæus retired into the citadel, where he defended himself, till he was delivered up by two traitorous Cretans. This fact confirms the truth of the proverb, which said that the "Cretans were liars and knaves."¹

Ptolemy Philopater had made a treaty with Achæus, and deeply regretted his being so closely blocked up in the castle of Sardis, and therefore commanded Sosibes to relieve him at any price whatever. There was then in Ptolemy's court a very cunning Cretan, Bolis by name, who had lived a considerable time at Sardis. Sosibes consulted this man, and asked whether he could not think on some means by which Achæus might escape. The Cretan desired time to consider of it; and returning to Sosibes, offered to undertake it, and explained to him the manner in which he intended to proceed. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was also his near relation, named Cambylus, a captain in the Cretan troops in the service of Antiochus; that he commanded at that time in a fort behind the castle of Sardis; and that he would prevail with him to let Achæus escape that way. His project being approved, he was sent with the utmost speed to Sardis to put it in execution, and ten talents were given him to defray his expenses, &c., and a much more considerable sum promised him in case he succeeded. After his arrival, he communicated the affair to Cambylus, when those two miscreants agreed, for their greater advantage, to go and reveal their design to Antiochus. They offered that prince, as they themselves had determined, to play their parts so well, that, instead of procuring the escape of Achæus, they would bring him to him, upon condition of receiving a considerable reward, to be divided among them, as well as the ten talents which Bolis had already received.²

Antiochus was overjoyed at what he had heard, and promised them a reward that sufficed to engage them to do him that important service. Upon this, Bolis, aided by Cambylus, easily got admission into the castle, where the credentials he produced from Sosibes, and some other friends of Achæus, gained him the entire confidence of that ill-fated prince. He accordingly trusted himself to those two wretches, who, the instant he was out of the castle, seized and delivered him to Antiochus. This king caused him to be immediately beheaded, and thereby put an end to that war of Asia; for the moment those who still sustained the siege heard of his death, they surrendered; and, shortly after, all the other places in the provinces of Asia did the same.³

Rebels very seldom come to a good end; and though the perfidy of such traitors strikes us with horror, and raises our indignation, we are not inclined to pity the unhappy fate of Achæus, who had made himself worthy of it, by his infidelity to his sovereign.

It was about this time that the discontent of the Egyptians against Philopator began to break out. According to Polybius, it occasioned a civil war; but neither himself nor any other author gives us the particulars of it.⁴

¹ S. Paul. Epist. ad Tit. i. 12.

² A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.

³ Polyb. l. viii. p. 522—531.

⁴ Polyb. l. v. p. 444.

We also read in Livy, that the Romans, some time after, sent deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, doubtless the same queen who before was called Arsinoe, to renew their ancient friendship and alliance with Egypt. These carried, as a present to the king, a robe and a purple tunic, with an ivory chair;¹ and to the queen an embroidered robe, and a purple scarf. Such kind of presents show the happy simplicity which in those ages prevailed among the Romans.²

Philopator had by this time, by Arsinoe,³ his wife and sister, a son called Ptolemy Epiphanes, who succeeded him at five years of age.⁴

Philopator, from the signal victory he had obtained over Antiochus, had abandoned himself to pleasures and excesses of every kind. Agathoclea, his concubine, Agathocles the brother of that woman, and their mother, governed him entirely. He spent all his time in gaming, drinking, and the most infamous irregularities. His nights were passed in debauches, and his days in feasts and dissolute revels. Forgetting entirely the king, instead of applying himself to the affairs of state, he valued himself upon presiding in concerts, and playing on instruments. The women disposed of every thing. They conferred all employments and governments; and no one had less authority in the kingdom than the prince himself.⁵ Sosibes, an old artful minister, who had served during three reigns, was at the head of affairs, and his great experience had made him very capable of the administration; not indeed entirely in the manner he desired, but as the favourites would permit him to act; and he was so wicked, as to pay a blind obedience to the most unjust commands of a corrupt prince, and his unworthy favourites.⁶

Arsinoe, the king's sister and wife, had no power or authority at court; the favourites and prime minister did not show her the least respect. On the other side, the queen was not patient enough to suffer every thing without murmuring: and they at last grew weary of her complaints. The king, and those who governed him, commanded Sosibes to rid them of her. He obeyed, and employed for that purpose one Philammon, who, without doubt, did not want experience in such cruel and barbarous assassinations.⁷

This last action, added to so many more of the most flagrant nature, displeased the people so much, that Sosibes was obliged, before the king's death, to quit his employment. He was succeeded by Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had signalized himself in

¹ This was allowed in Rome to none but the highest officers in the state.

² A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

³ Justin calls her Eurydice. In case he is not mistaken, this queen had three names, Arsinoe, Cleopatra, and Eurydice. But Cleopatra was a name common to the queens of Egypt, as that of Ptolemy was to the kings. As Archbishop Usher places the adventure of Hyrcanus the Jew at the birth of Ptolemy Epiphanes, I had inserted it there in the first edition of this work. But as Josephus, from whom it is taken, says, that it happened in the reign of Seleucus, the son of Antiochus the Great, I have transferred it to that time, as Dean Prideaux does also, that is to say, to the birth of Ptolemy Philometer, 187 years before Jesus Christ.

⁴ A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209. Justin. l. xxx. c. 4.

⁵ *Tribunatus, præfecturas, et ducatus mulieres ordinabunt; nec quisquam in regno suo minus, quam ipse rex, poterat.*—Justin.

⁶ A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. et 2. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. l. xv. xvi.

⁷ Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

the army by his valour and conduct. He had all the suffrages in a grand council held for choosing a prime minister. Sosibes resigned to him the king's seal, which was the badge of his office. Tlepolemus performed the several functions of it, and governed all the affairs of the kingdom during the king's life. But though this was not long, he discovered but too plainly, that he had not all the qualities necessary for supporting so great an employment. He had neither the experience, ability, nor application of his predecessor. As he had the administration of all the finances, and disposed of all the honours and dignities of the state, and all payments passed through his hands, every body, as is usual, was assiduous in making their court to him. He was extremely liberal; but then his bounty was bestowed without choice or discernment, and almost solely on those who shared in his parties of pleasure. The extravagant flatteries of those who were for ever crowding about his person, made him fancy his talents superior to those of all other men. He assumed haughty airs, indulged in luxury and profusion, and at last grew insupportable to all the world.

The wars of the east have made me suspend the relation of the affairs that happened in Greece during their continuance: we now return to them.

SECT. II. — THE ÆTOLIANS DECLARE AGAINST THE ACHÆANS. BATTLE OF CAPHYIA. UNHAPPY DEATH OF CLEOMENES.

THE Ætolians, particularly in the time we are now speaking of, were become a very powerful people in Greece. Originally, their territories extended from the river Achelous, to the strait of the gulf of Corinth, and to the country of the Locrians, surnamed Ozolæ. But in process of time, they had possessed themselves of several cities in Acarnania, Thessaly, and other neighbouring countries. They led much the same life upon land as pirates do at sea, that is, they exercised themselves perpetually in plunder and rapine. Wholly bent on lucre, they did not consider any gain as infamous or unlawful; and were entire strangers to the laws of peace or war. They were very much inured to toils, and intrepid in battle. They signalized themselves particularly in the war against the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece, and showed themselves zealous defenders of the public liberty against the Macedonians.¹ The increase of their power had made them haughty and insolent. That haughtiness appeared in the answer they gave the Romans, when they sent ambassadors to order them not to infest Acarnania. They expressed, if we may believe Trojus Pompeius, or Justin, his epitomiser, the highest contempt for Rome, which they termed only in its origin a shameful receptacle of thieves and robbers, founded and built by fratricide, and formed by an assemblage of women ravished from the arms of their parents.² They added, that the Ætolians had always distinguished themselves in Greece, as much by their valour as their virtue and descent; that neither Philip nor Alexander his son had been formidable to them; and that at a time when the latter made the whole earth tremble, they had not been afraid to reject his edicts and injunctions; that

¹ Strab. l. x. p. 450. Polyb. p. 331 et 746. Pausan. l. x. p. 650.

Justin. l. xxviii. c. 2.

therefore the Romans would not do well to rouse the Ætolians against them; a people whose arms had extirpated the Gauls, and despised the Macedonians. The reader may, from this speech, form a judgment of the Ætolians, of whom much will be said in the sequel.

From the time that Cleomenes of Sparta had lost his kingdom, and Antigonus, by his victory at Selasia, had in some measure restored the peace of Greece, the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who were tired by the first wars, and imagined that affairs would always continue in the same state, had laid their arms aside, and totally neglected military discipline. The Ætolians meditated taking advantage of this indolence. Peace was insupportable to them, as it obliged them to subsist at their own expense, accustomed as they were to support themselves wholly by rapine. Antigonus had kept them in awe, and prevented them from infesting their neighbours; but, after his death, despising Philip, because of his youth, they marched into Peloponnesus sword in hand, and laid waste the territories of the Messenians. Aratus, exasperated at this perfidy and insolence, and seeing that Timoxenes, at that time captain-general of the Achæans, endeavoured to gain time, because his year was near expiring; as he was nominated to succeed him the following year, took upon him the command five days before the due time, in order to march the sooner to the aid of the Messenians.¹ Accordingly, having assembled the Achæans, whose vigour and strength had suffered by repose and inactivity, he was defeated near Caphyia, in a great battle fought there.²

Aratus was charged with being the cause of this defeat, and not without some foundation. He endeavoured to prove that the loss of the battle imputed to him was not his fault. He declared, that however this might be, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon; and entreated that his actions might be examined with less rigour than indulgence. His humility, on this occasion, changed the minds of the whole assembly, whose fury now turned against his accusers, and nothing was afterwards undertaken but by his counsel. The remembrance of his defeat had, however, exceedingly damped his courage, so that he behaved as a wise citizen, rather than as an able warrior; and though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to distress them, he took no advantage of them, but suffered that people to lay waste the whole country almost with impunity.

The Achæans were therefore forced to apply to Macedonia again, and to call in king Philip to their assistance, in hopes that the affection he bore Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to favour them. And indeed Antigonus, at his last moments, had, above all things, entreated Philip to keep on good terms with Aratus, and to follow his counsel in treating with the Achæans. Some time before, he had sent him into Peloponnesus, to form himself under his eye, and by his counsels. Aratus gave him the best reception in his power; treated him with the distinction due to his rank, and endeavoured to instil into him such principles and sentiments, as might enable him to govern, with wisdom, the great

Polyb. l. iv. p. 272--292. Plut. in Arat. 1049.

¹ A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221.

kingdom to which he was heir. Accordingly, that young prince returned into Macedonia with the highest sentiments of esteem for Aratus, and the most favourable disposition with regard to the welfare of Greece.

But the courtiers, whose interest it was to remove a person of the known probity of Aratus, in order to have the sole ascendant over their young prince, caused that monarch to suspect his conduct; and prevailed so far as to make him declare openly against Aratus. Finding shortly after that he had been imposed upon, he punished the informers with great severity; the sole means to banish for ever from princes, that calumny, which impunity, and sometimes money, raise up and arm against persons of the most consummate virtue. Philip afterwards reposed the same confidence in Aratus as he had formerly done, and resolved to be guided by his counsels only; which was manifest on several occasions, and particularly in the affair of Lacedæmon. That unhappy city was perpetually torn by seditions, in one of which, one of the ephori and a great many other citizens were killed, because they had declared for king Philip. When that prince arrived from Macedonia, he gave audience to the ambassadors of Sparta at Tegea, where he had sent for them. In the council he held there, several were of opinion that he should treat that city as Alexander had treated Thebes. But the king rejected that proposal with horror, and contented himself with punishing the principal authors of the insurrection. Such an instance of moderation and wisdom in a king, who was but seventeen years of age, was greatly admired; and every one was persuaded that it was owing to the good counsels of Aratus. He, however, did not always make the same use of them.¹

When he arrived at Corinth, complaints were made to him by many cities against the Ætolians; and accordingly war was unanimously declared against them. This was called the war of the allies, which began about the same time that Hannibal was meditating the siege of Saguntum. This decree was sent to all the cities, and ratified in the general assembly of the Achæans. The Ætolians, on the other side, prepared for war, and elected Scopas their general, the principal instigator of the broils they had raised, and the havoc they had made. Philip now marched back his forces to Macedonia; and, while they were in winter-quarters, was very diligent in making the necessary military preparations. He endeavoured to strengthen himself by the aid of his allies, few of whom answered his views; excusing their delays by false and specious pretences. He also sent to king Ptolemy, to entreat him not to aid the Ætolians either with men or money.²

Cleomenes was at that time in Egypt; but as a horrid licentiousness prevailed in that court, and the king regarded nothing but pleasures and excesses of every kind, Cleomenes led a very discontented life there. Ptolemy, however, in the beginning of his reign, had made use of Cleomenes; for, as he was afraid of his brother Magas, who, on his mother's account, had great authority and power over the soldiery, he contracted a stricter amity with Cleomenes, and admitted

¹ Polyb. p. 292—294.

² Polyb. l. iv. p. 294—299.

him into his most secret councils, in which, means for getting rid of his brother were consulted. Cleomenes was the only person who opposed it; he declaring, that a king cannot have any ministers more zealous for his service, or more obliged to aid him in sustaining the weighty burden of government, than his brothers.¹ This advice prevailed for that time; but Ptolemy's fears and suspicions returning, he imagined there would be no way to get rid of them, but by taking away the life of him who occasioned them. After this, he thought himself secure; fondly concluding, that he had no enemies to fear, either at home or abroad; because Antigonus and Seleucus, at their death, had left no other successor, but Philip and Antiochus, both of whom he despised on account of their minority. In this security he devoted himself entirely to all kinds of pleasures, which were never interrupted by cares or applications of any kind. Neither his courtiers, nor those who had employments in the state, dared to approach him; and he would scarcely deign to bestow the least attention to what passed in the neighbouring kingdoms. That, however, was what employed the attention of his predecessors, even more than the affairs of their own dominions. Being possessed of Coelosyria and Cyprus, they awed the kings of Syria both by sea and land. As the most considerable cities, the ports and harbours, which lie along the coasts from Pamphylia to the Hellespont, and the places in the neighbourhood of Lysimachia, were subject to them, from thence they had an eye on the princes of Asia, and even on the islands. How would it have been possible for any one to move in Thrace and Macedonia, while they had the command of Ene, or Maronea, and of cities that lay at a still greater distance? With so extensive a dominion, and so many strong places, which served them as barriers, their own kingdom was secure. They therefore had always great reason to keep a watchful eye over what was transacting abroad. Ptolemy, on the contrary, disdained to give himself that trouble; wine and women being his only pleasure and employment.²

With such dispositions, the reader will easily suppose that he could have no great esteem for Cleomenes. The instant the latter had news of the death of Antigonus, that the Achæans were engaged in an arduous war with the Ætolians, that the Lacedæmonians were united with the latter against the Achæans and Macedonians, and that all things seemed to recall him to his native country, he solicited earnestly to leave Alexandria. He therefore implored the king to favour him with troops and munitions of war sufficient for his return. Finding he could not obtain his request, he desired that he at least might be suffered to depart with his family, and be allowed to embrace the favourable opportunity for repossessing himself of his kingdom. But Ptolemy was too much employed in his pleasures to lend an ear to his entreaties.

Sosibes, who at that time had great authority in the kingdom, assembled his friends; and in this council a resolution was formed, not to furnish Cleomenes either with a fleet or provisions. They believed it

¹ A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Plut. in Cleom. p. 820—823.

² Polyb. l. v. p. 380—385.

to be a needless expense ; for, from the death of Antigonus, all foreign affairs had seemed to them of no importance. Besides, this council was apprehensive, that as Antigonus was dead, and as there was none to oppose Cleomenes, that prince, after having made an expeditious conquest of Greece, would become a very formidable enemy to Egypt : what increased their fears was, his having thoroughly studied the state of the kingdom, his knowing its strong and weak side, his holding the king in the utmost contempt, and seeing a great many parts of the kingdom separated and at a great distance, which an enemy might have a thousand opportunities of invading. For these reasons it was not thought proper to grant Cleomenes the fleet, and other succours he desired. On the other side, to give so bold and enterprising a prince leave to depart, after having refused him in so contemptuous a manner, would be making an enemy of him, who would certainly, one time or other, remember the affront which had been offered him. Sosibes was therefore of opinion that it was not even safe to allow him his liberty in Alexandria. A word which Cleomenes had suffered to escape him came then into his mind. In a council where Magas was the subject of the debate, that prime minister expressed a fear that this prince should prevail with the foreign soldiers to make an insurrection : "I answer for them," said Cleomenes, speaking of those of Peloponnesus ; "and you may depend, that upon the first signal I give, they all will take up arms in your favour." This made Sosibes hesitate no longer : on a fictitious accusation, and which he corroborated by a letter he himself had forged in that unhappy prince's name, he prevailed with the king to seize his person, and to imprison him in a secure place, and maintain him always in the manner he had hitherto done, with the liberty of seeing his friends, but not of going abroad.

This treatment threw Cleomenes into the deepest affliction and melancholy. As he did not perceive any end to his calamities, he formed such a resolution, in concert with those friends who used to visit him, as despair only could suggest ; and this was, to return the injustice of Ptolemy by force of arms ; to stir up his subjects against him ; to die worthy of Sparta ; and not to wait, as stalled victims, till it was thought proper to sacrifice them.

His friends having found means to get him out of the prison, ran in a body, with drawn swords, into all the streets ; exhorting and calling upon the population to recover their liberty ; but not a man joined them. They killed the governor of the city, and some other noblemen who came to oppose them ; and afterwards ran to the citadel, with intention to force the gates, and set all the prisoners at liberty ; but they found these shut and strongly barricaded. Cleomenes now lost all hopes, ran through the city, during which not a person either followed or opposed him ; but all fled through fear. Seeing it would be impossible for them to succeed in their enterprise, they terminated it in a tragical and bloody manner, by running upon each other's swords, to avoid the infamy of punishment. Thus died Cleomenes, after reigning sixteen years over Sparta. The king caused his body to be hanged on a cross, and ordered his mother, children, and all the women who attended them, to be put to death. When

that unhappy princess was brought to the place of execution, the only favour she asked was, that she might die before her children. But they began with them; a torment more grievous to a mother than death itself; after which she presented her neck to the executioner, saying only these words, "Ah! my dear children, to what a place did you come!"

The design of Agis and Cleomenes to reform Sparta, and revive its ancient discipline, was certainly very laudable in itself; and both had reason to think, that in a state wholly infected and corrupted, as Sparta then was, to pretend to reform abuses one after another, and remedy disorders by degrees, was only cutting off the heads of the hydra; and that it would therefore be absolutely necessary to root out the evil at one blow. I cannot say whether in a case like this, Plato's maxim should not take place, viz. that nothing should be attempted in a state, but what the citizens might be prevailed on to admit by gentle means; and that violence should never be employed.¹ Are there not some diseases in which medicines would only hasten death? And have not some disorders gained so great an ascendant in a state, that to attempt a reformation at such a time, would only discover the impotency of the magistrates and laws?² But a circumstance which admits of no excuse in Cleomenes, is, his having, against all the laws of reason and justice, murdered the ephori, in order to obtain success in his enterprise; a conduct absolutely tyrannical, unworthy of a Spartan, and more unworthy of a king; and which at the same time seemed to give sanction to those tyrants, who afterwards committed such devastation in Lacedæmonia. Cleomenes himself has been called a tyrant by some historians, with whom they even began the succession of tyrants.³

During the three years that Cleomenes had left Sparta, the citizens had not thought of nominating kings, from the hopes they entertained that he would return again; and had always preserved the highest esteem and veneration for him. But, as soon as news was brought of his death, they proceeded to the election of kings. They first nominated Agesipolis, a child, descended from one of the royal families, and appointed his uncle Cleomenes his governor. Afterwards they chose Lycurgus, none of whose ancestors had reigned, but who had bribed the ephori, by giving each of them a talent, which was putting the crown to sale at a very low price. They soon had reason to repent their choice, which was in direct opposition to all laws, and for which they never had an example. The factious party, which opposed Philip openly, and committed the most enormous violences in the city, had presided in this election; and immediately after, they caused Sparta to declare in favour of the Ætolians.⁴

¹ Junet Plato, quem ego auctorem vehementer sequor, tantum contendere in republica, quantum probare civibus tuis possis: vim neque parenti neque patriæ affere oportere. — Cic. l. i. Epist. 9. ad Famil.

² Decebat omittere potius prævalida et adulta vitia quam hoc adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. — Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 53.

³ Post mortem Cleomenis, qui primus Tyrannus Lacedæmonis fuit. — Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 26.

⁴ Polyb. l. iv. p. 301.

SECTION III. — VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF PHILIP. A PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN HIM AND THE ACHÆANS, AND THE ÆTOLIANS.

WE have already related, that Philip, king of Macedon, being called in by the Achæans to their aid, had come to Corinth, where their general assembly was held; and that war had there been unanimously declared against the Ætolians. The king returned afterwards to Macedonia, to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war.¹

Philip brought over Scerdiledes to the alliance with the Achæans. He was, as has been observed, a petty king of Illyria. The Ætolians, whose ally he was, had broken their engagements with him, by refusing to give him a certain share of the spoils they had made at the taking of Cynethium, according to the articles agreed on between them. Philip embraced with joy this opportunity of revenging their perfidy.

Demetrius, of Pharus, joined also with Philip.² We have already seen that the Romans, in whose favour he had declared at first, had bestowed on him several of the cities they had conquered in Illyria. As the chief revenue of those petty princes had consisted hitherto in the spoils they got from their neighbours, when the Romans were removed, he could not forbear plundering the cities and territories subject to them. Besides, Demetrius, as well as Scerdiledes, had sailed, on the same design, beyond the city of Issus; which was a direct infraction of the chief article of the treaty concluded with queen Teuta. For these reasons the Romans declared war against Demetrius. Accordingly, Æmilius attacked him with great vigour, dispossessed him of his strongest fortresses, and besieged him in Pharus, from whence he escaped with the utmost difficulty. The city surrendered to the Romans. Demetrius, being dispossessed of all his dominions, fled to Philip, who received him with open arms.³ This highly offended the Romans, who thereupon sent ambassadors to him, demanding Demetrius to be delivered up. Philip, however, who meditated at that time the design which broke out soon after, paid no regard to their demand; and Demetrius spent the remainder of his days with that monarch. He was a valiant and bold man, but at the same time rash and inconsiderate in his enterprises; and his courage was entirely void of prudence and judgment.

The Achæans, being on the point of engaging in a considerable war, sent to their allies. The Acarnanians joined them very cheerfully, though at their great danger, as they lay nearest the Ætolians, and consequently were most exposed to the inroads of that people. Polybius praises their fidelity exceedingly.

The people of Epirus did not show so much good will, and seemed desirous of continuing neutral; but they engaged in a war shortly after.

Deputies were also sent to king Ptolemy to desire him not to assist the Ætolians, either with troops or money.

A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Polyb. l. iv. p. 294—306.

¹ Polyb. l. iii. p. 171—174. Lib. iv. p. 285—305—330.

² Liv. l. xxii. p. 32.

The Messenians, for whose sake that war had been first undertaken, no way answered the hopes which had been naturally entertained, viz., of their employing their whole force to carry it on.

The Lacedæmonians had declared at first for the Achæans; but the contrary faction caused the decree to be reversed, and they joined the Ætolians. It was on this occasion, as I have said before, that Agesipolis and Lycurgus were elected kings of Sparta.

Aratus the younger, son of the great Aratus, was at that time supreme magistrate of the Achæans, and Scopas held the same office among the Ætolians.

Philip marched from Macedonia with fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. Having crossed Thessaly, he arrived in Epirus. Had he marched directly to the Ætolians, he would have come upon them unexpected, and have defeated them; but at the request of the Epirots, he laid siege to Ambracia, which employed him forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare for, and wait his coming up. They did more: Scopas, at the head of a body of Ætolians, advanced into Macedonia, made dreadful havoc, and returned in a very short time laden with spoils, which redounded to his honour, and greatly animated his forces. However, this did not hinder Philip from entering Ætolia, and seizing on a great number of important fortresses. He would have entirely conquered it, had not the news he received that the Dardanians¹ intended to make an inroad into his kingdom, obliged him to return thither. At his departure, he promised the ambassadors of the Achæans to return soon to their assistance. His sudden arrival disconcerted the Dardanians, and put a stop to their enterprise. He then returned to Thessaly, with an intention to pass the rest of the summer in Larissa.²

In the mean time, Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had just before nominated their general, entered Epirus, laid waste all the open country, and did not spare even the temple of Dodona.³

Philip, though it was now the depth of winter, having left Larissa, arrived at Corinth, without any one's having had the least notice of his march. He there ordered the elder Aratus to attend him, and by a letter to his son, who commanded the forces this year, gave him orders whither to march them. Caphyia was to be the rendezvous. Euripidas, who knew nothing of Philip's arrival, was then marching a detachment of above two thousand natives of Elis, to lay waste the territory of Sicyon. They fell into the hands of Philip, and all except one hundred were either killed or taken prisoners.

The king, having joined Aratus the younger with his forces at the rendezvous appointed, marched toward Psophis, a city of Arcadia, in order to besiege it. This was a very daring attempt; for the city was thought almost impregnable, as well from its natural situation, as from the fortifications which had been added to it. It being the depth of winter, the inhabitants were of opinion, that none would, or even could, attack them; Philip, however, did it with success; for, first the city, and afterwards the citadel, surrendered after making some re-

¹ These people were neighbours of Macedonia, on the north of that kingdom.

² Polyb. l. iv. p. 325—330.

³ Ibid. p. 330—336.

sistance. As they were very far from expecting to be besieged, the want of ammunition and provisions very much facilitated the taking of that city. Philip gave it very generously to the Achæans, to whom it was of the most signal service; assuring them that there was nothing he desired more than to oblige them, and to give them the strongest proofs of his zeal and affection for their interest. A prince who acts in this manner is truly great, and does honour to the royal dignity.

From thence, after possessing himself of some other cities, which he also gave to his allies, he marched to Elis, in order to lay it waste. It was very rich and populous, and the inhabitants of the country were in a flourishing condition. Formerly this territory had been held sacred, on account of the Olympic games solemnized there every four years; and all the nations of Greece had agreed not to infest or carry war into it. But the Eleans had themselves been the cause of their losing that privilege, because, like other states, they had engaged in the wars of Greece. Here Philip got a very considerable booty, with which he enriched his troops, and afterwards retired into Olympia.

Among the several courtiers of king Philip, Apelles held the chief rank, and had a great ascendant over his sovereign, whose chief governor he had been; but, as generally happens on these occasions, he very much abused his power, which he employed wholly in oppressing particular persons and states. He had conceived the design of reducing the Achæans to the same condition in which Thessaly was at that time; that is, to subject them absolutely to the commands of the ministers of Macedonia, by leaving them only the name and a vain shadow of liberty; and to accustom them to the yoke, he spared them no kind of injurious treatment. Aratus complained of this to Philip, who was highly exasperated upon that account; and accordingly assured him, he would give such orders, that nothing of the kind should happen for the future. Accordingly, he enjoined Apelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans, but in concert with their general. This was behaving with an indolent tenderness toward a statesman, who having so shamefully abused his master's confidence, had therefore deserved to be entirely disgraced. The Achæans, overjoyed at the favour which Philip had showed them, and with the orders he had given for their peace and security, were continually bestowing the highest encomiums on that prince, and extolling his exalted qualities. And, indeed, he possessed all those which can endear a king to his people; such as, a lively genius, a happy memory, easy elocution, and an affected grace in all his actions; a beautiful countenance, heightened by a noble and majestic air, which struck the beholders with awe and respect; a sweetness of temper, affability, and a desire to please universally; to finish the picture, a valour, an intrepidity, and an experience in war, which far exceeded his years: so that one can hardly conceive the remarkable alteration which afterwards appeared in his morals and behaviour.¹

Philip having possessed himself of Aliphera, a very strong city,

¹ Polyb. l. iv. p. 328, 339.

the greatest part of the people of that country, astonished at the rapidity of his conquests, and weary of the Ætolian tyranny, submitted to his arms. Thus he soon made himself master of all Triphylia.¹

At this time Cilo the Lacedæmonian, pretending he had a better right to the crown than Lycurgus, on whose head they had placed it, resolved to dispossess him of it, and set it on his own. Having engaged in his party about two hundred citizens, he entered the city in a forcible manner, killed the ephori, who were at table together, and marched directly toward the house of Lycurgus, intending to kill him; but hearing the tumult, he made his escape. Clio then went into the great square of the city, and exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty; making them, at the same time, the greatest promises. Seeing, however, that he could make no impression on them, and that he had failed of his blow, he sentenced himself to banishment, and retired to Achaia. It is surprising to see Sparta, formerly so jealous of her liberty, and mistress of all Greece till the battle of Leuctra, now filled with tumults and insurrections, and ignominiously subjected to a kind of tyrants, when previously she could not so much as suffer the name. Such were the effects of their having violated the laws of Lycurgus; and especially their introducing gold and silver into Sparta; which drew after them, by insensible degrees, the lust of power, avarice, pride, luxury, effeminacy, immorality, and all those vices which are generally inseparable from riches.²

Philip having arrived at Argos, spent the rest of the winter there. Apelles had not yet laid aside the design he meditated of enslaving the Achæans. But Aratus, for whom the king had a very particular regard, and in whom he reposed the highest confidence, was an invincible obstacle to his project. He therefore resolved, if possible, to get rid of him. For this purpose, he sent privately for all those who were his secret enemies, and used his utmost endeavours to gain them the prince's favour. After this, in all his discourses with him, he hinted, that so long as Aratus should enjoy any authority in the republic of the Achæans, he, Philip, would have no power, and would be as much subject to their laws and usages, as the meanest of their citizens; whereas, were he to raise to the chief administration of affairs, some person who might be entirely dependent on him, he then might act as sovereign, and govern others, instead of being himself governed. The new friends enforced these reflections, and refined on the arguments of Apelles. This idea of despotic power pleased the young king; and it is indeed the strongest temptation that can be laid in the way of princes. Accordingly he went for that purpose to Ægium, where the assembly of the states was held for the election of a new general; and prevailed so far by his promises and menaces, that he got Philoxenus, whom Aratus had declared duly elected, excluded, and obliged them to make choice of Eperatus, who was his open enemy. Implicitly devoted to the will of his prime minister, he did not perceive that he degraded himself in the most ignominious

¹ Idem. l. iv. p. 339—343.

² Polyb. l. iv. p. 343, 344.

manner; nothing being more abhorrent to free assemblies, such as those of Greece, than to make the least attempt in violation of the freedom of elections.¹

Eperatus, having been chosen to an office for which he was altogether unfit, by want of merit and experience, as too frequently occurs in forced elections, was universally despised. As Aratus intermeddled no longer in public affairs, nothing was well done, and all things were hastening to their ruin. Philip, who was blamed for all miscarriages, became sensible that very pernicious counsels had been given him. Upon this, he again had recourse to Aratus, and reinstated him entirely in his friendship and confidence; and perceiving that after this step, his affairs flourished visibly, and that his reputation and power increased daily, he would not make use of any counsel but that of Aratus, as the only man to whom he owed all his grandeur and glory. Who would not imagine, after such evident and repeated proofs, on one side, of the innocence of Aratus, and on the other of the black malice of Apelles, that Philip would have been undeceived for ever; and would have been fully sensible which of the two had the most sincere zeal for his service? The sequel, however, will show, that jealousy never dies but with the object that excite it; and that princes seldom overcome prejudices grateful to their authority.

A new proof of this soon appeared. As the inhabitants of Elis refused the advantageous conditions which Philip offered them by one Amphidamus, Apelles hinted to him, that so unreasonable a refusal was owing to the ill services which Aratus did him clandestinely, though outwardly he pretended to have his interest very much at heart; that he alone had kept Amphidamus from enforcing as he ought to have done, and as he had engaged to do, to the inhabitants of Elis, the offers which the king made them; and on this foundation he invented a long story, and named several witnesses. The king, however, was so just, as to insist upon his prime minister's repeating these accusations in the presence of the man whom he charged with them; and this Apelles did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance, or rather impudence, as might have disconcerted the most virtuous man. He even added that the king would lay this affair before the council of the Achæans, and leave to them the decision of it. This was what he wanted; firmly persuaded that by the authority he had there, he should not fail to get him condemned. Aratus, in making his defence, began by beseeching the king, not to give too much credit to the several things laid to his charge: that the justice which a king, more than any other man, owed to a person accused, was to command that a strict inquiry be made into the several articles of the accusation, and till then to suspend his judgment. In confidence of this he required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce his witnesses; him especially, from whom he pretended to have heard the several particulars laid to his charge; and that they should omit none of the methods used and prescribed in stating a fact before it was laid before the public council.

¹ Idem. l. iv. p. 344—349.

The king thought the demand of Aratus very just and reasonable, and promised it should be complied with. The time, however, passed on, and Apelles did not prepare to give in his proofs: but how would it have been possible for him to do that? An unforeseen accident brought Amphidamus, by a kind of chance, to the city of Dymnæ, to which place Philip had come to settle some affairs. Aratus embraced the opportunity; and solicited the king himself to take cognizance of this matter. He complied with the request, and found that there was not the least ground for the charge. Accordingly, Aratus was pronounced innocent, but without any punishment being inflicted on the calumniator.

This impunity encouraged him in his designs; so that he continued his secret intrigues, for removing those who gave him the least umbrage. Besides Apelles, there were four other persons who divided the chief offices of the crown among them, and at the same time enjoyed the king's confidence. Antigonus had appointed them by his will, and assigned each of them his employment. His principal view in this choice was, to prevent those cabals which are almost inseparable from the minority of an infant prince. Two of these noblemen, Leontius and Megaleas, were entirely at the devotion of Apelles; but, over the other two, Taurion and Alexander, he had not the same ascendant. Taurion presided over the affairs of Peloponnesus, and Alexander had the command of the guards. The prime minister was desirous of giving the employment to noblemen on whom he could entirely rely, and who would be as much devoted to his views as he could wish them. Apelles, however, behaved in a different manner toward them; for, says Polybius, courtiers have the art of conforming themselves to all circumstances, and employing either praise or slander to obtain their ends. Whenever Taurion was mentioned, Apelles would applaud his merit, his courage, his experience, and speak of him as a man worthy of the king's most implicit confidence. His object in this was to detain Taurion at court, and procure the government of Peloponnesus, a place of great importance, and which required the presence of the person invested with it, for one of his own creatures. Whenever Alexander was the subject of the discourse, he represented him in the most odious colours to the king, and even endeavoured to render his fidelity suspected; in order to remove him from court, that his post might be given to some person who should depend entirely upon him. Polybius afterwards relates the result of all these secret machinations. He only hints in this place, that Apelles was eventually taken in his own snare, and met with the treatment he was preparing for others. But we shall first see him commit the blackest and most abominable injustice in the person of Aratus, and even extend his criminal designs to the king himself.

I before observed, that Philip, having discovered that he had been more than once imposed upon, had restored Aratus to his favour and confidence. Impelled by his influence and counsels, he went to the assembly of the Achæans, appointed, on his account, at Sicyon. On the report he made of the state of his exchequer, and of the urgent necessity he was in of money to maintain his forces, a resolution was

passed to furnish him with fifty talents as soon as his troops should set out upon their march; with three months pay for his soldiers, and ten thousand measures of wheat; and that afterwards, as long as he should carry on the war in person in Peloponnesus, they should furnish him monthly with seventeen talents.¹

When the troops returned from their winter quarters, and were assembled, the king debated in council on the operations of the ensuing campaign. It was resolved to act by sea, because they thereby should infallibly divide the enemy's forces, from the uncertainty they must be under, with regard to the side on which they should be attacked. Philip was to make war on the inhabitants of Ætolia, Lacedæmonia, and Elis.

While the king, who had now returned to Corinth, was forming his Macedonians for naval affairs, and employing them in the several exercises of the sea-service, Apelles, who found his influence diminishing, and was exasperated to see the counsels of Aratus followed in preference to his, took secret measures to defeat all the king's designs. His object was to make himself necessary to his sovereign, and to force him, by the perilous situation of his affairs, to throw himself into the arms of a minister who was intimately acquainted with, and then actually employed in, the administration of them. How villanous was this! Apelles prevailed with Leontius and Megaleas, his two confidants, to behave with negligence in the employments with which they should be intrusted. He himself went to Chalcis, on pretence of having some affairs to transact there; as his orders were punctually obeyed by every one, he stopped the convoys of money which were on their way to the king, and thereby reduced him to such necessity, that he was compelled to pawn his plate for the subsistence of himself and his household.

Philip, having put to sea, arrived the second day at Patræ; and sailing from thence to Cephalenia, an island in the Ionian Sea, laid siege to Paleis, a city which, by its situation, would be of great advantage to him as a depot of arms, and enable him to infest the territories of his enemies. He ordered the machines of war to be advanced, and mines to be opened. One of the means of making breaches was, to dig up the earth under the foundation of the walls. When they had advanced to these, they propped and supported the walls with large wooden beams, to which the miners afterwards set fire, and then retired; shortly after which, that part of the wall thus attacked would fall. As the Macedonians had worked with incredible ardour, they very soon made a breach of six hundred fathoms wide. Leontius was commanded to mount this breach with his troops. Had he exerted himself in the least, the city would certainly have been taken: but he attacked the enemy very faintly, so that he was repulsed, lost a great number of his men, and Philip was obliged to raise the siege.

The moment he commenced it, the enemy had sent Lycurgus with some troops into Messenia, and Dorimachus with half of the army into Thessaly, to oblige Philip, by this double diversion, to lay aside his

¹ Polyb. l. iv. p. 350—365

enterprise. Deputies had arrived also from the Acarnanians and Messenians. Philip, having raised the siege, assembled his council, to debate on which side he should turn his arms. The Messenians represented that, in one day, the forces might march from Cephallenia into their country, and at once overpower Lycurgus, who did not expect to be so suddenly attacked. Leontius enforced this advice very strongly. His secret reason was, that as it would be impossible for Philip to return, because the winds would be directly contrary at that time, he therefore would be forced to stay there, by which means the campaign would be spent and nothing done. The Acarnanians, on the contrary, were for marching directly into Ætolia, which was then unprovided with troops; declaring that the whole country might be laid waste without the least resistance; and Derimachus would be prevented from making an irruption into Macedonia. Aratus did not fail to declare in favour of the latter opinion; and the king, who, from the cowardly attack at Paleis, began to suspect Leontius, went thither also.

Having provided for the urgent necessities of the Messenians, he went from Cephallenia, arrived the second day at Leucadia, from thence entered the gulf of Ambracia, and came a little before day-break to Limnæa. He immediately commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment, to rid themselves of the greatest part of their baggage and be ready for marching. In the afternoon, Philip having left the baggage under a strong guard, set out from Limnæa; and marching about sixty furlongs, he halted, to give his army some refreshment and rest. He then marched all night, and arrived at day-break at the river Achelous, intending to fall suddenly and unexpectedly upon Thermæ. Leontius advised the king to halt for some time, assigning as his reason, that the soldiers being fatigued with the length of their march, it would be proper for them to take breath; but, in reality, to give the Ætolians time to prepare for their defence. Aratus, on the contrary, knowing that opportunity is swift-winged, and that the advice of Leontius was manifestly traitorous, conjured Philip to seize the favourable moment, and march out that instant.

The king, who was already offended at Leontius, and began to suspect him, set out that instant, crossed the Achelous, and marched directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almost impervious road, cut between very steep rocks. This was the capital city of the country, in which the Ætolians every year held their fairs and solemn assemblies, as well for the worship of the gods, as for the election of magistrates. As this city was thought impregnable, because of the advantage of its situation, and that no enemy had ever dared to approach it, the Ætolians used to leave their richest effects and all their wealth there, imagining they were very safe. But how great must have been their surprise, when, at the close of the day, they saw Philip enter it with his army!

After having taken immense spoils in the night, the Macedonians pitched their camp. The next morning it was resolved that the most valuable effects should be carried away; and making a heap of the rest, at the head of the camp, they set fire to that pile. They did the same with regard to the arms which hung on the galleries of the

temple; the best were laid by for service, and the remainder, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand, were burned to ashes.

Hitherto, every thing which had been transacted was just, and agreeable to the laws of war. But the Macedonians did not stop here. Transported with fury at the remembrance of the devastation which the Ætolians had committed in Diium and Dedona, they set fire to the galleries of the temple, and tore down all the offerings which hung on them, among which were some of exceeding beauty and great value. Not satisfied with burning the roofs, they razed the temple. The statues, which amounted to at least two thousand, were thrown down. A great number of them were broken to pieces; and those only spared which were known, by their form or inscriptions, to represent gods. They wrote the following verse on the walls:

Remember DIUM; DIUM sends you this.

“The horror with which the sacrileges committed by the Ætolians at Diium undoubtedly inspired Philip and his allies, convinced them that they might revenge it by the commission of the like crimes, and that they were then making just reprisals.” “But,” continues Polybius, “the reader will allow me to think otherwise.” To support his opinion, he cites three great examples, taken from the family of the prince whose conduct he here censures. Antigonus, after having defeated Cleomenes king of the Lacedæmonians, and possessed himself of Sparta, so far from extending his rage to the temples and sacred things, did not even cause those whom he had conquered to feel the effects of it: on the contrary, he restored to them the form of government which they had received from their ancestors, and treated them with the highest testimonies of kindness and friendship. Philip, to whom the royal family owed all its splendour, and who defeated the Athenians at Chæronea, made them sensible of his power and victory by no other marks than his beneficence; restoring their prisoners without ransom; himself taking care of the dead, ordering Antipater to convey their bones to Athens, and giving clothes to such of the prisoners as were most in want of them. In fine, Alexander the Great, in the height of his fury against Thebes, which he razed to the ground, so far from being forgetful of the veneration due to the gods, took care not to suffer his soldiers, even through imprudence, to do the least injury to the temples, and other sacred places: and a circumstance still more worthy our admiration, in his war with the Persians, who had plundered and burned most of the temples in Greece, Alexander spared and revered all places dedicated to the worship of the gods.

“It would have been better,” continues Polybius, “if Philip, mindful of the examples his ancestors set him, had endeavoured to show himself their successor, more in their moderation and magnanimity, than their empire and power. The laws of war, indeed, frequently oblige a conqueror to demolish cities and citadels; to fill up harbours; to take men and ships; to carry off the fruits of the earth; and to do things of a like nature, in order to lessen the strength of the enemy, and increase his own: but to destroy what either cannot do him any prejudice, or will not contribute to the de-

feat of the enemy; to burn temples, to break statues, and such ornaments of a city, in pieces; certainly nothing but the wildest and most extravagant fury can be capable of such violence. It is not merely to ruin and destroy those who have done us injury, that we ought to declare war, in case we desire to be thought just and equitable; but only to oblige such people to acknowledge and make amends for their faults. The true end of war is not to involve in the same ruin the innocent and the guilty, but rather to save both." These are the sentiments of a soldier and a heathen.

Though Philip, on this occasion, showed no great regard for religion, he acted like an excellent captain. His view in putting to sea, was to go and surprise the city of Thermæ, during the absence of part of the Ætolian forces. To conceal his design, he took so large a tour, as left the enemy in doubt with regard to the place he intended to attack; and which prevented their seizing some passes of mountains and defiles in which he might have been repulsed. Some rivers were to be passed; it was necessary for them to make the utmost haste, and turn short upon Ætolia by a rapid countermarch. This Philip does without listening to the advice of traitors, to lighten his army, by leaving his baggage; he goes through the strait without meeting the least obstacle, and enters Thermæ, as if he had dropped from the skies; so well had he concealed and hastened his march, of which the enemy do not seem to have had the least suspicion.

His retreat was quite as extraordinary. To secure it, he had seized upon several important posts, expecting that at his coming down, his rear-guard particularly would be attacked. It was charged at two different times; but the precautions he had taken, entirely baffled all the efforts of the enemy.

An enterprise so well concerted, so secretly carried on, and executed with so much wisdom and despatch, generally surpasses the abilities of so young a prince as Philip; and seems to bear the character of a veteran warrior, long exercised in all the arts and stratagems of war. We can scarcely doubt, that Aratus, as he had been the first contriver of so noble a project, was also the soul, as it were, and chief agent in it afterwards. I have already observed, that his talents lay more in conducting a warlike stratagem, in forming extraordinary enterprises, and in giving success to them by his bold counsels than in executing them himself. How happy is it for a young prince to possess a general of this character; prudent, able, qualified by long experience, and habituated to all the parts of the art of war; to be able to know the merit of these qualities; to be perfectly sensible of their high value; to be led by his advice, though frequently contrary to his own taste and opinion; and to allow himself to be guided by such wise counsels. After the happy success of an action, the person whose advice directed it, vanishes, and all the glory of it reflects upon the monarch. Plutarch, who advances what I have now said, thinks it equally glorious in Philip to suffer himself to be guided by such good counsels, and to Aratus for having ability to suggest them.¹

¹ Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.

When Philip, who had marched back the same way he came, arrived at Limnæa, finding himself in repose and security, offered sacrifices to the gods, by way of thanksgiving for the success they had given his arms, and made a splendid banquet for his officers, who were as strongly affected as himself with the glory he had acquired, Leontius and Megaleas were the only persons who heartily repined at the good fortune of their sovereign. Every one soon perceived that they did not share with the rest of the company in the joy which so successful an expedition must naturally create. During the whole entertainment, they discovered their animosity against Aratus, by the most injurious and most shocking raileries. But words were not all; for, at their rising from the banquet, heated with the fumes of wine, and fired with anger, they threw stones at him all the way, till he got into his tent. The whole army was in an uproar; and the noise reaching the king, he caused an exact inquiry to be made into the affair; and imposing a fine of twenty talents on Megaleas, he afterwards threw him into prison. Leontius, hearing of what had happened, ran with a crowd of soldiers to the king's tent, persuaded that he would be frightened at seeing so great a body of men, and for that reason be prompted to change his resolution. When he came into the king's presence, "Who has been so bold," says he, "as to lay hands on Megaleas, and throw him into prison?" "It is I," answered the king, in a lofty voice. This terrified Leontius; so that, after venting a deep sigh, he left the king's tent in a rage. Some days after, he was bound for the fine laid on Megaleas, who was then set at liberty.

During Philip's expedition against Ætolia, Lycurgus, the Spartan king, had engaged in an enterprise against the Messenians, but it proved abortive. Dorimachus, who had led a considerable body of Ætolians into Thessaly, with an intention to lay waste the country, and to oblige Philip to raise the siege of Paleis, in order to go and succour his allies, found troops there ready prepared to give him a warm reception. He did not venture to attack them. The news of Philip's inroad into Ætolia forced him to hasten thither to defend his own country. But though he made the utmost expedition, he arrived too late; the Macedonians having already quitted it.¹

Philip marched his army with almost incredible diligence. Having left Leucadia with his fleet, and arrived at Corinth, he laid up his ships in the harbour of Lechæum, landed his troops, began his march, and, passing through Argos, arrived on the twelfth day at Tegea, which he had appointed for the rendezvous with his allies. The Spartans having heard, from rumour, what had passed at Thermæ, were truly alarmed when they saw that young victor in their territories, where he was not expected so suddenly. Some actions passed, in which Philip had always the advantage; but I shall omit the particulars, to avoid prolixity. Philip displayed, on all occasions, a bravery and prudence far above his years; and this expedition was almost as glorious to him as that of Ætolia. After laying waste the whole

¹ Polyb. l. v. p. 365—372.

country, and taking numerous spoils, he returned by the way of Argos to Corinth.

Here he found the ambassadors of Rhodes and Chios, who came to offer him their mediation, and to incline both parties to peace. The king, dissembling his real intentions, told them that they had always wished, and still did so, to be at peace with the Ætolians; and, therefore, charged them, at their going away, to dispose their masters to it. He afterwards landed at Lechæum, in order to go from thence to Phocis, where he intended to engage in some more important enterprise.

The faction formed by Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, who also was one of Philip's principal officers, having employed every clandestine method possible to remove and destroy all those who either opposed or were suspected by them, and seeing with grief that those secret practices had not been as successful as they had flattered themselves, they therefore resolved to make themselves formidable even to their sovereign, by employing the authority they had over the forces to draw off their affections from him, and to attach them to their interest. The greatest part of their army had staid in Corinth, and they imagined that the absence of the king gave them a favourable opportunity for executing their designs. They represented to the light-armed troops, and to the guards, that for the sake of the public welfare they exposed themselves to the greatest toils and dangers of war; that justice had not been done them, nor the ancient law relating to the distribution of plunder, been observed with regard to them. The young people, fired by these seditious discourses, divided themselves into bands, plundered the houses of the greatest courtiers, and carried their fury to such excess, as to force the gates of the king's palace, and break to pieces the tiles which covered it. Immediately a great tumult broke out in the city, of which Philip having notice, he left Lechæum in great diligence. He then assembled the Macedonians in the theatre, where, in a speech intermixed with gentleness and severity, he made them sensible of their fault. In the trouble and confusion which reigned at that time, some declared that it would be necessary to seize and punish the promoters of this insurrection; and others, that it would be more prudent to appease them by gentle methods, and forget all that had passed.

The king was still young; so that his authority was not entirely confirmed in the minds of the people and soldiery. Those opposed to him enjoyed the greatest posts in the kingdom, had governed it during his minority, had filled all employments with their creatures, had acquired a kind of unlimited power over all orders of the state, had the command of the forces, and during a long time had employed the most insinuating arts to gain their affection, dividing the whole administration among themselves. In so delicate a conjuncture, he did not think it advisable to come to an open rupture, lest he should inflame the minds of the people, by inflicting chastisements at an unreasonable time. For this reason he stifled his resentments, pretending to be very well satisfied; and having exhorted his forces to union and peace, he went back to Lechæum. But after this insurrection, it

was not easy for him to execute in Phocis the schemes he had projected. Leontius having now lost all hopes, after so many fruitless attempts, had recourse to Apelles. He sent courier after courier to give him notice of the danger he was in, and to urge his presence immediately. That minister, during his stay in Chalcis, disposed all things in the most despotic manner, and by that means was universally odious. According to him, the king, being still young, had no manner of power, but obeyed implicitly the will of Apelles. It is certain, that he arrogated to himself the management of all affairs, as having full power to act in every thing as he should think fit. The magistrates of Macedonia and Thessaly, and the officers who enjoyed any employment, had recourse to him only. In all the cities of Greece, little mention was made of the king; for whether any resolutions were to be taken, affairs to be regulated, judgments passed, or honours or preferments to be bestowed, Apelles engrossed and transacted all things.

Philip had long before been apprised of this conduct of Apelles, which gave him very great uneasiness. Aratus was frequently urgent with him to exert himself on this occasion, and endeavoured to make him throw off his irresolution and servitude; but the king concealed his thoughts, and did not discover his resolutions to anybody. Apelles, not knowing how the king was disposed in regard to him, but persuaded, on the contrary, that the instant he appeared before his sovereign, he would not fail of taking his opinion in all things, flew from Chalcis to the support of Leontius.

When he arrived in Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy, and Megaleas, who commanded the flower of the troops, engaged all the young men to go and meet him. Apelles, thus received with pomp and splendour, and attended by a large body of officers and soldiers, advanced directly to the king's palace, which he was going to enter, as usual. The officer who attended at the gate, having been instructed before, stopped him short, and told him that his majesty was busy. Astonished at so uncommon a reception, which he had not expected, he considered for some time how he ought to behave, and at last withdrew in the utmost confusion. Nothing is so transient and frail as a borrowed power, unsupported by foundations or strength of its own.¹ The shining train he had caused to follow him vanished in an instant, and he arrived at his own house, followed only by his domestics. A lively image, says Polybius, of what happens in the courts of kings! a fate which the most powerful courtiers ought to dread. A few days suffice to show their most exalted state and their lowest fall. Like counters, which at one moment are of the highest, and the next of the most inconsiderable value; as princes please to extend or withdraw their favour, to-day they enjoy the greatest reputation, and the next are reduced to the extremes of misery and universal disgrace. Megaleas, sensible of the storm he himself might expect after the prime minister was disgraced, thought of nothing but how he might secure himself by flight, and accordingly withdrew to Thebes, leaving

¹ Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama potentiae non sua vi nixae
— Tacit. Annal. l. xiii. c. 19.

Leontius bound for twenty talents, which he had engaged to see his accomplice pay.

The king, whether unwilling to drive Apelles to despair, or did not think his power strong enough to exert it in an extraordinary manner, or from some remains of esteem and gratitude for a guardian and governor; still allowed him the honour of his conversation sometimes, and left him some other honours of that kind; but he excluded him from the council, and from the number of those whom he used to invite to supper with him. Going to Sicyon, the magistrates offered him a house, but he preferred that of Aratus, whom he never quitted, and spent whole days in his company. As for Apelles, he ordered him to retire to Corinth.

Having removed Leontius from his command of the guards, which were ordered to march elsewhere, upon the pretence of their being employed upon some extraordinary occasion, he caused him to be thrown into prison; the pretended reason of which was, to oblige him to pay the twenty talents for which he had become bound for Megaleas; but in reality to secure his person, and to sound the disposition of the troops. Leontius sent word of this to the infantry over which he had commanded, who that moment sent a petition to the king, importing, that if Leontius were charged with some new crime for which he deserved to be imprisoned, they insisted that nothing might be decreed against him but in their presence; that if he refused them that favour, they should look upon this refusal as a contempt, and the highest injury, (such was the liberty the Macedonians had the privilege of using with their king;) but that, in case Leontius was imprisoned for the twenty talents, they would pay that sum. This testimony of their affection only inflamed the king's anger, and hastened the death of Leontius.

During this interval, there arrived from Ætolia ambassadors from Rhodes and Chio, after having prevailed with the Ætolians to consent to a truce for thirty days. These assured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace. Philip consented to the truce, and wrote to the allies, desiring them to send their plenipotentiaries to Patræ, to negotiate a peace with the Ætolians. He himself set out immediately from Lechæum, in order to assist at it, and arrived there after two days sail.

He then received letters, directed by Megaleas, from Phocis, to the Ætolians, in which that traitor exhorted the Ætolians not to entertain the least fear, but to continue the war; that Philip was in the utmost distress for want of ammunition and provisions; to which he added expressions highly injurious to the king. Philip, on reading these letters, judging Apelles the chief author of them, seized both him and his son; at the same time he sent to Thebes, with orders for Megaleas to be proceeded against there; he, however, did not wait for his trial, but laid violent hands on himself. Shortly after, Apelles and his son were also put to death.

I do not know whether history can furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of a young sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his

avarice and ambition. Apelles had been Philip's guardian, and in that quality was entrusted with the care of his education. He had been at the head of the regency established by the late king. This double title of guardian and governor had, on the one side, inspired the young prince, as it naturally should, with sentiments of regard, esteem, respect, and confidence for Apelles; and, on the other, had induced Apelles to assume an air of authority and command over his pupil, which he never laid aside. Philip did not want wit, judgment, or penetration. When he arrived at years of greater maturity, he perceived into whose hands he had fallen, but at the same time was blind to all his master's faults. He had discovered, more than once, the mean jealousy which Apelles entertained of conspicuous merit of every kind; and his declared hatred of all such of the king's subjects as were most capable of serving him. Proofs of his taxations and oppressions were daily renewed, and the repeated complaints of them rendered the government odious and insupportable. All this, however, made no impression, or but a very slight one, on the mind of the young king, over whom the prime minister had gained such an influence, that he even stood in fear of him. The reader has seen how extremely difficult it was for the king to break this charm.

In the mean time, the Ætolians wished earnestly that the peace might be concluded; and were quite weary of a war, in which all their expectations had been frustrated. They had flattered themselves, that they had to act with a young, inexperienced king, and accordingly believed that they might amuse him as a child; but Philip, on the contrary, had proved to them, that in wisdom and resolution he was a man; and that they had behaved like children in all their enterprises. But having heard of the insurrection of the troops, and the conspiracy of Apelles and Leontius, they postponed the day on which they were to meet at Patræ, in hopes that some sedition would break out at court, to perplex and embroil the king's affairs. Philip, who wished for nothing more ardently than to break off the conferences upon the peace, joyfully seized the opportunity with which the enemies themselves furnished him; and engaged the allies, who were come to the rendezvous, to continue the war. He afterwards set sail on his return to Corinth. He gave the Macedonians leave to go by the way of Thessaly, in order that they might quarter, during the winter, in their own country; then coasting Attica along the Euripas, he went from Cenchreæ to Demetrias, a city of maritime Thessaly, where he found Ptolemy, the only surviving conspirator; and caused sentence of death to be passed upon him, in an assembly of the Macedonians.¹

All these incidents happened at the time that Hannibal was encamped on the banks of the river Po in Italy; and Antiochus, after having subdued the greatest part of Coelosyria, had sent his troops into winter quarters. It was also then that Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmonia, fled from Ætolia, to secure himself from the anger of the ephori, who, on a false report that this king designed to embroil the state, had assembled in the night, and invested his house, in order to seize his person. But Lycurgus, having some idea of this, fled with

¹ Polyb. l. v. p. 376, 377

his whole family. He, however, was recalled as soon as it was known that the suspicions raised against him were all groundless. It being now winter, Philip returned to Macedonia.

Epiratus was by this time universally despised by the Achæans; nobody obeyed his orders, and the country being open and defenceless, dreadful havoc was made in it. The cities being abandoned, and receiving no succours, were reduced to the last extremity, and consequently could with difficulty furnish their quota. The auxiliary troops, the payment of whose arrears was put off from day to day, served as they were paid, and great numbers of them deserted. All this was owing to the incapacity of the general; and the reader has seen in what manner he was elected. Happily for the Achæans, the time of his command was almost expired. He relinquished it in the beginning of spring, and the elder Aratus was appointed to succeed him.

Philip, in his journey to Macedonia, had taken Bylazora, the greatest city in Peonia, and the most advantageously situated for making incursions from Dardania into Macedonia; so that, having possessed himself of it, he had very little to fear from the Dardanians.¹

After taking that city, he again marched toward Greece. He judged it would be proper to lay siege to Thebes of Phthiotis, from whence the Ætolians used to make continual inroads, and at the same time commit great waste in the territories of Demetrias, Pharsalia, and even Larissa. The attack was carried on with great bravery, and the defence was equally vigorous; but at last the besieged, fearing they should be taken by storm, surrendered the city. By this conquest, Philip secured Magnesia and Thessaly, and carried off a great booty from the Ætolians.²

In this place he again received ambassadors from Chio, Rhodes, and Byzantium, and also from Ptolemy, to propose the concluding of a peace. Philip made the same answer as before, that it was what he very much desired; and that they had only to inquire of the Ætolians, whether they also were inclined to it. Philip, in reality, was not very desirous of peace, but he did not care to declare himself.

He afterwards set out, with his favourites, for the Nemæan games at Argos. While he was viewing one of the combats, a courier arrived from Macedonia, with advice that the Romans had lost a great battle in Tuscany, near the lake Thrasymene, and that Hannibal was master of the open country. The king showed this letter to none but Demetrius of Pharos, giving him a strict charge not to speak of it. The latter took this opportunity to represent to him, that he ought to disengage himself as soon as possible from the Ætolian war, in order to invade Illyria, and afterwards cross into Italy. He added, that Greece, already subjected in all respects, would obey him no less afterwards; that the Achæans had joined voluntarily, and with the utmost cheerfulness, in his cause; that the Ætolians, quite depressed and discouraged by their ill success in the present war, would not fail to follow their example; that if he was desirous of the sovereignty

¹ Polyb. l. v. p. 435.

² A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 223.

of the world, a noble ambition, which suited no prince better than himself, he must begin by conquering Italy; that after the defeat of the Romans, the news of which he had then received, the time had arrived for executing so noble a project, and that he ought not to delay a moment. Such counsel could not but charm a king, in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising, and who, besides, was descended from a family which had always flattered itself with the hopes of universal empire.

As he was master of his temper, and governed his thoughts in such a manner as to discover only such of them as promoted his interest, a very rare and valuable quality in so young a prince, he did not express too great an inclination for peace, though he now earnestly desired it. He therefore only caused the allied states to be told to send their plenipotentiaries to Naupactum, in order to negotiate a peace: and, at the earnest desire of the *Ætolians*, he soon arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, at the head of his troops. All parties were so weary of the war, that there was no occasion for long conferences. The first article which the king caused to be proposed to the *Ætolians*, by the ambassadors of the confederate powers, was, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests. The rest of the articles were soon agreed upon, so that the treaty was ratified, and all retired to their respective countries. This peace, concluded by Philip and the *Achæans* with the *Ætolians*; the battle lost by the Romans near the lake *Thrasymene*; and the defeat of *Antiochus* near *Raphia*, all happened in the third year of the 140th Olympiad.¹

In the first separate conference held in the presence of the king and the ambassadors of the confederate powers, *Agelas* of *Naupactum*, who was one of them, enforced his opinion by arguments that deserve a place here, and which *Polybius* thought worthy of relating at length in his history. He says, "it is to be wished that the Greeks would never make war upon one another; and that it would be a great blessing from the gods, if, breathing only the same sentiments, they should all, in a manner, join hands, and unite their whole force, to secure themselves from the insults of the barbarians. But if this was not possible, that at least, in the present juncture, they ought to unite together, and consult for the preservation of all Greece: that, to be sensible of the necessity of such a union, they need but turn their eyes to the formidable armies of the two powerful states actually engaged in war: that it was evident to every one who was ever so little versed in maxims of policy, that the conquerors, whether *Carthaginians* or *Romans*, would not confine themselves to the empire of Italy and Sicily, but would doubtless extend their projects much farther: that all the Greeks, and especially Philip, ought to keep a strict eye on the dangers with which they were threatened: that this prince would have nothing to fear, if, instead of his attempting to ruin the Greeks, and to give the enemy an easier opportunity of defeating them, as he had hitherto done, he should labour as much for

¹ A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217.

their welfare as his own, and exert himself as vigorously in the defence of all Greece, as if it was his own kingdom: that by this means he would acquire the love and affection of the Greeks, who would be inviolably attached to him in all his enterprises; and by their fidelity to him, disconcert all the projects which foreigners might form against his kingdom: that if, instead of barely acting defensively, he were desirous of taking the field, and executing some great enterprise, he need but turn his arms toward the west, and keep an eye on the events of the war in Italy: that, provided he would only put himself in a condition for seizing successfully the first opportunity that should present itself, all things would smooth the way for the universal empire: that in case he had any difference with the Greeks, he should leave the decision of it to another season: that he ought especially to be careful to preserve to himself the liberty of making war or peace with them, whenever he might think proper: that in case he should suffer the storm which was gathering in the west to burst upon Greece, it was very much to be feared, that it would then be no longer in their power to take up arms, to treat of peace, nor to determine in their affairs according to their own sense, or the manner they might judge most expedient."

Nothing can be more judicious than this speech, which is a clear prediction of what was to happen to Greece, about to fall under the domination of the Romans. This is the first time that the affairs of Italy and Africa influence those of Greece, and direct their motions. After this, neither Philip, nor the other powers of Greece, regulated their conduct, when they were to make peace or war, from the state of their respective countries, but directed all their views and attention toward Italy. The Asiatics, and the inhabitants of the islands, did the same soon after. All those who, from that time, had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Philip or Attalus, no longer addressed Antiochus or Ptolemy for protection; they no longer turned their eyes to the south or east, but fixed them upon the west. Sometimes ambassadors were sent to the Carthaginians, and at other times to the Romans. Some also came to Philip, at different intervals, from the Romans, who, knowing the enterprising genius of that prince, were afraid he should come and add to the confusion and perplexity of their affairs: as will be seen in the succeeding pages of this history.

SECTION IV. — PHILIP CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH HANNIBAL. THE ROMANS GAIN A CONSIDERABLE VICTORY OVER HIM.

THE war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, who were the two greatest powers at that time, drew the attention of all the kings and nations in the world.¹ Philip, king of Macedon, imagined that this affected him the more, as his dominions were separated from Italy only by the Adriatic sea, now called the gulf of Venice. When he heard, by the rumours which were spread, that Hannibal had marched over the Alps, he was indeed very well pleased to see the Romans and

¹ Liv. xxiii. n. 33, 34, et 38.

Carthaginians at war; but, the success of it being doubtful, he did not clearly perceive which of those powers it would be his interest to join. But after Hannibal had gained three victories successively, all his doubts were removed. He sent ambassadors to that general, but unhappily they fell into the hands of the Romans. They were carried to Valerius Levinus the prætor, who was then encamped near Luceria.¹ The principal of the ambassadors, Xenophanes by name, without being in the least disconcerted, answered with a resolute tone of voice, that he had been despatched by Philip to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans; and that he had orders to execute with the consuls, as well as the senate and people of Rome. Levinus, overjoyed to find, in this revolt of their ancient allies, so powerful a monarch desirous of making an alliance with the Romans, treated the ambassadors with all possible respect, and gave them a convoy for their safety. Having arrived in Campania, they escaped, and fled to Hannibal's camp, where they concluded a treaty, the purport of which was as follows: "That king Philip should cross into Italy with a fleet of two hundred sail, and lay waste the sea coasts; and should assist the Carthaginians both by sea and land. That the latter, at the conclusion of the war, should possess all Italy and Rome; and that Hannibal should have all the spoils. That after the conquest of Italy, they should cross into Greece, and there make war against any power the king should nominate; and that both the cities of the continent, and the islands lying toward Macedonia, should be enjoyed by Philip, and annexed to his dominion." Hannibal, on the other side, sent ambassadors to Philip for his ratification of it; and they set out with those of Macedonia. I observed elsewhere, that in this treaty, the whole of which is preserved by Polybius,² express mention is made of a great number of deities of the two nations, as present at this treaty, and witnesses to the oaths with which the ceremony was attended. Polybius omits a great number of particulars which, according to Livy, were stipulated by this treaty.

The ambassadors, who set out together, were unhappily discovered and intercepted by the Romans. The fraud of Xenophanes did not benefit him as before. The Carthaginians were known by their air, their dress, and still more by their language. Upon them were found letters from Hannibal to Philip, and a copy of the treaty. The ambassadors were carried to Rome. The condition in which the Romans, attacked so vigorously by Hannibal, then were, and their discovering a new enemy, so very powerful as Philip, must necessarily have alarmed them greatly. But it is on such occasions that the Roman grandeur was chiefly conspicuous. For, without expressing the least perplexity or discouragement, they took all the means necessary for carrying on this new war. Philip, informed of what had befallen his ambassadors, sent a second embassy to Hannibal, which was more successful than the former, and brought back the treaty. But these disappointments prevented their forming any enterprise that year, and still kept matters in suspense.

¹ A. M. 3788. Ant. J. C. 216.

² Polyb. l. vii. p. 502—507

Philip was now wholly employed on his great design of carrying the war into Italy. Demetrius of Pharus being with him, was continually urging him to that enterprise; not so much from a zeal for the interest of that prince, as from hatred to the Romans, who had dispossessed him of his territories, which he thought it would be impossible for him to recover by any other means. It was by his counsel that he had concluded a peace with the most of his enemies, in order that he might devote his whole care and attention to this war, the thoughts of which haunted him by day and night; so that even in his dreams he spoke of nothing but war and battles with the Romans; and he would start from his sleep, in the highest agitation of mind, and covered with sweat. This prince, who was still young, was naturally lively and ardent in all his enterprises. The success of his arms, the hopes Demetrius gave him, and the remembrance of the great actions of his predecessors, kindled an ardour in him which increased daily.¹

During the winter season, he thought of manning a fleet; not with the view of venturing a battle with the Romans, for this he was not in a condition to do; but to transport his forces into Italy with the greater expedition, and by that means surprise the enemy when they should least expect it. Accordingly, he made the Illyrians build one hundred, or one hundred and twenty vessels for him; and after having exercised his Macedonians for some time in naval discipline, he put to sea. He first seized upon the city of Oricum, situated on the western coast of Epirus. Valerius, commander of the fleet that lay before Brundisium, having advice of it, set sail immediately with all the ships in readiness for sailing; retook, the next day, Oricum, in which Philip had but a slender garrison, and sent a large reinforcement to the aid of Appollonia, to which Philip had laid siege. Nevius, an able and experienced officer, who commanded this reinforcement, having landed his troops at the mouth of the river Aous, upon which Appollonia stands, marched through a by-way, and entered the city in the night, unperceived by the enemy. The Macedonians, imagining they were very secure, because the sea lay between them and the enemy, had neglected all the precautions which the rules of war prescribe, and the exactness of military discipline requires. Nevius, being informed of this, marched silently out of the city in the night, and arrived in the camp, where he found all the soldiers asleep. The cries of those who were first attacked, awaking the rest, they all endeavoured to save themselves by flight. The king himself, who was but half awake, and almost naked, found it very difficult for him to escape to his ships. The soldiers crowded after him, and three thousand of them were either killed or taken prisoners. Valerius, who staid at Oricum, the instant he heard this news, had sent his fleet toward the mouth of the river, to shut up Philip. This prince, finding it impossible for him to advance, after setting fire to his ships, returned by land to Macedonia; carrying with him the sorrowful remains of his troops, who seemed more like prisoners disarmed and plundered, than the body of an army.²

¹ Polyb. l. v. p. 439, et 445—447.

² Liv. l. xxiv. n. 40

For some time, Philip, who till then had been admired for many of those qualities which form the great prince, had begun to change his conduct and character; and this change was ascribed to the evil counsels of those about him, who, to please him, were perpetually lavishing their encomiums, fomenting all his passions, and suggesting to him that the grandeur of a king consisted in reigning with unlimited power, and in making his subjects pay a blind, implicit obedience to his will. Instead of the gentleness, moderation and wisdom he till then had displayed, he treated cities and states, not only with pride and haughtiness, but with cruelty and injustice, and having no longer, as formerly, his glory in view, he abandoned himself entirely to riot and excesses of every kind: the too common effect of flattery, whose subtle poison generally corrupts the best princes, and sooner or later destroys the great hopes which had been entertained of them.¹

One would have imagined that the defeat before Appollonia, in covering him with shame, would have abated his pride, and softened his temper. But this only soured it; and one would have concluded, that this prince was resolved to revenge on his subjects and allies, the affront he had received from his enemies.

When he arrived in Peloponnesus, shortly after his defeat, he employed all the stratagems possible to overreach and surprise the Messenians. But his artifices being discovered, he threw off the mask and laid waste the whole country. Aratus, who was a man of the greatest honour and probity, was exceedingly shocked at so flagrant an injustice, and made loud complaints against it. He had before begun to retire insensibly from court; but now he thought it high time to break entirely with a prince, who no longer valued his people, and led the most dissolute life: for he was not ignorant of his illicit commerce with his daughter-in-law, a subject of the greatest grief to him, but which, however, he had not once hinted to his son; from the consideration, that it would not be of service to him to inform him of his ignominy, as it was not in his power to revenge it.

As it was impossible that this rupture should not make some noise, Philip, who no longer refrained from the greatest crimes, resolved to rid himself of a troublesome censor, whose very absence reproached all his irregularities. The great reputation of Aratus, and the respect paid to his virtue, would not suffer Philip to employ open force and violence; he therefore charged Taurion, one of his confidants, to despatch him secretly during his absence. His horrid command was obeyed; for Taurion having insinuated himself into the familiarity and friendship of Aratus, invited him several times to dinner, and at one of them poisoned him; not with a violent and immediate poison, but with one of those which lights up a slow fire in the body, consumes it by insensible degrees, and is the more dangerous, as it gives less notice.

Aratus knew very well the cause of his illness; but as complaints would not be of any service to him, he bore it patiently, without once murmuring, as a common and natural disease. One day only, happen-

¹ Plut. in Arat. p. 1049—1052. Polyb. l. viii. 518, 519.

ing to spit blood before a friend who was in the room with him, and seeing that his friend was surprised, he said, "Behold, my dear Cephalon, the fruits of royal friendship." He died in this manner at Ægium, being then captain-general for the seventeenth time.

The Achæans would have him buried in the place where he died, and were preparing such a magnificent mausolæum to his memory as might be worthy his great services. But the Sicyonians obtained that honour for their city, where Aratus was born; and changing their mourning to festivity, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and clothed in white robes, they went and brought the corpse with great pomp from Ægium, to Sicyon, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in honour of the deceased. They made choice of the highest part of the city, where they buried him as the founder and preserver of it, which place was afterwards called Aratium. In Plutarch's time, that is, about three hundred years after, two solemn sacrifices were offered him annually: the first, on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, which sacrifice was called Soteria; and the other on his birth-day. During the sacrifice, choirs of music sung odes to the lyre: and the chief chorister, at the head of the young men and children, walked in procession round the altar. The senate, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and a great part of the inhabitants, followed this procession.

It must be owned that Aratus was one of the greatest men of his time, and may be considered, in some measure, as one of the founders of the commonwealth of Achaia; it was he at least who brought it to the form and splendour it preserved so long afterwards, and by which it became one of the most powerful states of Greece. He, however, committed a material error in calling in to the assistance of that commonwealth the kings of Macedonia, who made themselves masters and tyrants of it; and this, as we have before observed, was an effect of his jealousy of the great Cleomenes, king of Sparta.

But he was fully punished for it, by the manner in which Philip treated him. Aratus his son met with a still more deplorable fate: for that prince becoming completely wicked, says Plutarch, and adding outrage to cruelty, got rid of him, not by mortal poison, but by those which destroy reason, and craze the brain; and by that means made him commit such abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal infamy on him, had they been done voluntarily, and when he was in his senses; insomuch that, though he was at this time very young, and in the bloom of his life, his death was considered, not as a misfortune with regard to himself, but as the remedy and period of his miseries.

About this time, Philip engaged in a successful expedition against the Illyrians. He had long desired to possess himself of Lissus; but believed that it would be impossible for him ever to take the castle, which was so happily situated, and so strongly fortified, that it was thought impregnable. Finding that force would not prevail, he had recourse to stratagem. The city was separated from the castle by a little valley; in that he observed a spot covered with trees, and very fit to conceal an ambuscade. Here he posted the flower of his troops.

The next day he assaulted another part of the city. The inhabitants, who were very numerous, defended themselves with great bravery; and, for some time, the success was equal on both sides. At last they made a furious sally, and charged the besiegers with great vigour. The garrison of the castle, seeing Philip retire fighting, imagined that they should inevitably defeat him; and being desirous of sharing in the plunder, most of them came out and joined the inhabitants. In the mean time, the soldiers who lay in ambuscade, attacked the castle, and carried it without great resistance. The signal agreed upon being made, the fugitives faced about, and pursued the inhabitants as far as the city, which surrendered a few days after.¹

M. Valerius Levinus, as prætor, had Greece and Macedonia allotted to him for his province. He was very sensible that, in order to lessen the forces of Philip, it would be absolutely necessary to bring over some of his allies, among whom the Ætolians were the most powerful, from his interest. He therefore began by sounding, in private conferences, the disposition of the chiefs of the latter people; and, after having assured himself of them, he went to the general assembly. There, after expatiating on the flourishing state of the Romans, who proved it by their taking of Syracuse in Sicily, and Capua in Italy, he extolled the great generosity with which the Romans behaved toward their allies, and their constant fidelity. He added, that the Ætolians might expect to meet so much the better treatment from the Romans, as they would be the first people in that part of the world who should have concluded an alliance with them. That Philip and the Macedonians were dangerous neighbours, whose power would, in all probability, be of the most fatal consequence to them. That the Romans had already humbled their pride; and would oblige them, not only to give up such fortresses as they had taken from the Ætolians, but even gave them cause to fear for their own countries. That with regard to the Acarnanians, who had broken with the Ætolians, the Romans would force them to return to their alliance, on the same conditions which had been prescribed to them, when they were admitted into it; or, in case of their refusal, would make them submit to the Ætolians by force of arms.²

Scopas, who was at that time chief magistrate of the Ætolian state, and Dorimachus, who of all the citizens had the greatest influence and authority, strongly enforced the arguments and promises of the prætor, and said many more advantageous things of the grandeur and power of the Romans, because they were not obliged to speak as modestly on those topics as Valerius Levinus; and the people would be more inclined to believe them than a foreigner, who spoke for the interests of his country. The circumstance which affected them most, was the hope of their possessing themselves of Acarnania. Accordingly, the treaty was concluded between the Romans and the Ætolians. The people of Elis, of Lacedæmonia, Attalus king of Pergamus, Pleuratus king of Thrace, and Scerdiledes of Illyria, were left at liberty to accede to this treaty, on the same conditions, if they thought

¹ Polyb. l. viii. p. 519—521.

A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211. Liv. l. xxvi. n. 24—26

proper. The conditions were, "that the Ætolians should declare war as soon as possible against Philip; that the Romans should furnish them, at least, twenty-five galleys, quinqueremes, or of five benches of oars; that such cities as should be taken from Achaia, as far as the island of Corcyra, should be possessed by the Ætolians, and all the spoils and captives by the Romans; that the Romans should aid the Ætolians in making themselves masters of Acarnania; that the Ætolians should not be allowed to conclude a peace with Philip, but upon condition that he should be obliged to withdraw his troops out of the territories of the Romans, and those of their allies; nor the Romans with Philip, but on the same terms." Immediately hostilities commenced. Philip was dispossessed of some cities, after which Levinus retired to Corcyra; fully persuaded that the king had so much business and so many enemies upon his hands, that he would have no time to think of Italy or Hannibal.

Philip was now in winter quarters at Pella, when advice was brought him of the new treaty of the Ætolians. To be the sooner able to march out against them, he endeavoured to settle the affairs of Macedonia, and to secure it from any invasions of its neighbours. Scopas, on the other side, made preparations for carrying on the war against the Acarnanians, who, though they saw it would be absolutely impossible for them to oppose, at one and the same time, two such powerful states as the Ætolians and Romans, yet took up arms out of despair, rather than from prudential motives, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. Accordingly, they sent into Epirus, which lay very near them, their wives, children, and the old men who were upwards of sixty, and those who remained, from the age of fifteen to sixty, engaged themselves by oath never to return except victorious; uttered the most dreadful imprecations against such among them as should break their oaths; and only desired the Epirots to bury, in the same grave, all who should fall in the battle, with the following inscription over them: "*Here lie the Acarnanians, who fought for their country, against the violence and injustice of the Ætolians.*" Full of courage, they set out directly, and advanced to meet the enemy to the very frontiers of their country. Their great resolution and bravery terrified the Ætolians, who also received advice that Philip was already upon his march, to the aid of his allies. Upon this they returned home, and Philip did the same.

In the very beginning of spring, Levinus besieged Anticyra, a city of Achaia, in Phocis, which surrendered a short time after. He gave this city to the Ætolians, keeping only the plunder for himself. Here news was brought him that he had been nominated consul in his absence, and that P. Sulpitius was coming to succeed him as prætor.

In the treaty concluded between the Romans and Ætolians, several other powers had been invited to accede to it; and we find that Atalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiledes, accepted the invitation. The Ætolians exhorted the Spartans to imitate those princes. Chleneas, their representative, or deputy, put the Lacedæmonians in mind of all the evils which the Macedonians had brought upon them; the design they had always harboured, and still entertained, of enslaving all Greece; per

ticularly the sacrilegious impiety of Philip, in plundering a temple in the city of Thermæ, and his horrid treachery and cruelty to the Messenians. He added, that they had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Achæans, who, after all the losses they had sustained in the last campaign, would think it a great happiness to be able to defend their own country; that with respect to Philip, when he should find the Ætolians invade him by land, and the Romans and Attalus by sea, he would not think of carrying his arms into Greece. He concluded with desiring the Lacedæmonians to persist in their alliance with Ætolia, or at least to remain neutral.¹

Lysiscus, the representative of the Acarnanians, spoke next, and declared immediately in favour of the Macedonians. He expatiated on the services which Philip, and afterwards Alexander the Great, had done Greece, by invading and ruining the Persians, its most ancient and cruel enemies. He put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the gentleness and clemency with which Antigonus had treated them, when he took Sparta. He insisted, that it would be ignominious, as well as dangerous, to suffer barbarians, for so he called the Romans, to enter Greece. He said that it was worthy of the Spartan wisdom, to foresee from far the storm already gathering in the west; and which would certainly break, first upon Macedonia, and afterwards all Greece, whom it would involve in ruin. "From what motive did your ancestors," continued he, "throw into a well the man who came, in the name of Xerxes, to invite them to submit themselves to, and join with that monarch? Wherefore did Leonidas your king, with his three hundred Spartans, brave and defy death? Was it not merely to defend the common liberties of Greece? And now you are advised to give them up to other barbarians, who, the more moderate they appear, are so much the more dangerous. As to the Ætolians," said he, "if it be possible for them to stoop so low, they may dishonour themselves by so shameful a prevarication; this, indeed, would be natural for them to do, as they are utter strangers to glory, and affected with nothing but sordid views of interest. But as to you, O Spartans, who are born defenders of the liberty and honour of Greece, you will sustain that glorious title to the end."

The fragment of Polybius, where these two speeches are repeated, goes no farther; and does not inform us what was the result of them. The sequel of the history, however, shows that Sparta joined with the Ætolians, and entered into the general treaty. It was at that time divided into two factions, whose intrigues and disputes, being carried to the utmost height, occasioned great disturbances in the city. One faction was warm for Philip, and the other declared openly against him, which latter prevailed. We find it was headed by Machanidas, who, taking advantage of the feuds which infested the commonwealth, seized upon the government, and made himself tyrant of his country.

P. Sulpitius and king Attalus being arrived with their fleet to succour the Ætolians, the latter were flushed with the most sanguine hopes, and the opposite party filled with terror; especially as Machanidas,

¹ Polyb. l. ix. p. 563—571.

the tyrant of Sparta, was already invading the territories of the Achæans, whose near neighbour he was. Immediately the latter people and their allies sent a deputation to king Philip, and solicited him to come into Greece to defend and support them. Philip lost no time. The Ætolians under Pyrrhus, who that year had been appointed their general, in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him as far as Lamia, a city of Thessaly in Phthiotis. Pyrrhus had been joined by the troops which Attalus and Sulpitius had sent him. Philip defeated him twice; and the Ætolians were forced to shut themselves up in Lamia, when Philip retired to Phalara, a city of Thessaly, with his army.¹

During his stay there, ambassadors came from Ptolemy king of Egypt, from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Chio; all with instructions to use their utmost endeavours for re-establishing a lasting peace between Philip and the Ætolians. It was not so much from good will for the latter, as from the uneasiness they were under in seeing Philip engage so strenuously in the affairs of Greece, which might render him more powerful than suited their interests. For his conquests over the Ætolians and their confederates paved the way for his subjecting all Greece, to which his predecessors had always aspired; and even gave him access to those cities, out of Egypt, which Ptolemy possessed. Philip, however, suspended the debates on the peace, till the next assembly of the Achæans; and in the mean time granted the Ætolians a truce for thirty days. In the assembly the Ætolians made such very unreasonable proposals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Philip, offended that the vanquished should take upon them to prescribe laws to him, declared, that at his coming into the assembly, he had not depended in any manner on the justice and sincerity of the Ætolians; but that he was very glad to convince his allies that he himself was sincerely desirous of peace, and that the Ætolians were the only people who opposed it. He set out from thence, after having left four thousand of his troops to defend the Achæans, and went to Argos, where the Nemæan games were about to be exhibited, the splendour of which he was desirous of augmenting by his presence.

While he was engaged in solemnizing these games, Sulpitius having set out from Naupactum, and landed between Sicyon and Corinth, laid waste all the open country. Philip upon this news left the games, marched with speed against the enemy, and meeting them laden with spoils, put them to flight, and pursued them to their ships. Being returned to the games, he was received with universal applause; and particularly, because he had laid down his diadem and robes of state, and mingled indiscriminately with the rest of the spectators; a very pleasing as well as soothing sight to the inhabitants of free cities. But as his unaffected and popular behaviour had gained him the love of all, so his enormous excesses soon made him odious. It was now his custom to go at night into people's houses in a plebeian dress, and there practise every kind of licentiousness. It was not safe for fathers

¹ A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 29—32. Polyb. l. x. p. 612.

and husbands to oppose him on these occasions, for fear of being murdered.

Some days after the solemnization of the games, Philip, with the Achæans, whose captain-general was Cycliadus, having crossed the river of Larissa, advanced as far as the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison. The first day he laid waste the neighbouring lands; he afterwards drew near the city, in order of battle, and caused some bodies of horse to advance to the gates to force the Ætolians to make a sally. They accordingly came out, but Philip was greatly surprised to find some Roman soldiers among them. Sulpitius having left Naupactum with fifteen galleys, and landed four thousand men, had entered the city of Elis in the night. The fight was very bloody. Demophantes, general of the cavalry of Elis, seeing Philopœmen, who commanded that of the Achæans, advanced from the ranks, and spurred toward him with great impetuosity. The latter waited for him with the utmost resolution; and, preventing his blow, laid him dead, with a thrust of his pike, at his horse's feet. Demophantes having thus fallen, his cavalry fled. I mentioned Philopœmen before, and shall have occasion to speak more particularly of him hereafter. On the other side, the infantry of Elis had fought with advantage. The king now perceiving that his troops began to give way, spurred his horse into the midst of the Roman foot. His horse being wounded with a javelin, threw him. It was then the battle grew furious, both sides making extraordinary efforts; the Romans to take Philip prisoner, and the Macedonians to save him. The king signalized his courage on this occasion, having been obliged to fight a long time on foot in the midst of the cavalry, and a great slaughter was made in this engagement. At last, being carried off by his soldiers, and remounted on another horse, he retired. The king encamped about five miles from that place; and the next day, having attacked a castle, into which a great number of peasants, with all their flocks, had retired, he took four thousand prisoners, and twenty thousand head of cattle of all sorts; an advantage which might console him for the affront he had lately received at Elis.¹

That instant, advice was brought him that the barbarians had made an incursion into Macedonia; upon which he immediately set out to defend his country, having left with the allies a detachment from his army of two thousand five hundred men. Sulpitius retired with his fleet to Ægina, where he joined king Attalus, and passed the winter. Some time after, the Achæans gave the Ætolians and the people of Elis battle near Messene, in which they had the advantage.

SECTION V. — EDUCATION AND GREAT QUALITIES OF PHILOPŒMEN.

PHILOPŒMEN, of whom frequent mention will be made hereafter, was of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia in Peloponnesus. He was nobly educated by Cassander of Mantinea, who, after his father's death, out of gratitude for the important services he had received from him, undertook to be guardian and governor to his son Philopœmen.²

¹ Plut. in Philop. p. 360.

² Ibid. p. 356—369.

Being come to years of discretion, he was put under the care of Ecdemus and Demophanes, citizens of Megalopolis, who had been scholars to Arcesilaus, founder of the new academy. The scope of philosophy in those days was, to prompt mankind to serve their country; and, by its precepts, to enable them to govern republics, and transact the greatest affairs of state. This was the inestimable advantage the two philosophers in question procured Philopœmen, and rendered him the common blessing of Greece. And indeed, as it is said that mothers love those children best which they bring forth when advanced in years, Greece, as having given birth to Philopœmen in old age, and after so many illustrious personages, had a singular affection for, and took a pleasure in enlarging his power, in proportion as his fame increased. He was called "the last of the Greeks," as Brutus was afterwards called "the last of the Romans;" undoubtedly to imply, that Greece, after Philopœmen, had produced no great man worthy of her ancient glory.

Having formed himself upon the model of Epaminondas, he copied admirably his prudence in debating and resolving upon affairs; his activity and boldness in executing; and his perfect disinterestedness; but as to his gentleness, patience and moderation, with regard to the feuds and divisions which usually break out in a state, these he could never imitate. A certain spirit of contention, which resulted naturally from his headstrong and fiery temper, had qualified him better for the military than political virtues.

And indeed, from his infancy, the only class of people he loved was soldiers; and he took a delight only in such exercises as were necessary to qualify him for the profession of arms; such as fighting in armour, riding, and throwing the javelin. And as he seemed, by his muscles and stature, to be very well made for wrestling, and some particular friends advising him to apply himself to it, he asked them, whether his exercise of the *athletæ* contributed to the making a man the better soldier? His friends could not help answering, that the life of the *athletæ*, who were obliged to observe a fixed and regular regimen, to eat a certain food, and that always at stated hours, and to devote a certain number of hours to sleep, in order to preserve their robustness, in which the greatest part of their merit consisted, differed entirely from that of soldiers, who frequently are obliged to submit to hunger and thirst, cold and heat; and have not always fixed hours either for eating or sleeping. From thenceforth he conceived the highest contempt for the athletic exercises; looking upon them as of no service to the public, and considering them, from that instant, as unworthy a man of any elevation of soul, happiness of talents, or love for his country.

The moment he quitted his governors and masters, he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis sent to make incursions into Laconia, in order to plunder and bring off from thence cattle and slaves. And in all these inroads, he was ever the first that marched out, and the last who came in.

During the intervals in which there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting, to make himself robust and

nimble; or to spend his hours in throwing up and cultivating the ground, having a fine estate three miles from the city, whither he used to retire very frequently after dinner or supper. At night he would throw himself on a bed of straw, like one of his slaves, and sleep so till next day. The next morning by daybreak, he used to go with his vine-dressers, and work in the vineyard, or follow the plough with his peasants. After this, it was his custom to return to the city, and employ himself in public affairs with his friends and the magistrates.

Whatever he got in wars, he expended either in horses and arms, or employed it in ransoming the citizens who had been taken prisoners. He endeavoured to increase his estate by improving his lands, which of all profits is the most lawful; and was not satisfied with barely visiting it now and then, and merely for diversion sake, but devoted his whole care to it; persuaded that nothing is more worthy of a man of probity and honour, than to improve his own fortune, provided he does not injure that of his neighbour.

I must entreat my readers, in order to enable them to form a right judgment of Philopœmen, to convey themselves in imagination, back to the ages I am speaking of, and to call to mind with what industry all well-governed nations, as Hebrews, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, applied themselves to the tilling of land and manual labour; and the high esteem in which such exercises were had in those ages. It is universally known that the Romans, after having gained signal victories, and alighted from the triumphal car, crowned with laurels and glory, returned immediately to their farms, whence they had been elected to command armies; and went to guide the plough and oxen, with the same hands which had just before vanquished and defeated their enemies. According to our customs and way of thinking, the exercises above mentioned are very low and contemptible; but it is a pity they should be thought so. Luxury, by corrupting our manners, has vitiated our judgment. It makes us consider as great and valuable, what really in itself deserves nothing but contempt; and it affixes, on the contrary, an idea of contempt and meanness, to things of solid beauty and real greatness.

Philopœmen was very fond of intercourse with philosophers, and read their works with the greatest satisfaction; he, however, did not read them all without distinction, but such only as could contribute to his improvement in virtue. Of all the great ideas in Homer, he sought and retained such only as exalt the courage and excite to great exploits; and that poet abounds with ideas of this kind, no writer having ever painted valour in such strong and lively colours. But the other works in which Philopœmen delighted most, were those of Evangelus, called the Tactics — that is, the art of drawing up troops in order of battle — and the histories of Alexander the Great; for it was his opinion that words should always be made relative to actions, and theory to practice; having very little regard for those books that are written merely to satisfy a vain curiosity, or furnish a rapid and transient amusement.

After he had read the precepts and rules of the Tactics, he did not value the demonstrations of them in plans drawn upon paper, but

used to make the application on the spot, in the several places he came to ; for in his marches he used to observe exactly the position of the hills as well as valleys, all the irregularities of the ground, the several different forms and figures battalions and squadrons are obliged to take by rivulets, floods, and defiles in their way, which oblige them to close or extend themselves ; and after having reflected seriously on these particulars, he would discourse on them with those in his company.

He was in his thirtieth year when Cleomenes, king of Sparta, attacked Megalopolis. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less, some months after, in the battle of Selasia, where Antigonus gained a famous victory over the same Cleomenes. The king of Macedon, charmed with such exalted merit, to which he himself had been witness, made him very advantageous offers, to attach him to his service. So great, however, was his love for his country, that he refused them ; not to mention that he had naturally an aversion to a court life, which not only requires great subjection in the man who devotes himself to it, but deprives him of his liberty. But, as it was impossible for him to pass his life in indolence and inaction, he went into Crete, which was engaged in war, to improve himself in the art of war. Crete served him as an excellent school ; so that he made great progress in it, and acquired a perfect knowledge in that science. He there found men of a very warlike disposition, expert in combats of every kind, extremely temperate, and inured to most severe discipline.

After having served for some time in the troops of that island, he returned among the Achæans, who had heard such great things of him, that immediately upon his arrival he was appointed general of the horse. The first thing he did was to inquire into the state of his forces, among whom he did not find the least order or discipline. But he could neither dissemble nor suffer such a degeneracy. He himself, therefore, went from city to city, exhorting particularly all the young men, inspiring them with sentiments of honour, animating them with promises of reward, and sometimes employing severity and punishment when he found them rebellious and ungovernable. He exercised and reviewed them often ; or made them engage in tournaments, on such spots as would admit of the greatest number of spectators. By this practice, he soon made all his soldiers so robust, expert, and courageous, and at the same time so ready and nimble, that the several evolutions and motions, to the right, to the left, or from the top to the bottom, either of all the squadrons together, or of each trooper singly, were performed with so much skill and ease, that a spectator would almost have concluded, that this cavalry, like one individual body, moved itself spontaneously, at the impression of one and the same will.

In the battle fought near the city of Elis, the last we mentioned, and in which he commanded the horse, he gained great honour ; and it was said universally, that he was not inferior to any of the private soldiers, with regard to the strength and ardour of his attacks, nor showed less wisdom and prudence than the oldest and most expe-

rienced generals ; and that, therefore, he was equally capable either of fighting or commanding.

Aratus, indeed, was the first who raised the Achæan league to the exalted pitch of glory and power it attained. Till he rose, they were weak and greatly despised, because divided, and every city among them was studious of nothing but its private interest. But Aratus made them formidable by uniting and allying them together ; and his design was to form one body and one power of all Peloponnesus, which, by this union, would have become invincible. The success of his enterprises was not owing so much to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence, address, affability, benevolence, and, which was considered as a defect in his politics, to the friendship he contracted with foreign princes, and which, indeed, subjected his state to them. But the instant Philopœmen assumed the reigns of government, and as he was a great captain, and had come off victorious in all his former battles, he roused the courage of the Achæans ; and finding they were able to make head alone against their enemies, he obliged them to shake off the yoke of foreign powers.

He made a great number of improvements in the discipline of the Achæan troops, and changed the manner of their exercise and their arms, which had a great many defects. He obliged them to use large and ponderous shields, gave them strong lances, helmets, and armour for the breast and thigh ; and thereby accustomed them to fight vigorously and gain ground, instead of hovering and flying about like light-armed troops, who rather skirmish than fight in line of battle.

He afterwards endeavoured at another improvement, which was much more difficult as well as more important in one sense ; and this was to curb and restrain their luxury and excessive profusion and expense. I say, to restrain ; imagining that it would not be possible for him to eradicate their violent fondness for dress and outward ornaments. He began by substituting a different object in their place, by inspiring them with a love for another kind of munificence, viz., to distinguish themselves by their horses, their arms, and other things relating to war. This ardour had an effect even on their women, who now spent their whole time in working for their husbands or children. The only things now seen in their hands were helmets, which they adorned with plumes of feathers, tinged with the brightest dyes ; coats of mail for horsemen, and cloaks for the soldiers, all which they embroidered. The bare sight of these habits inflamed their courage, breathed in them a strong desire to defy the greatest dangers, and a kind of impatience to fly in quest of glory. Pomp, in all other things which attract the eye, says Plutarch, inevitably induces luxury, and inspires all those who take a pleasure in gazing upon it, with a secret effeminacy and indolence ; the senses, enchanted and dazzled by these deceitful charms, conspiring to seduce the mind itself, and to enervate it by their soft insinuations ; but, on the contrary, that magnificence whose object is arms, animates and exalts courage.

Philopœmen is not the only great man who had this way of think-

ing. Plutarch observes, that Brutus, who had accustomed his officers not to be superfluous on any other occasion, was persuaded that the richness and splendour of the armour and weapons which soldiers have always in their hands, or on their bodies, exalt the courage of men who are naturally brave and ambitious; and engage such as are of a covetous temper to exert themselves the more in fight, in order to defend their arms, which they look upon as a precious and honourable profession. The author in question tells us, that the circumstance which gained Sertorius the affection of the Spaniards, was his bestowing on them, with a very liberal hand, gold and silver to adorn their helmets, and enrich their shields. This was also the opinion of Cæsar,¹ who always gave his soldiers arms that glittered with gold and silver; and this he did not only for pomp and splendour, but that they might act with greater courage in battle, for the defence of arms of so great a value.²

I must not omit observing, that generals, no less renowned than those we have mentioned, differed in opinion from them. Mithridates, taught by his misfortunes, the little advantage which splendour is to an army, would not allow such arms as were gilded and enriched with precious stones; and began to consider them as the riches of the conqueror, and not the strength of those who wore them.³ Papirius, the famous dictator, who, by defeating the Samnites, repaid the affront which the Romans had received at the *Furcæ Caudinæ*, said to his troops, that it was proper for a soldier to appear with a rough and stern aspect; that ornaments of gold and silver ill became him; and that steel and bravery ought to form his glory and pride. And indeed, adds he, gold and silver are rather spoils than arms. These ornaments dazzle the eye before the battle; but make a most hideous appearance in the midst of blood and slaughter. The soldier's ornament is his valour; the rest is always consequential of victory. A rich enemy falls a prey to the conqueror, however poor he may be.⁴ It is well known that Alexander the Great entertained the same idea of the richness and magnificence of the arms of the Persians.⁵

In this diversity of opinion, it does not become me to pronounce, which of those great men was the most correct in his ideas. However this may be, we cannot but admire the judgment of Philopœmen, who, seeing luxury prevalent and established in his country, did not think it advisable to banish it entirely, but contented himself with directing it to an object more laudable in itself, and more worthy of brave men.

After Philopœmen had accustomed the young men to make their splendour consist in that of their arms, he himself exercised and formed them very carefully in all the parts of military discipline. On

¹ Habebat tam cultos milites, ut argento et auro politis armis ornaret, simul et ad speciem, et quo tenaciores eorum in prælio essent metu damni. — Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar. c. 67.

² Plut. in Brut. p. 1001.

³ Ibid. in Lucullo, p. 496.

⁴ Horridum militem esse debere, non ocelatum auro argenteque, sed ferro et animis fretum. Quippe illa prædum verius quam arma esse: nitentia ante rem, deformia inter sanguinem et vulnera. Virtutem esse militis decus, et omnia illa victoriam sequi: et ditem hostem quamvis pauperis, victoris, præmium esse. — Liv. l. ix. n. 40.

⁵ Aciem hostium auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri jubebat, prædam, non arma gesiantem. Irent, et imbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent. — Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 10.

the other side, the youths were very attentive to the instructions he gave them concerning military evolutions; whence there arose a kind of emulation among them, which should execute them with the greatest ease and diligence. They were greatly pleased with the manner of drawing up in order of battle, which he taught them; because they conceived, that where the ranks were so very close, they would be the more difficult to break; and their arms, though much more ponderous than before, felt much lighter, because they took greater delight in carrying them, from their splendour and beauty; and to see them embued in the blood of their enemies.

It must be confessed, that Philopœmen, in whatever light we view him, was a great captain, and a noble pattern for the imitation of all who embrace a military life. I cannot too strongly exhort young officers to study diligently so perfect a model, and to imitate him in all those things in which he is imitable by them.

SECTION VI. — EXPEDITIONS OF PHILIP AND SULPITIUS. A DIGRESSION OF POLYBIUS UPON SIGNALS MADE BY FIRE.

WE have already said, that Sulpitius the proconsul, and king Attalus, had continued in winter quarters at Ægina.¹ As soon as spring appeared they had quitted them, and sailed to Lemnos with their fleets, which together amounted to sixty galleys. Philip, on the other side, that he might be able to oppose the enemy either by sea or land, advanced toward Demetrias, whither the ambassadors of the allies came from all parts, to implore his aid in the imminent danger to which they were exposed. Philip gave them a favourable reception; and promised to furnish them with such succours as the present juncture, and the necessity of their affairs, might require. He kept his promise, and sent bodies of soldiers into different places, to secure them from the attacks of the enemy. He repaired to Scotusa, and directed his troops to march thither from Larissa, which lies very near it, and then returned to Demetrias. And in order to give seasonable succour to such of his allies as should be attacked, he fixed signals in Phocis, Eubœa, and in the little island of Peparethos; and placed, in that part where he lay, on Tisæum, a very lofty mountain of Thessaly, men to observe them, that he might have speedy notice of the enemy's march, and of the places he might design to attack. I shall explain these signals hereafter.

The proconsul and king Attalus advanced toward Eubœa, and laid siege to Oræa, one of its chief cities. It was defended by two castles strongly fortified, and was able to hold out a long time; but Plator, who commanded it under Philip, surrendered treacherously to the besiegers. He had purposely made the signals too late, that Philip might not have an opportunity of succouring it. But the same did not happen to Chalcis, which Sulpitius besieged immediately after the taking of Oræa. The signals were made very seasonably there; and the commander, deaf and untractable to the offers of the proconsul, prepared for a vigorous defence. Sulpitius perceived that he had made an imprudent attempt, and was so wise as to desist immediately

¹ A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Polyb. l. x. p. 612—614. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 5—8

from it. The city was strongly fortified in itself; and besides, situated on the Euripus, that famous strait, in which the sea does not ebb and flow seven times every day, at fixed and stated hours, as, says Livy, is commonly reported, but irregularly, while the waves roll on all sides with such impetuosity, that they seem like torrents falling precipitately from the mountains; so that ships can never ride there in safety.¹

Attalus besieged Oponthus, a city situated not far from the seaside, among the Locrians, in Achaia. Philip advanced with incredible diligence to its aid, having marched upwards of sixty miles in one day.² The city had been just taken before he arrived; and he might have surprised Attalus, who was employed in plundering the place, had not the latter, the instant he heard of his approach, retired with great precipitation. However, Philip pursued him to the seaside.

Attalus having retired to Oræa, and received advice there, that Prusias king of Bithynia had entered his territories, he returned toward Asia, and Sulpitius to the island of Ægina. Philip, after having taken some small cities, and frustrated a project of Machanidas, the Spartan tyrant, who designed to attack the people of Elis, who were employed in preparing for the solemnization of the Olympic games, repaired to the assembly of the Achæans, which was held at Ægium, where he expected to find the Carthaginian fleet, and to join it with his own; but advice being brought, that the ships of the Romans and king Attalus had sailed away, his fleet also left.

Philip was truly grieved to find, that though he employed the utmost diligence in all his projects, he always came too late to put them in execution; fortune, he would say, taking a pleasure in bereaving him of every opportunity, and in frustrating all his incursions and expeditions.³ He, however, concealed his uneasiness from the assembly, and spoke with an air of confidence and resolution. Having called the gods and men to witness, that he had never neglected an opportunity of marching out on all occasions, in quest of an enemy; he added, that he did not know which side used the greatest despatch; whether himself in flying to the aid of his allies, or his enemies in escaping his pursuits; that this was a tacit confession that they thought themselves inferior to him in strength; nevertheless, that he hoped soon to gain so complete a victory over them, as would evidently demonstrate his superiority. This speech greatly encouraged the allies. After having given the necessary orders, and made some expeditions of no great importance, he returned into Macedonia, to carry on the war against the Dardani.

DIGRESSION OF POLYBIUS ON THE SIGNALS MADE BY FIRE.

The subject which Polybius here treats, is sufficiently curious in

¹ Haud alia infestior classi statio est. Nam et venti ab utriusque terræ præaltis montibus subiti ac pro cellosi se dejiciunt, et fretum ipsum Euripi, non septies die, sicut fama fert, temporibus stasis reciprocatur; sed temere, in modum venti, nunc huc, nunc illuc, verso mari, volut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte, nec die, quies navibus datur. Liv.

² So Livy relates; which is certainly a prodigious day's march for an army.

³ Philippus mœrebat et angebatur, cum ad omnia ipse raptim isset, nulli tamen se rei in tempore occurrisset; et rapientem omnia ex oculis elusisset celeritatem suam fortunam.—Livy.

itself, and besides bears so near a relation to the facts I am now relating, as to excuse my introducing a digression, that will not be of great length, and which the reader may pass over if he finds it tedious. I shall repeat it almost literally as I find it in Polybius. Livy,¹ in his account of the particulars above related, and which he copied almost verbatim from Polybius, mentions the same signals made by fire; but he only hints at them, because, as they were not invented by the Romans, consequently this was a subject which did not relate so immediately to the history he was writing. This artifice of the signals, which is a part of the art of war, belongs properly to the history of the Greeks, and shows to how great a perfection they had carried all the parts of that noble art, the judicious reflections they had formed in all things relative to it, and the astonishing progress they had made, in respect to the construction of machines of war, different kinds of armour, and military signals.²

As the making of signals by fire, says Polybius, though of great use in war, has hitherto not been treated with any accuracy, I believe it will not be proper to pass over them superficially, but to dwell a little upon that head, in order to give my readers a more perfect idea of it.

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that opportunity is of great advantage in all things, but especially in war. Now, among the several things which have been invented to enable men to seize it, nothing can be more conducive to that end than signals made by fire. Whether transactions have happened but a little before, or are then transacting, they may, by this method, be very easily made known, at places distant three or four days' journey from where they happened, and sometimes at a still greater distance; and by this help, the necessary aids may be obtained in time.

Formerly, this method of giving notice was of very little advantage, because of its too great simplicity. For, in order to make use of it, it was necessary that certain signals should be agreed upon: and, as events are infinitely various, it was impossible to communicate the greatest part of them by this method. As for instance, not to depart from the present history, it was very easy to make known, at a distance, that a fleet had arrived at Oræa, at Peparethos, or at Chalcis; because the parties whom it concerned had foreseen this, and accordingly had agreed upon such signals as might denote it. But an unexpected insurrection, a treason, a horrid murder committed in a city, and such like accidents, as happen but too often, and which cannot be foreseen; this kind of events, which require immediate consideration and remedy, cannot be signified by a beacon. For it is not possible to agree upon a signal for such events as it is impossible to foresee.

Æneas,³ who wrote a treatise on the duties of a general, en-

¹ Philippus, ut ad omnes hostium motus posset occurrere, in Phocidem atque Eubœam, et Peparethum mitti, qui loca alta eligerent, unde editi ignes apparerent; ipse in Tisæo (mons est in altitudinem ingentem cacuminis editi) speculam posuit, ut ignibus procul sublati, signum, ubi quid molirentur hostes, momento temporis acciperet.—Liv. l. xxviii. n. 5.

² Polyb. l. x. p. 614—618.

³ Æneas was cotemporary with Aristotle. He wrote a treatise on the art of war. Cineas, one of the counsellors of Pyrrhus, made an abridgment of it. Pyrrhus also wrote on the

deavoured to complete what was wanting on this occasion; but he was far from succeeding so well as could have been wished, or as he himself had proposed, of which the reader may now judge.

Those, says he, who would give signals to one another, upon affairs of importance, must first prepare two vessels of earth exactly equal in breadth and depth; and they need be but four feet and a half deep, and a foot and a half wide. They then must take pieces of cork, proportioned to the mouth of the vessels, but not quite so wide, that they may be let down with ease to the bottom of these vessels. They next fix, in the middle of this cork, a stick, which must be of equal size in both these vessels. This stick must be divided exactly and distinctly by spaces of three inches each, in order that such events as generally happen in war may be written on them. For example, in one of these intervals the following words may be written, "A body of horse are marched into the country." On another, "A body of infantry, heavily armed, have arrived." On a third, "Infantry lightly armed." On a fourth, "Horse and foot." On another, "Ships." Then "Provisions;" and so on, till all the events which may probably happen in the war that is carrying on, are written down in these intervals.

This being done, each of the two vessels must have a little tube or cock of equal size, to let out the water in equal proportion. Then the two vessels must be filled with water; the pieces of cork, with their sticks thrust through them, must be laid upon them, and the cocks must be opened. Now it is plain, that as these vessels are equal, the corks will sink, and the sticks descend lower in the vessels in proportion as they empty themselves. But to be more certain of this exactness, it will be proper to make the experiment first, and to examine whether all things correspond and agree together, by a uniform execution on both sides.

When they are well assured of this, the two vessels must be carried to the two places where the signals are to be made and observed; water is poured in, and the corks and sticks are put in the vessels. In proportion as any of the events which are written on the sticks shall happen, a torch, or other light, is raised, which must be held aloft, till such time as another is raised by the party to whom it is directed. This first signal is only to give notice that both parties are ready and attentive. Then the torch or other light must be taken away, and the cocks set open. When the interval, that is, that part of the stick where the event of which notice is to be given is written, shall be fallen to a level with the vessels, then the man who gives the signal lifts up the torch; and on the other side, the correspondent signal-maker immediately turns the cock of his vessel, and looks at what is written on that part of the stick which touches the mouth of the vessel; on which occasion, if every thing has been executed exactly and equally on both sides, both will read the same thing.

Although this method differs from that which was practised in early

same subject. — *Ælian. Tact. cap. 1.* Cicero mentions the two last in one of his epistles. "Summum me ducem literarum turarum rediderunt. Plane nesciebam te tam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros et Cineses video lectitasse." — *Lib. ix. Epist. 25, Papir. Postum*

ages, in which men agreed only upon a single signal, which was to denote the event the other party desired to be informed of, and which had been agreed upon, yet it was too vague and indeterminate. For it is impossible to foresee all the accidents that may happen in a war; and though they could be foreseen, there could be no possibility of writing them all on a piece of stick. Besides, when any unexpected accident should happen, how could notice be given of it according to this method? To this I may add, that the inscription on the stick is no ways exact and circumstantial. We are not told how many horse and foot are come; what part of the country they are in; how many ships are arrived; nor the quantity of provisions we have. For, before these several particulars could be written on the stick, they must have been foreseen, which was altogether impossible though most essential; and how can succours be sent, when it is not known how many enemies are to be opposed, or in what part of the country they are? How must a party either confide in or doubt their own strength? In a word, how will they know what to do, when they are not told how many ships, or what quantity of provisions, are come from the enemy?

The last method was invented by Cleoxenes, which others ascribe to Democlitus; but we have improved it, says Polybius, who continues the sole speaker upon this head. This fixes every circumstance, and enables us to give notice of whatever happens. The only thing required is great care and exactness. This method is as follows:

The twenty-four letters of the alphabet must be taken and divided into five parts; and these must be fixed on a board, from top to bottom, in their natural order, on five columns, five letters on each column, the last excepted, which is to have but four.

The alphabet being disposed in this manner, the man who is to make the signal must begin by showing two torches or lights; and these he must hold aloft till the other party has also shown two lights. This first signal is only to show that both sides are ready, after which the lights must be removed.

The object now is, to make the other party read, in this alphabet, the advices we want to acquaint them with. The person who gives the signal, must hold up torches to his left, to denote to the correspondent party, from which of the columns he must take letters, to write them down as they shall be pointed out to him; so that, if it is the first column, he only holds up one torch; if the second, he shows two; and so on, and always to the left. He must do the same to the right hand, to point out to the person who receives the signal, which letter in the column he must observe and write down. Both parties must agree upon this between them.

These several things being fixed, and each of them got to his post, the man who gives the signal must have a geometrical instrument with two tubes, so that he may know by one of them, the right, and by the other, the left, of him who is to answer. The board must be set up near to this instrument; and to the right and left a solid must be raised ten feet broad, and about the height of a man, that the torches, which shall be lifted up over it, may spread a strong clear

light, and that when they are to be lowered, they may be entirely hid behind them.

All things being thus disposed on each side, I will suppose, for instance, that advice is to be given, that "one hundred Cretans, or Kretans, are gone over to the enemy." First, he must make choice of such words as will express what is here said in the fewest letters possible, as, "Cretans, or Kretans,¹ a hundred have deserted," which expresses the very same idea in much fewer letters.

The first letter is a K, which is in the second column. Two torches must therefore be lifted to the left, to inform the person who receives the signal, that he must look into the second column. He must then lift up five torches to the right to denote that the letter sought for is the fifth of the second column, that is, a K.

Afterwards, four torches must be held up to the left, to point out the P,² which is in the fourth column; then two to the right, to denote that this letter is the second of the fourth column. The same must be observed with respect to the rest of the letters.

By this method, every event that comes to pass may be denoted in a fixed and determinate manner. The reason why two sets of lights are used, is, that every letter must be pointed out twice; the first, to denote the column to which it belongs; and the second, to show its place in order in the columns pointed out. If the persons employed on these occasions observe the rules here laid down, they will give exact notice; but it must be practised a long time, before they will be very expert in the operation.

This is what is proposed by Polybius, who, it is well known, was a great soldier and politician, and for this reason his hints ought to be valued. They might be improved and put in practice on a great many occasions. These signals were employed in a mountainous country.

A pamphlet was lent me, printed in 1702, and entitled, "The art of making signals both by sea and land." The pamphlet was dedicated to the king, by the Sieur Marcel, commissioner of the navy at Arles. This author affirms that he communicated several times, at the distance of two leagues, in as short a space of time as a man could write down and form exactly the letters contained in the advice he would communicate, an unexpected piece of news that occupied a page in writing.

I cannot say what this new invention was, nor what success it met with; but, in my opinion, such discoveries as these ought not to be neglected. In all ages and nations, men have been very desirous of finding out and employing methods for receiving or communicating speedy advices; and of these, signals by fire are one of the principal.

In the fabulous times, when the fifty daughters of Danaus murdered all their husbands in one night, Hypermnestra excepted, who spared Lynceus, it is related that both flying, and each having arrived at a place of safety, they informed one another of it by signals made by

¹ The words are disposed in this manner in the Greek.

² This is the capital letter R in the Greek tongue.

fire, and that this circumstance gave rise to the festival of torches established in Argos.¹

Agamemnon, at his setting out to the Trojan expedition, had promised Clytemnestra, that the very day the city should be taken, he would give notice of the victory by fires kindled for that purpose. He kept his word, as appears from the tragedy of Æschylus, which takes its name from that prince; where the female sentinel, appointed to watch that signal, declares she had spent many tedious nights in that uncomfortable post.

We also find by the writings of Julius Cæsar, that he himself used the same method.²

Cæsar gives us an account of another method in use among the Gauls. Whenever any extraordinary event happened in their country, or they stood in need of immediate succours, they gave notice to one another by repeated shouts, which were made from place to place; so that the massacre of the Romans in Orleans, at sunrise, was known by eight or nine o'clock in the evening at Auvergne, forty leagues from the other city.

We are told of a much shorter method. It is pretended that the king of Persia, when he carried the war into Greece, had posted sentinels at proper distances, who communicated to one another, by their voices, such news as it was necessary to transmit to a great distance; and that advice could be communicated from Athens to Susa, upwards of one hundred and fifty leagues, in forty-eight hours.³

It is also related, that a Sidonian proposed to Alexander the Great, an infallible method for establishing a speedy and safe communication between all the countries subject to him. He required but five days for giving notice, from so great a distance as between his hereditary kingdom and his most remote conquest in India; but the king, looking upon this offer as a mere chimera, rejected it with contempt: he, however, soon repented it, and very justly, for the experiment might have been made with little trouble to himself.⁴

Pliny relates another method, which is not altogether improbable.⁵ Decimus Brutus defended the city of Modena, besieged by Anthony, who prevented his sending the least advice to the consuls, by drawing lines round the city, and laying nets in the river. But Brutus employed pigeons, to whose feet he fastened letters, which arrived in safety wherever he thought proper to send them. Of what use, says Pliny, were Anthony's entrenchments and sentinels to him? Of what service were all the nets he spread, when the new courier took his route through the air?⁶

¹ Pausan. l. ii. p. 130.

² Celeriter, ut ante Cæsar imperaverat, ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eo concursus est.—Cæs. Bell. Gall. l. ii.

³ Cæsar. Rhodig. l. xviii. c. 8.

⁴ Vigenere, in his remarks on the seventh book of Cæsar's wars in Gaul, relates this without directly citing the author.

⁵ Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

⁶ Quid vallum, et vigil obsidio, atque etiam retia amne prætexta profuere Antonio, per cælum eunte nuntio?

Travellers relate, that to carry advices from Alexandria to Aleppo, when ships arrive in that harbour, they make use of pigeons which have young ones at Aleppo. Letters, containing the advices to be communicated, are fastened about the pigeons' necks or feet; this being done, the pigeons take wing, soar to a great height, and fly to Aleppo, where the letters are taken from them. The same method is used in many other places.

DESCRIPTION OF THE INSTRUMENT EMPLOYED IN SIGNALS MADE BY FIRE.

Mr. Chevalier, mathematical professor in the royal college, a fellow member with me, and my particular friend, has been so good as to delineate, at my request, the figure of the instrument mentioned by Polybius, and to add the following explication of it.

In this manner I conceive the idea I have of the instrument described by Polybius, for communicating advices at a great distance, by signals made by fire.

A B is a beam about four or five feet long, five or six inches broad, and two or three inches thick. At the extremities of it are, well dovetailed, and fixed exactly perpendicular in the middle, two cross pieces of wood, C D, E F, of equal breadth and thickness with the beam, and three or four feet long. The sides of these cross pieces of timber must be exactly parallel, and their upper superficies very smooth. In the middle of the surface of each of these pieces, a right line must be drawn parallel to their sides; and consequently these lines will be parallel to one another. At an inch and a half or two inches distance from these lines, and exactly in the middle of the length of each cross piece, there must be driven in, very strongly, and exactly perpendicular, an iron or brass screw, (2) whose upper part, which must be cylindrical, and five or six lines in diameter,¹ shall project seven or eight lines above the superficies of these cross-pieces.

On these pieces must be placed two hollow tubes or cylinders, G H, I K, through which the observations are made. These tubes must be exactly cylindrical, and formed of some hard, solid metal, in order that they may not shrink or warp. They must be a foot longer than the cross pieces on which they are fixed, and thereby will extend six inches beyond it, at each end. These two tubes must be fixed on two plates of the same metal, in the middle of whose length shall be a small convexity, (3) of about an inch round. In the middle of this part (3) must be a hole exactly round, about half an inch in diameter; so that applying the plates on which these tubes are fixed, upon the cross pieces of wood C D, E F, this hole must be exactly filled by the projecting and cylindrical part of the screw (2) which was fixed in it, and in such a manner as to prevent its play. The head of the screw may extend some lines beyond the superficies of the plates, and in such a manner as that those tubes may turn, with their plates, about these screws, in order to direct them on the boards or screens, P, Q, behind which the signals by fire are made, according to the different distances of the places where the signals shall be given.

The tubes must be blacked within, in order that, when the eye is

¹ Twelfth part of an inch.

applied to one of their ends, it may not receive any reflected rays. There must also be placed about the end, on the side of the observer, a perforated ring, the aperture of which must be three or four lines; and place at the other end two threads, the one vertical and the other horizontal, crossing one another in the axis of the tube.

In the middle of the beam A B, must be made a round hole, two inches in diameter, in which must be fixed the foot L M N O P, which supports the whole machine, and round which it turns on its axis. This machine may be called a rule and sights, though it differs from that which is applied to circumferentors, theodolites, and even geometrical squares, which are used to draw maps, take plans, and survey, &c.; it answers the same purpose, which is to direct the sight.

The person who makes the signal, and he who receives it, must have similar instruments; otherwise, the man who receives the signal could not distinguish whether the signals made are to the right or left of him who makes them, which is a material circumstance, according to the method proposed by Polybius.

The two boards or screens P Q, which are to denote the right or left side of the man who gives the signals, or to display or hide the fires, according to the circumstances of the observation, ought to be greater or less, and nearer to or farther from one another, as the distance between the places where the signal must be given and received is greater or less.

In my description of the preceding machine, all I endeavoured was to explain how the ideas of Polybius might be put into execution, in making signals by fire; but I do not pretend to say, that it is of use for giving signals at a very great distance; for it is certain, that, however large this machine be, signals made by two, three, four, and five torches will not be seen at five, six, or more leagues distance, as he supposes. To make them visible at a great distance, such torches must not be made use of, as can be lifted up and down with the hand, but large, wide-spreading fires, of whole loads of straw or wood; and, consequently, boards or screens of a prodigious size must be employed, to hide or eclipse them.

Telescopes were not known in the time of Polybius; they were not discovered or improved till the last century. Those instruments might have made the signals in question visible at a much greater distance than bare tubes could have done: but I still doubt, whether they could be employed to the use mentioned by Polybius, at a greater distance than two or three leagues. However, I am of opinion, that a city besieged might communicate advice to an army sent to succour it, or give notice how long it could hold out a siege, in order to taking proper measures; and that, on the other side, the army sent to its aid might communicate its designs to the city besieged, especially by the assistance of telescopes.

SECTION VII.—PHILOPÆMEN GAINS A FAMOUS VICTORY NEAR MANTINEA, OVER MACHANIDAS, TYRANT OF SPARTA.

THE Romans, wholly employed in the war with Hannibal, which they resolved to terminate, intermeddled very little with that of the

Greeks, and did not interfere with them during the two following years.¹

In the first, Philopœmen was appointed captain-general of the Achæans. As soon as he was invested with this employment, which was the highest in the state, he assembled his allies before he took the field, and exhorted them to second his zeal with courage and warmth, and support with honour both their fame and his. He insisted strongly on the care they ought to take, not of the beauty and magnificence of their dress, which became women only, and those too of little merit; but of the neatness and splendour of their arms, an object worthy of men intent upon their own glory, and the good of their country.²

His speech was received with universal applause, insomuch that, at the breaking up of the assembly, all those who were magnificently dressed were pointed at; so great an influence have the words of an illustrious person, not only in dissuading men from vice, but inclining them to virtue; especially when his actions correspond with his words, for then it is scarcely possible to resist his exhortations. This was the character of Philopœmen. Plain in his dress, and frugal in his diet, he took very little care of his body. In conversation, he suffered patiently the ill temper of others, even when they used contemptuous expressions; and, for himself, he was sure never to give the least offence to any one. It was his study during his life, to speak nothing but the truth; and, indeed, the slightest expressions of his were heard with respect, and immediately believed. He was not obliged to employ a great many words to persuade, his conduct being a rule of what every body else ought to do.

The assembly being dismissed, every body returned to their respective cities, in the highest admiration of Philopœmen, whose words as well as actions had charmed them; and fully persuaded, that as long as he should preside in the government, it could not but flourish. He immediately visited the several cities, and gave the necessary orders in them. He assembled the people in every place, acquainted them with every thing that was necessary to be done, and raised troops. After spending near eight months in making the various preparations, he took the field.

Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmonia, was watching, at the head of a powerful army, for an opportunity to subject all Peloponnesus. The moment advice was brought of his arrival in the territories of Mantinea, Philopœmen prepared to give him battle.³

The tyrant of Sparta set out upon his march at daybreak, at the head of the heavy-armed infantry, and posted to the right and left on the same line, but a little more advanced, the light infantry, composed of foreigners; and behind them chariots, laden with catapultæ,⁴ and darts to sustain them. It appears by the sequel, that before him lay a ditch, running along part of the plain, beyond which his troops extended at each end.

At the same time, Philopœmen marched his army in three bodies

¹ A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

² Polyb. . xi. p. 629—631.

³ Polyb. l. xi. 631—637. Plut. in Philop. p. 391.

⁴ Engines to discharge darts or stones, &c.

out of the city. The first, consisting of Achæan horse, was posted on the right; the second, composed of heavy-armed foot, was in the centre, and advanced to the ditch; the third, composed of Illyrians, cuirassiers, foreigners, light-armed troops, and some Tarentine horse,¹ were on the left, with Philopœmen at their head.

The time for beginning the battle approaching, and the enemy being in view, that general, flying up and down the ranks of the infantry, encouraged his men in few, but very strong expressions. Most of them were not heard; but he was so dear to his soldiers, and they reposed such confidence in him, that they wanted no exhortations to fight with incredible ardour. In a kind of transport they animated their general, and pressed him to lead them on to battle. All he endeavoured to make them understand was, that the time was come in which their enemies would be reduced to an ignominious captivity, and themselves restored to a glorious and immortal liberty.

Machanidas marched his infantry in a column, as if he intended to begin the battle by charging the right wing; but when he was advanced to a proper distance, he suddenly made his infantry wheel about, in order that it might extend to his right, and make a front equal to the left of the Achæans; and, to cover it, he caused all the chariots laden with catapultæ to advance. Philopœmen plainly saw that his design was to break his infantry, by overwhelming it with darts and stones. He, however, did not give him time for it, but caused the Tarentine horse to begin the battle with great vigour, on a spot where they had sufficient room to engage. Machanidas was forced to do the same, and to lead on his Tarentines. The first charge was very furious. The light-armed soldiers advancing a little after to sustain them, in a moment the foreign troops were universally engaged on both sides; and, as in this attack they fought man to man, the battle was a long time doubtful. At last the foreigners in the tyrant's army had the advantage; their numbers and dexterity, acquired by experience, gave them the superiority. The Illyrians and cuirassiers, who sustained the foreign soldiers in Philopœmen's army, could not withstand so furious a charge. They were entirely broken, and fled with the utmost precipitation toward the city of Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle.

Philopœmen seemed now lost to all hopes. On this occasion, says Polybius, appeared the truth of a maxim, which cannot reasonably be contested, that the events of war are generally successful or unfortunate, only in proportion to the skill or ignorance of the generals who command in them. Philopœmen, so far from desponding at the ill success of the first charge, or being in confusion, was solely intent upon taking advantage of the errors which the enemy might commit. Accordingly, they were guilty of a great one, which indeed is but too frequent on these occasions, and for that reason cannot be too strongly guarded against. Machanidas, after the left wing was routed, instead of improving that advantage, by immediately charging with his infantry the centre of that of the enemy, and taking it at

¹ The Tarentine horsemen had each two horses. — Liv. l. xxxv. p. 28.

the same time in flank with his victorious wing, and thereby terminating the whole affair, suffered himself, like a young man, to be hurried away by the fire and impetuosity of his soldiers, and pursued without order or discipline, those who were flying; as if, after having given way, fear would not have carried them to the gates of the city.

Philopœmen, who, upon this defeat, had retired to his infantry in the centre, took the first cohorts, commanded them to wheel to the left, and at their head marched and seized the post which Machanidas had abandoned. By this movement he divided the centre of the enemy's infantry from his right wing. He then commanded these cohorts to remain in the post they had just seized, till further orders; and at the same time directed Polybius,¹ the Megalipolitan, to rally all the Illyrian cuirassiers and foreigners, who, without quitting their ranks, and flying as the rest had done, had drawn off to avoid the fury of the conqueror; and, with these forces, to post himself on the flank of the infantry in his centre, to check the enemy in their return from the pursuit.

But the Lacedæmonian infantry, elated with the first success of their wing, without waiting for the signal, advanced with their pikes lowered toward the Achæans, as far as the brink of the ditch. When they came up to it, whether, from being so near the enemy, they were ashamed not to go on, or that they did not regard the ditch, because it was dry, and had no hedge, and besides being no longer able to retire, because the advanced ranks were pushed forward by those in the rear, they rushed into the ditch at once. This was the decisive point of time, which Philopœmen had long waited, and thereupon he ordered the charge to be sounded. His troops, levelling their pikes, fell with dreadful shouts on the Lacedæmonians. These, who, at their descending into the ditch, had broken their ranks, no sooner saw the enemy above them, than they immediately fled. Great numbers of them were left in the ditch, having been killed, either by the Achæans or their own soldiers.

To complete the glory of this action, the business now was to prevent the tyrant from escaping the conqueror. This was Philopœmen's only object. Machanidas, on his return, perceived that his army fled; when, being sensible of his error, he endeavoured, but in vain, to force his way through the Achæans. His troops, perceiving that the enemy were masters of the bridge which lay over the ditch, were quite dispirited, and endeavoured to save themselves as well as they could. Machanidas himself, finding it impossible to pass the bridge, hurried along the side of the ditch, in order to find a place for getting over it. Philopœmen knew him by his purple mantle and the trappings of his horse; so that, after giving the necessary orders to his officers, he passed the ditch, in order to stop the tyrant. The latter, having found a part of the ditch which might easily be crossed, spurred his horse, and sprang forward in order to leap over. That

¹ The late translator of Polybius mistakes this officer for our historian, and here introduces him speaking; which is otherwise in the original. Polybius, the historian, was not born at that time. It is true, indeed, that this person had the same name, and was a native of the same city, which makes the error more excusable.

very instant Philopœmen threw his javelin at him, which laid him dead in the ditch. The tyrant's head being struck off, and carried from rank to rank, gave new courage to the victorious Achæans. They pursued the fugitives, with incredible ardour, as far as Tegea, entered the city with them, and being now masters of the field, the very next day they encamped on the banks of the Eurotas.

The Achæans did not lose many men in this battle, but the Lacedæmonians lost four thousand, without including the prisoners, who were still more numerous. The baggage and arms were also taken by the Achæans.

The conquerors, struck with admiration at the conduct of their general, to whom the victory was entirely owing, erected a brazen statue to him in the same attitude in which he had killed the tyrant; which statue was afterwards placed in the temple of Apollo, at Delphos.

Polybius justly observes, that this signal victory must not be ascribed either to chance or a concurrence of circumstances, but entirely to the abilities of the general, who had foreseen and disposed all things necessary for this great event. And, indeed, from the beginning, Philopœmen had covered himself with the ditch; not to avoid coming to a battle, as some have imagined, but, says Polybius, because, like a judicious man and a great soldier, he had reflected, that should Machanidas attempt to make his army pass the ditch, before he was aware of it, his troops would certainly be cut to pieces, and entirely defeated; or if, being stopped by the ditch, he should change his resolution, and break his order of battle through fear, that he would be thought the most unskilful of generals, in abandoning his victory to the enemy, without daring to come to a battle, and in carrying off no other marks of his enterprise, than the ignominy of having renounced it. Polybius also highly applauds the presence of mind and resolution of Philopœmen, in not desponding or losing courage when his left wing was routed; but in having made that very defeat an occasion of his gaining a glorious victory.

These small battles, where there are not many combatants on either side, and in which one may follow, as it were with the eye, the several steps of the commanding officers, observe the several orders they give, the precautions they take, and the errors they commit, may, in my opinion, be of great service to those who are one day to command armies; and this is one of the chief advantages from the study of history.

It is related, that in the assembly of the Nemæan games, which were solemnized the year after this famous battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen being elected general of the Achæans a second time, and having then no employment for his forces, on account of the festival, caused his phalanx, very splendidly clothed, to pass in review before all the Greeks, and made them perform their usual exercises, to show with what dexterity, strength, and agility, they performed the several military movements, without breaking or disordering their ranks in the least. He afterwards went into the theatre, in which the musicians were disputing for the prize in their art, accompanied by those youths in their coats of arms, all of a graceful stature, and in the flower of

their age; all filled with the highest veneration for their general, and fired at the same time with a martial intrepidity; sentiments with which their glorious battles and success, under this illustrious general, had inspired them.¹

The very instant that flourishing troop of youths entered with Philopœmen, Pylades, the musician, who was singing to his lyre the Persians of Timotheus,² happened accidentally to repeat the following verse:

“The wreaths of liberty to me you owe,
The brightest crown the gods bestow.”

These lofty verses being finely expressed by the singer, who had an exquisite voice, struck the whole assembly. At the same time all the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen; and clapping their hands, and raising shouts of joy, they called to mind the glorious ages of triumphant Greece; soothing themselves with the pleasing hopes, that they should revive those ancient times, and their pristine glory; so greatly did a general like Philopœmen increase their confidence, and inflame their courage.

And indeed, says Plutarch, as we find that young colts are always fond of those they are accustomed to, and that in case any other person attempts to mount them, they are displeased, and prance about with their new rider, the same disposition appeared in the Achæan league. The instant they were to embark in a new war, and a battle was to be fought, if any other general was appointed, immediately the deputies of the confederate powers would be discouraged, and turn their eyes in quest of Philopœmen; and the moment he appeared, the whole league revived, and were ready for action; so strongly were they persuaded of his great valour and abilities; well knowing that he was the only general whose presence the enemy dreaded, and whose name alone made them tremble.

Can there, humanly speaking, be a more pleasing, more affecting, or more solid glory for a general or a prince, than to see himself esteemed, beloved, and revered, by the army and people, in the manner Philopœmen was? Is it possible for any man to be so void of sense, as to prefer, or even compare, to the honour which the exalted qualities of Philopœmen acquired him, the pretended glory which so many persons of quality imagine they derive from their equipages, buildings, furniture, and the ridiculous expense of their tables? Philopœmen affected magnificence more than they do, but then he placed it in what it really consists; the clothing his troops splendidly; providing them with good horses and shining arms; supplying with a generous hand, all their wants, both public and private; distributing money seasonably, to encourage the officers, and even private men. In acting thus, Philopœmen, though dressed in a very plain habit, was looked upon as the greatest and most magnificent general of his time.

Sparta did not recover its ancient liberty by the death of Macha-

¹ A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205.

² He was a dithyrambic poet, who lived about the 95th Olympiad, i. e. 298 years before Jesus Christ. One of his pieces was entitled “The Persians.”

nidas, the only consequence of which was the change of one oppressor for another. The tyrant had been extirpated, but not the tyranny. That unhappy city, formerly so jealous of its liberty and independence, and now abandoned to slavery, seemed, by its indolence, studious of nothing but to make itself new chains, or worse, support its old ones. Mechanidas was succeeded by Nabis, who, though a tyrant, yet the Spartans did not show the least spirit, or make the least effort to shake off the yoke of slavery.

Nabis, in the beginning of his government, was not desirous to undertake any foreign expedition, but employed his whole endeavours to lay the solid foundations of a lasting and cruel tyranny. For that purpose, he made it his particular care to destroy all the remaining Spartans in that republic. He banished from it all such as were most distinguished for their quality and wealth, and gave their estates and wives to his creatures. We shall speak of these persons hereafter under the name of the Exiles. He had taken into his pay a great number of foreigners, all plunderers and assassins, and capable of perpetrating the blackest crimes for gain. These people, who had been banished their country for their crimes, flocked round the tyrant, who lived in the midst of them as their protector and king; employing them as his attendants and guards, to strengthen his tyranny, and confirm his power. He was not satisfied with banishing the citizens; he acted in such a manner that they could not find any secure asylum, even in foreign countries; some were butchered in their journey by his emissaries; and he recalled others from banishment, with no other view than to murder them.¹

Besides these barbarities, he invented a machine, which may be called an infernal one, resembling a woman magnificently dressed, and exactly resembling his wife. Every time that he sent for any person, to extort money from him, he would first declare, in the kindest and most gentle terms, the danger to which the whole country, and Sparta in particular, was exposed by the menaces of the Achæans; the number of foreigners he was obliged to keep in pay for the security of his government; and the great sums he expended for the worship of the gods, and for the good of the public. In case the person spoke to was wrought upon by his words, he proceeded no farther, this being all he wanted; but if he was refractory, and refused to give him money, he would say, "Probably the power of persuasion is not mine; but I hope that Apega will have some effect upon you." This Apega was his wife. As soon as he uttered these words, this machine appeared. Nabis, taking her by the hand, raised her from her chair, and led her to his man. The hands, the arms, and breast of this machine, were stuck with sharp iron points, concealed under her clothes. The pretended Apega embraced the unhappy wretch, folded him in her arms; and laying hers round his waist, clasped him into her bosom, while he made the most lamentable cries. The machine was made to perform these several motions by secret springs. In this manner did the tyrant put many to death, from whom he could not otherwise extort the sums he demanded.

¹ Polyb. l. xiii. p. 674, 675.

Would one believe that a man could be so completely wicked, as to contrive in cold blood, such a machine, merely to torture his fellow-creatures, and to feed his eyes and ears with the cruel pleasure of seeing their agonies and hearing their groans? It is astonishing that in such a city as Sparta, where tyranny was held in the utmost detestation, where men thought it glorious to confront death, where religion and the laws, so far from restraining men, as among us, seemed to arm them against all who were enemies to liberty, that so horrid a monster should be suffered to live one day.

I have already observed, that the Romans, employed in a most important war, had intermeddled very little with the affairs of Greece. The Ætolians, finding themselves neglected by that powerful people, who were their only refuge, made a peace with Philip. Scarcely was the treaty concluded, when P. Sempronius the proconsul arrived with considerable aids; ten thousand foot, one thousand horse, and thirty-five ships of war. He was very much offended at them for making this peace, without having first obtained the consent of the Romans, contrary to the express words of the treaty of alliance. The Epirots, also, tired with the length of the war, sent deputies, with the proconsul's leave, to Philip, who had now returned to Macedonia, to exhort him to agree to a general peace; hinting to him, that they were almost sure, if he consented to have an interview with Sempronius, they would easily agree upon conditions. The king was greatly pleased with these overtures, and went to Epirus. As both parties were desirous of peace, Philip, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his kingdom, and the Romans, that they might be able to carry on the war against Carthage with greater vigour, a treaty was soon concluded. The king caused Prusias king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots, to be included in it; and the Romans included the people of Ilium, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis, the Spartan tyrant, successor to Machanidas, the people of Elis, the Messenians, and the Athenians. In this manner the war of the confederates terminated in a peace of no long continuance.¹

SECTION VIII. — THE GLORIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF ANTIOCHUS. AT HIS RETURN RECEIVES ADVICE OF PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR'S DEATH.

THE history of the wars in Greece obliged us to interrupt the relation of the transactions of Asia, and therefore we now return to them.

Antiochus, after the death of Achæus, having employed some time in settling his affairs in Asia Minor, marched toward the east, to reduce the provinces which had revolted from the empire of Syria. He began with Media, of which the Parthians had just before dispossessed him. Arsaces, son to him who founded that empire, was their king. He had taken advantage of the troubles in which the wars of Antiochus with Ptolemy and Achæus had involved him, and had conquered Media.²

¹ A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Liv. l. xxix. n. 12.

² A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Polyb. l. x. p. 597—602.

This country, says Polybius, is the most powerful in all Asia, in extent, and the number and strength of the men, and the great quantity of horses it produces. Media furnishes all Asia with those animals; and its pastures are so good, that the neighbouring monarchs send their studs thither. Ecbatana is the capital city. The edifices of this city are the finest in the world, and the king's palace is seven hundred fathoms round. Though all the timber-work is of cedar and cyprus, yet not the least piece of timber is visible; the joists, the beams, the ceilings, and columns which sustained the porticoes and piazzas, being covered with plates of silver or gold. All the tiles were of silver. The greatest part of these rich materials had been carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and the rest plundered by Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator. When Antiochus entered this kingdom, the temple of Æna was still surrounded with gilt columns; and the soldiers found in it a great number of silver tiles, a few gold bricks, and a great many of silver. All this was converted into specie, and stamped with the image of Antiochus; the whole amounting to four thousand talents.

Arsaces expected that Antiochus would advance as far as this temple; but he never imagined that he would venture to cross, with his numerous army, a country so barren as that which lies near it; and especially as no water can be found in those parts, none appearing on the surface of the earth. There are indeed rivulets and springs under ground, but no one except those who know the country can find them. On this occasion a fact is related by the inhabitants of the country, that the Persians, when they conquered Asia, gave to those who should raise water in places where none had been before, the profits arising from such places to the fifth generation inclusively. The inhabitants, animated by these promises, spared neither labour nor expense to convey water under ground from Mount Taurus, whence a great quantity flows, as far as these deserts; insomuch that at this time, says Polybius, those who make use of these waters, do not know from what springs the subterraneous rivulets flow that supply them with it.

It were to be wished that Polybius, who is generally sufficiently diffuse, had been more prolix here, and explained to us in what manner those subterraneous canals, for such were the wells spoken of, were built, and the methods employed by Arsaces to stop them. From the account he gives of the prodigious labour employed, and the vast sums expended to complete this work, we may suppose that water had been conveyed into every part of this vast desert, by stone aqueducts, built under ground, with openings at proper distances, which Polybius calls wells.

When Arsaces saw that Antiochus crossed the deserts in spite of the difficulties which he imagined would stop his march, he gave orders for stopping up the wells. But Antiochus, having foreseen this, sent a detachment of horse, which posted itself near these wells, and beat the party that came to stop them. The army passed the deserts, entered Media, drove Arsaces out of it, and recovered all that province. Antiochus remained there the rest of the year, in order to

re-establish his affairs, and to make the preparations necessary for carrying on the war.¹

The year following, he entered very early into Parthia, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in Media. Arsaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he imagined that, in securing some passes of the mountains which separate it from Parthia, it would be impossible for the Syrian army to approach him.²

In this he was mistaken; for as soon as the season would permit, Antiochus took the field; and, after incredible difficulties, attacked all those posts at the same time with his whole army, which he divided into as many bodies as there were attacks, and soon forced them all. He afterwards assembled them in the plains, and marched to besiege Seringes, which was the capital of Hyrcania. Having besieged it for some time, he at last made a great breach, and took the city by storm.³

In the mean time, Arsaces was very busy. As he retired, he re-assembled troops, which at last formed an army of one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. He then took the field against the enemy, and put a stop to their progress with the utmost bravery. His resistance protracted the war, which seemed almost at an end. After many engagements, Antiochus, perceiving that he gained no advantage, judged that it would be extremely difficult to reduce so valiant an enemy, and drive him entirely out of the provinces, where, by length of time, he had so strongly established himself. For this reason, he began to listen to the overtures which were made to him for terminating so tedious a war.⁴

At last, a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated, that Arsaces should continue in possession of Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist Antiochus in recovering the rest of the revolted provinces.⁵

Antiochus, after this peace, turned his arms against Euthydemus, king of Bactria.⁶ We have already shown, in what manner Theodotus had disunited Bactria from the empire of Syria, and left it to his son, of the same name with himself. This son had been defeated and dispossessed by Euthydemus, a brave and prudent man, who engaged in a long war against Antiochus. The latter used his utmost endeavours to recover Bactria: but they were all rendered ineffectual by the valour and vigilance of Euthydemus. During the course of this war, Antiochus displayed his bravery in the most extraordinary manner. In one of these battles his horse was killed under him, and he himself received a wound in the mouth, which, however, was not dangerous, being attended with only the loss of some of his teeth.⁷

At last he grew weary of the war, when he plainly perceived that it would be impossible for him to dethrone this prince. He therefore gave audience to the ambassadors of Euthydemus, who represented to him that the war he was carrying on against their sovereign was not just; that he had never been his subject, and consequently that

¹ A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211.

² A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210.

³ A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209.

⁴ Justin. l. xli. c. 5.

⁵ A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208.

⁶ A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207.

⁷ Polyb. l. x. p. 620, 621, et l. xi. p. 651, 652.

ne ought not to avenge himself on their king, because others had rebelled against him; that Bactria had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire under other monarchs long before him; that he possessed this kingdom by right of conquest over the descendants of those chiefs of the rebellion; and preserved it as the reward of a just victory. They also insinuated to him that the Scythians, observing both parties had weakened themselves by this war, were preparing to invade Bactria with great fury; and that, should they persist obstinately in disputing it, those barbarians might very possibly dispossess both of it. This reflection made an impression on Antiochus, who, by this time, was grown quite weary of so unprofitable and tedious a war; and for this reason he granted them such conditions as ended in a peace. To confirm and ratify it, Euthydemus sent his son to Antiochus. He received him kindly; and judging by his agreeable mien, his conversation, and the air of majesty conspicuous in his whole person, that he was worthy of a throne, he promised him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other articles of the treaty were reduced to writing; and the alliance was confirmed by the usual oaths.¹

Having received all the elephants of Euthydemus, which was one of the articles of peace, he passed Mount Caucasus, and entered India, and then renewed his alliance with the king of that country. He also received elephants from him, which, with those Euthydemus had given him, amounted to one hundred and fifty. He marched from thence into Arachosia, afterwards into Drangiana, thence into Carmania, establishing his authority and good order in all those provinces.

He passed the winter in Carmania.² From thence he returned by Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, and at last arrived at Antioch, after having spent seven years in this expedition. The vigour of his enterprises, and the prudence with which he had conducted the whole war, acquired him the character of a wise and valiant prince, and made him formidable to Europe as well as Asia.

A short time after his arrival at Antioch, advice was brought him of the death of Ptolemy Philopator. That prince, by his intemperance and excesses, had quite ruined his constitution, which was naturally strong and vigorous. He died, as generally happens to those who abandon themselves to pleasure, before he had run half his course. He was but little more than twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned but seventeen years. He was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes, his son, then five years old.³

¹ A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

² A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205.

³ A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204.

